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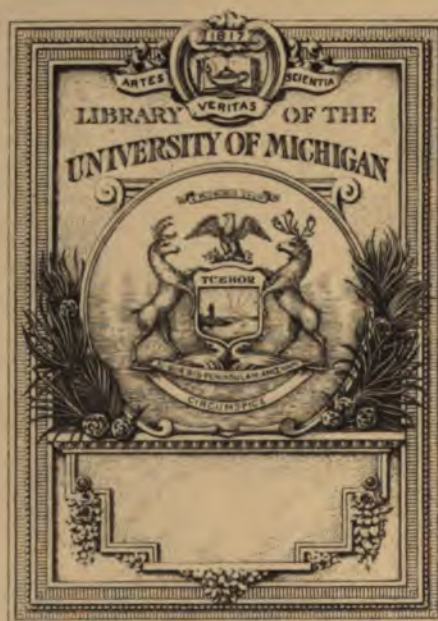
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PROBLEM-SOLVING PROBLEM

Problem	What is the problem?	What is the goal?	What are the constraints?	What are the resources?	What is the solution?
1	1.1	1.2	1.3	1.4	1.5
2	2.1	2.2	2.3	2.4	2.5
3	3.1	3.2	3.3	3.4	3.5
4	4.1	4.2	4.3	4.4	4.5
5	5.1	5.2	5.3	5.4	5.5
6	6.1	6.2	6.3	6.4	6.5
7	7.1	7.2	7.3	7.4	7.5
8	8.1	8.2	8.3	8.4	8.5
9	9.1	9.2	9.3	9.4	9.5
10	10.1	10.2	10.3	10.4	10.5

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Allen T. Burns



PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
NATIONAL CONFERENCE
OF
SOCIAL WORK

Formerly, National Conference of Charities and Correction

AT THE
FORTY-EIGHTH ANNUAL SESSION
HELD IN
MILWAUKEE, WISCONSIN
JUNE 22-29, 1921

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A. GENERAL SESSIONS

A. GENERAL SESSIONS^{*}

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS—DOES SOCIAL WORK PROMOTE SOCIAL PROGRESS?

*Allen T. Burns, Director, Study of Methods of Americanization,
Carnegie Corporation, New York*

The question of how much social work, or the social worker, promotes social progress has been made vivid to me by two stories or parables that recently friends of mine have related. They illustrate two different possible relations of social work to the promotion of social progress—one relation the organic, the other, the mechanical. The first story illustrates the organic relation by the part taken by the expert chemist in the process of turning liquids into solids. You know that in order to turn a liquid into a solid there is required a certain amount of heating and boiling and bubbling, and there is no external force, do what it will, that can be of much effect except to let the boiling and bubbling go on. The most that any outside person or force can do, if he is surely expert and knows the qualities of various liquids in that boiling state, is to understand the proper moment at which a little crystal of the substance, the solid that is to be formed, may be dropped in. If, at exactly the right stage of boiling, he throws in the particle of substance, the process of turning into a solid is greatly accelerated. Around that little focus of crystallization the process goes on rapidly to its completion. "That much and no more," said my friend, "is what social work can contribute to social progress."

Now, the other person, a more pessimistic and cynical appraiser of social work, says the social worker is very much like a little girl playing by the seashore when the tide is coming in. She is throwing pebbles into the sea, and as the little ripples made by the splash creep up the sand, she runs to her mother, unmindful of the ground swell which makes the tide, and cries, "Mother, see, I am making the tide."

What we are going to discuss tonight is whether the parable of the crystal or the pebble is the one that really represents the relation of social work to social progress. Is it an organic or a mechanistic relation that is most contributory to the forward march of human welfare? While some things are likely to be said that may seem more or less critical of ourselves, far be it from me to undervalue the contributions which social work has already made to human welfare. If we are interested in progress, we must all realize that we shall move on from methods that have been employed to newer ones, despite the fact that the most substantial, lasting, and surest progress builds on and recognizes that which has gone before. Otherwise we should be like the child who, standing on his father's shoulders and forgetting all else in his exultation, cries, "See, I am taller than daddy." Heaven forbid that that should be the spirit of any of us.

^{*} All papers in this volume appear in the order in which they were presented, beginning with the general session held on the evening of June 22.

There have been indispensable values contributed by social work up to today. The greatest of these and the most indispensable, as our historians some day will show, is the good will of the social workers, for that is the lubricant of social progress. Without it, progress would be impossible, either in the work that has been done or, as I believe, in the greater work that is still to be accomplished.

I am sure a very real tribute is being paid to the social worker and the place of his good will in the community, these days when so many inventories are being taken as to why men do not enter the ministry and the missionary field, as once they did. From the churches themselves comes the explanation that the underlying reason is that the field of service of good will has become more inclusive than the church itself, and that the very same motives which found expression years ago exclusively in the ministry are finding expression and outlet today in social service. As fundamental then as religion, is this spirit of good will that has led the social worker into his profession.

But then there is the knowledge, both direct and vicarious, of social conditions. The social worker has been the sensitive nerve center of society. We have come to know its ills, its processes, and its possibilities, by intimate first-hand contact; and one of our uses has been the sharing of this knowledge with the rest of the community. As knowledge becomes more and more important, as we understand the deeper processes of society, we will realize how indispensable is this contribution of social work.

Also, there are the thousands of restored minds and bodies of individuals and of families that the social worker can claim as one of his contributions to society. Surely no greater recognition of this has ever been given than in the late war, when all kinds of social workers were summoned as necessary and indispensable elements in the nation's marshalling of its entire force—the family welfare worker, the recreation leader, the organizer and leader of boys' and girls' clubs, the hospital social service worker, and so through the long list. The nation has recognized this contribution, and far be it from any of us to belittle it.

Granting, however, that all this is true, is there the possibility of our resting satisfied with our accomplishments or perhaps of failing to see the lines for still further contribution to social progress? Are we somewhat in the danger of him who was more or less our forerunner—the rescue mission worker. He was always exhibiting his wonderful cases of conversion, as well he might. We have criticized him sometimes because he did not recognize along with these miraculous achievements some of the defects and limitations of his own method. He never stopped to question why the futile, back-sliding professions in his mission far outnumbered the converts, or what there was about his method that permitted this. He never stopped to ask—and we think we have begun to—what the limitations were that might create human wreckage even faster than he was effecting human salvage.

Are we, as social workers, blind somewhat to our own limitations, and in the same way? Shall we ask ourselves that tonight? For if we are working with a zeal that is without knowledge, we may come under the same condemnation which we have passed so freely on our predecessors. Now, whether we have such defects or not, there certainly are some limitations which honesty and candor compel us to confess. Not long ago a study was made of one of the most efficient and modern family-caring agencies in the country, one whose work was fairly inclusive of most of the poor in its city. With all our boast that the extinction of poverty is one of our purposes, it had

to be admitted that the number of cases on that organization's records were increasing much more rapidly or at a greater rate than the population of that city. And what family-caring agency would not, if examining itself, find the same to be true?

I heard Dr. Haven Emerson say not a great while ago that the records of physical examinations in the draft in the last great war showed that there were just as many men physically defective then as there were in our civil war more than fifty years before—this in spite of all the health work in this period. We have our own explanations of course: that our methods of detection and diagnosis have improved so greatly that we know a great many more sick and poor than formerly. Admitting that this is true, it still leaves something to be desired. If our ability to discover new methods of diagnosis has outstripped our method of removing the ills of society, we still may have centered upon one side of the problem to the neglect of another.

The other day a visiting housekeeper for a large association said, in a report to her superior, that while it was all very well and good to ask people to contribute to their work because of the valuable service it was rendering, honesty compelled her to admit that the families upon which she labored followed out her prescriptions as long as she kept a very close personal relation to them, but as soon as she was more or less removed they all seemed to lapse into their own ways. There was a kind of frankness which we need to apply to ourselves, and ask whether all this salvage which we have effected is more or less of the limping sort, still depending upon us for its stability.

Again, in the newer field of social hygiene, we have gloried in the gradual removal of our segregated districts from city after city. Yet, a little while ago, George Kneeland, the foremost vice investigator of the country, said that it was by no means certain that the elimination of the segregated districts had actually lessened vice, that the traffic through automobiles, through rooming houses, through flats, through assignation hotels, and the many other varied forms that this evil had taken on, required us to make still further inquiry as to how much progress even this much-heralded method has accomplished.

So, we have gone on, passing, by Herculean effort, various kinds of laws that required, oftentimes, redoubled effort for their enforcement. We passed a model child labor law in Ohio many years ago and in only a few years the Children's Bureau of the Federal Government came out to show us how far we honored it in the breach rather than in the enforcement. When we first entered the war, we prided ourselves on the obsolescence of the pension system. Judge Mack, a former president of this conference, drafted an almost model law for soldier compensation, which we believed would do away with the necessity for the more or less demoralizing effects that pensions have; and yet how far did we have a social fabric that was capable of incorporating this benefaction? The subsequent dissatisfaction, the incapacity to operate a system so as to meet all the needs that the men have felt, seem to be driving us very rapidly back to what is very much like a lump pension system, the bonus plan.

In another direction, that of appropriations by legislative act, there has resulted from our multiplicity of demands upon the public treasury more or less of a revolt by the taxpayers, until, as one of them said: "You social workers are just like cracker jack, the more you eat, the more you want, and we can see there is no end to your demands and we may as well stop them one place as another." Now, while these are only illustrations which you could duplicate many times, they are the honest kind of self-examination we need to make if we are to answer the question: How

far does social work promote social progress? We really need to inquire whether we are like old Sisyphus, forever rolling stones uphill, only to have them break from us in headlong descent, threatening to overwhelm themselves and their propellers with destruction. Perhaps we have found one thing harder to do than to lift ourselves by our own boot-straps, and that is to lift other people by theirs when they are unwilling. If we do recognize more or less honestly the new effort still needed to be made by social workers to promote general social progress, let us ask ourselves what are the reasons for some of our limitations; what is the distance which we have still to travel.

The first reason that I call to your attention is that we have been very much more interested in forms than in forces, in the mechanics rather than in the organics of society. We have been talking about method and organization and administration, and we have not stopped to realize that there are great ground-swells of human action that are carrying life forward almost irrespective of what we may be doing. At least we have not been concerned with putting ourselves in relation to these vital currents. Let me illustrate:

A very large organization interested in the promotion of public health was about to establish a department of research, and in proposing it to the man they wanted to put at its head, they said they were interested in finding and studying all the methods by which quarantine could be enforced, or vital statistics could be kept. When this person said to them that that was all very good, but that those were simply forms and devices, and that it might be much more profitable to inquire into some of the organics of the situation—how that kind of morale is produced by which quarantine is operated almost as voluntarily as a fire or robbery is reported by those who happen to see it take place; or by which births, deaths, and diseases are reported as much as a matter of course as these other calamities and accidents of community life. This innovator was told that he was day-dreaming, that the device and the form was the important thing, and to talk about organics rather than the mechanics was simply using high-brow language.

In another case, a child welfare program was presented. It included, largely, all the devices that human ingenuity has discovered for the detection, diagnosis, and treatment of the child that is abnormal mentally, morally, economically, and socially. But about the discovery of the processes that keep normal children normal or of how they happened to be so not one word was said, nor was one cent asked for that purpose. And yet today, with all our experience in child welfare, it would seem as though we had come far enough to be interested in something more than those mechanisms which our experience has invented, and that we would seek to get beneath the surface of these forms to the forces that are making and keeping normal the great majority of our children, forces which we need to make more prevalent, if we are really going to deal adequately with the problem of child welfare.

You remember the old story that we have been told so often to illustrate our own progress—the story of the victims of the cliff, and how at first social workers built the hospital at the bottom of the cliff and then seeing the folly of that, went to the top and built the fence. But that is not all there is of that story. Some day there will be a stage in social work when we will ask why the victims did not build the fence themselves; how they might be persuaded to build that fence, whether they would maintain it when the fence was erected or would allow it to fall into disrepair—yes, or whether they might not fight against those who wanted to put it up, prefer-

ring the unmarred beauty of the scene even to the safety which their well-wishers would give them. Not until we have begun to study such underlying forces in the social situation will we be enabled to make an adequate contribution to social progress.

Not only our interest in forms and devices rather than in organic interplay of vital forces, explains our limitations. We have been indifferent to the principles of change and development in behavior and conduct. To be sure, there have been very few of these laws discovered as yet; for even our sociologists, whose business it has been to discover them for us, have been theorizing and dogmatizing more than they have been studying life as a physicist studies nature, and so have revealed few of them. But a few laws are coming to be recognized, for instance: the interdependence of group and individual morality, by which we are coming to understand that to tell a person to be good on his own initiative and force of character is at least no more than half of the problem; we are realizing that his standards are so intertwined with those of the community of which he is a part, that in the majority of cases men's morality will be flabby and weak-spined, until there is that solidarity of individual and collective moral conviction necessary for reliable moral standards.

Take for example the problem of the woman today who is seeking a new basis of respect and recognition. In a class of sociology, composed of seventy-two young women, the professor asked the question whether it is conventional for young women to be unconventional; and seventy-one of the young women said that it was. What is the reason for it? It is that the best maker of bread, the best hemstitcher, the best housekeeper no longer receives the recognition and respect, not merely of her own sex but of the whole community, that once she did. Blindly perhaps, and unconsciously, but no less determinedly, woman is seeking through various new channels of activity to find those paths of behavior which will win again the same recognition and respect that the old behavior no longer gives her; and we will have innumerable tragedies, and we will have unendurable unconventionalities until not only the woman herself but the community as a whole discovers this new standard on which the woman and the community unite.

I moved recently into a very exceptional little place, where the painter and the carpenter and even the plumber still have a pride in their workmanship. Under contract, they do even more than is contracted for. It has made me think about the loss of pride in workmanship, and how little good it does to talk to the workman about it; and how the problem of either quantity or quality production is much bigger than trying to lecture to the workman of how he must revert to his old way, because, as the community has lost its interest and concern in the workman's workmanship, so has the workman lost it. There will have to come a new community concern for the work of man, a recognition of his workmanship for the same or new reasons, before we can expect any great change in the workman's attitude toward his production of quantity or quality. Many illustrations could be given of this newly discovered law of the solidarity of group and individual morals. The applications that might be made in the prevention of dependence need not be mentioned, for when once we come to recognize it, we will realize that only a strong community consciousness of the value of independence and self-reliance is going to be sufficient to prevent very many of our weaker families from dropping into the class of dependents.

Another such fundamental law of human behavior is that effective participation is a requisite of responsibility. How hard we have worked to get people to take

responsibility, to behave responsibly, and yet how little we have realized that until they have an active voice in their own affairs we shall work largely in vain. This was illustrated up in New England in the problem that two towns of equal size and age had with the influx of the Polish immigrant. The one of them could think of nothing else to do but to leave them as a class apart, neglected and indifferent, demoralizing themselves and the rest of the community; but the other little town not being satisfied to let things go in this demoralizing way, looked around to see what could be done. Now, the way that most citizens of that village took a responsible part in its affairs was through church organizations, as was so generally true in the older New England towns. There were, in this particular town, a Congregational church and a Roman Catholic church that was English speaking, but somehow the Poles discovered that if they were to exercise responsibility, they would have to do it in the same way that the other people did, and so they suggested to the town that altogether they build a Polish Catholic church. It was a matter of solving the Polish problem, and these Yankees helped the Poles to build their church, and almost instantaneously there was a miraculous change, because, being able, through the same kind of organization as the native had, to exercise a voice, they came to be responsible citizens—a most striking contrast to the demoralization of the Poles themselves in the neighboring community that had not had the same kind of ingenuity.

The problem of the outlaw strike in a labor organization still further illustrates this social law of effective participation as a requisite of responsibility. Why is it that suddenly, apparently, the duly authorized and accredited labor leader seems to be unable to get the rank and file to follow him, so that a year ago at New Orleans we were interfered with by the outlaw railroad strike? We have had outlaw strikes among the printers and the builders, and in numerous other trades. The same law explains it. The rank and file of the working men realize that they have had little voice in the choice and decisions of their officers who are said to represent them, and therefore they feel that the decisions of these officers no longer bind them. To be sure, there are the forms of electing these officers, but they are so cumbersome and the men in power have so much advantage over the rank and file in perpetuating their power, that the rank and file feel they have so little chance to assert themselves, to have an effective voice and hand, that they are not responsible and, therefore, can be laws unto themselves in relation to employers and society. Until there has been an appreciable restoration to them of effective participation, we can expect this kind of irresponsibility to continue.

Now, these instances of social principles that we are beginning to discover, such as interdependence of group and community morals, and effective participation as a requisite of responsibility, are only illustrations. Most of such laws are still to be unearthed and disclosed to us. That for which I am appealing tonight is the necessity for us to understand these underlying, persistent, irrepressible forces to which we must be in relation if we are to render the greater service, and if we are to have an organic relation to social progress. Otherwise are we not like the old-fashioned farmer stage of production, compared with the modern scientific agriculture? To be sure, that old farmer often had good crops by following well-established practices along old lines, but the modern scientific farmer studies every factor of seed and soil, in order that, as regularly as possible, he may produce bumper crops. Social workers in more or less of that rule-of-thumb stage, and social workers ought to be able to

find a lesson in the work of the scientific farmer, or in the field of aviation. You all remember the story of Darius Green and his flying machine. He assembled all the contraptions, devices, and mechanisms that he thought would surely be sufficient for him to conquer the air; and getting up on an elevation, with all these mechanisms assembled, he started off, only to come to an ignominious finish on the ground. He differed from Langley and Wright, who studied the laws of weight, of velocity, of density, of expanse, and then found how by relating themselves to these forces in the only way that these laws permitted, they could conquer even gravitation itself and soar far nearer the sun than the dreams of the ancient had ever hoped for.

It is this organic relation to the laws of social progress that is the next step for the social worker to take; for when there have been great and almost miraculously successful steps in social progress, has it not been because more or less unconsciously, perhaps by a stroke of genius, we have fallen in line with some of these forces and laws? Many instances come to our minds.

How often we have heard that remarkable story of the political regeneration of the seventeenth ward in Chicago under the leadership of the Community Club of Chicago Commons. Yet we have not stopped to ask why other settlements have not been able to duplicate that remarkable achievement; nor have we stopped to ask very much about why it has ceased to be. All honor to the leadership of John Gavit, Raymond Robins, and Graham Taylor, who worked out that situation; but the fact that the situation they worked out did not continue to work should indicate that there were certain elements there that must have passed away and, with the incoming of the Italian and the Slav, the old method and device did not happen to fit organically into the situation. Take the marvelous spread of the movement for the safe and sane Fourth. Who would have predicted when we were youngsters that a situation could have caught like wildfire and spread so like a conflagration as that suggestion has in the last decade? It has been accidental, if you please, but if we looked beneath the surface we would realize that it was because the suggestion entered and fitted into forces that were already lying underneath the surface, only waiting to be brought into that organic whole which makes a community-inclusive and a self-propelling social movement, such as that movement is.

I suppose that we are likely in this most individualistic land of ours to attribute most great social achievements to individual leadership, and I suppose none more so than the spread of our public school system and the almost entire obliteration of illiteracy. All honor to Horace Mann and his co-laborers, but there are coming to be indications that there were organic forces in the situation itself that made the effort of Horace Mann so successful; that a new land with widely scattered settlements experimenting with democracy, required literacy, and it needed but the added touch of the genius and leader that Mann was, to make the movement take shape and be self-perpetuating. Strange to say, the newer comers to America are duplicating that experience almost without our knowledge, for the census returns tell us that in spite of the great influx of immigrants in recent years from the less literate countries and regions of Europe, there has never been any increase in the total proportion of illiterates in our foreign-born population. Back in 1870—fifty years ago—was the first census report on this point. Then our immigrants had come almost wholly from the today-so-much-praised Northwestern European group and there were 13 per cent of them illiterate; our last census report, 1910, shows that after this influx

of the illiterate only 12.8 per cent of our foreign-born are illiterate. Now it is a fact that they were not all equally illiterate when they came, but in America something in our life is driving our people to literacy. Before the organized movement began to deal with this problem, the immigrants themselves, under the compulsion of necessity, under the compulsion of the processes of life, in order to hold their footing in the new land, were making themselves literate.

The federal government, by an application of this same general desire for information through reading, made a master-stroke in one of its war problems—that of keeping the foreign-born as well informed as the native-born about the government's needs. It established a division of foreign-language information service. Now the foreign-language newspaper that we have heard so much about varies much from sheet to sheet. Many of them are interested in helping their fellow nationals to become united with America; many others, because it is their stock in trade, and, they think, the only chance of their self-preservation here, are interested in keeping their constituents separate and isolated. But somehow or other since the United States Government began to furnish information that was material and essential to the life of the immigrant, the very demand of the readers themselves and the competition for circulation seemed to compel the editors equally to use the material. This experiment, kept up since the war, when the fervor and pressure of war morale has been removed, shows there is something in the situation organically irrepressible which makes the foreign-language editor, if furnished with the information his reader wants, print the best and most informing facts about our own government. Instances like this indicate that there are underlying social forces which we have been taking advantage of when we have made some of our biggest contributions to social progress.

What I am pleading for tonight is that these instances shall be less sporadic and exceptional, that we shall make such a study of the laws of social progress and our possible relations to them as to make it possible for us to have our efforts count for even more than they have in the promotion of human welfare.

So then, social soil analysis I propose as the next step in social service, not excluding problems of technique and methodology, but adding to them a study of what kind of combination of vital elements and currents of life are needed for the effective working of any device or mechanism. Apply this, if you will, to one or two of the problems we as social workers face today. Do you want a federation in your town? Immediately you begin a study of technique and the devices of federations. Do they save expense? Do they eliminate multiplicity of appeal? Do they get adequate representation of all the constituent agencies? Do they provide an immunity bath? Is it possible for budgets to be made in an equitable and reasonable way? And so on down the long column of questions. But, those are not underlying questions that need to be asked if you are thinking about a federation in your town, for a federation is but a form of organization; it can accentuate and it can accelerate the underlying social forces of your community. What you need to ask is whether those forces are such that you want them accelerated and focused as a federation is likely to do. Is your big agency dominating already the social field? Then it is likely to go on doing so under the federation form. Can the financial decisions be made collectively instead of individually by agencies? You can tell by whether there has been effective democratic co-operation in lesser or less difficult fields even before you thought of a federation. Will the donor dominate because a federation is formed? He will, if

social workers have not had the courage and self-respect to assert themselves against undue influences of donors in separate philanthropies. It is the underlying social process going on in your community which you need to study and which your federation will only focus and strengthen; and you must decide whether you want that sort of thing in your town or not, rather than studying simply the method or technique of federation administration.

Take a more outstanding and spectacular problem today: we are asking—even the American Federation of Labor is asking—does the Rochdale co-operative system give promise of great contributions to social welfare here in America? And most of us who have been asking that question have simply been looking at the technique of the Rochdale system. The failures or successes we have explained almost entirely by whether the pattern has been lived up to. I suggest that that is not the underlying problem as to whether the Rochdale co-operative system has promise for America. No, the underlying problem is this: take your communities in which the same technique has been applied and in one case a failure resulted and in another success. Find out the differences in the social forces there, how much individualism, how much solidarity, how much common taste, how much difference of desires, how much community consciousness, how much indifference to community needs, how much neighborliness, how much casual acquaintanceship, and when you have asked these questions in actual situations, in these and many others you will find the answer to the problem of how far the Rochdale system can go in the United States. For when you find the vital situation in which it succeeds, you can see how many times that situation is reproduced in this country. If in only a few instances, then your efforts should be in proportion to the opportunities of reproducing or duplicating those conditions; but if in the majority of communities those conditions do not exist, then you have discovered the fundamental organic laws which make the possibility of success of the Rochdale system small. These are only illustrations, in these Rochdale and federation inquiries, as to the underlying social forces that need to be considered in proposing any social formula.

What I am urging as the next step in the development of social work is this social soil analysis. We should realize that to give the greatest service we must take into consideration these vital forces which are interacting and interplaying with all we may do and strive to accomplish, defeating or advancing our efforts according to whether we work with or against them. And not only the purpose of this address, but of all the general sessions of this conference, is to try to get us a little further into this way of thinking.

If you have looked over your program, to which I want to call your special attention, you will realize that in our general sessions we are asking ourselves to think of our work in relation to other great currents of life surging through our nation. Immediately at the close of this address, we begin to look at the developments of rural life, presented by the secretary of the American Country Life Association. Tomorrow night we think of our great public education system—not how it can serve us, but how we must relate ourselves to it. Then we follow with the great problems of industry and labor, presented by the former vice-president of a big manufacturing concern, and the president of one of our great international unions. On Sunday we turn to the church and institutions of religion; then on into the life of the community as a whole; another night to that great primary activity of

self-preservation, the public health movement of the country; then on into the field of governmental action, the dispensing of justice, where the dean of one of our great law schools and the representative of one of our state industrial commissions will address us; and next into the leadership of the nation itself, as we hear from the chief of our Children's Bureau and the chairman of what has become the public welfare committee of the United States Senate. Concluding the whole, we bring our conference to a close with a consideration of the part that social welfare must play in the newly forming international relationships of the world. I urge you to give attention to these fields of thought, not in appreciation of your program committee, not in compliment and appreciation of the leaders in these fields who, at so much effort, come to address us, but because our thoughts need to be more habitually engaged in the study of these great currents of life with which we must co-operate if we are to contribute most fruitfully and profitably to social progress.

The demand of today is—shall I say—for the social alchemist. No, for that smacks too much of the magical and miraculous. The demand is for the organic chemist of society, the discoverer of the missing ingredient, of the essential elements that will precipitate this formless, chaotic, nebulous condition of society into solidarity, cohesion, organic unity. The spirit, the knowledge, the altruism of the social worker give a great advantage in this task; and that means a still greater responsibility. Are we to be lone players in this great game of life, trying to carry the ball to the goal by heart-breaking and back-breaking efforts—perhaps a goal of our choosing, rather than that chosen by the team? Or are we to be good team players, striving to find out studiously and carefully the limitation, the one lack in the make-up of the whole team, being willing to supply it, no matter how self-sacrificing and self-effacing we must be. For, in this increasing complexity and interdependence of life, those agencies will serve best which do most to bring order, organization, and system into these confused, conflicting forces.

For social service I am jealous that she render this new and greater service. But present conditions challenge her to the ordeal of serviceableness. Are we to be weighed in the balance and found wanting? We shall survive the ordeal, we shall stand the test, as we make some advance, some greater contribution even than this invaluable panoply of mechanisms and devices already developed. We shall survive to the extent that we discover and apply the working relationships of social forces, the organic principles of social progress. Then at the hands of the irresistible forces of life itself, such a social worker shall receive the verdict: Well done, thou hast been faithful in those few things whose indispensable relations to life and progress enthrone thee ruler over many.

DIVISION IX—ORGANIZATION OF SOCIAL FORCES

ORGANIZATION OF RURAL SOCIAL FORCES

E. C. Lindeman, Field Secretary, American Country Life Association; Secretary, National Council of Agencies Engaged in Rural Social Work

One hundred years ago the United States was a nation of farmers. When the treaty of peace was signed with England in 1815, there was not a single grown-up man in the country whose parents had not been subjects of a king. The total population

of the country, including one and one-quarter million negro slaves, was less than ten million people. New York and Philadelphia were the largest cities, each having a population of less than one hundred thousand persons. Charleston, with thirty-three thousand people, was the fifth largest city on the continent.

The average value of land was \$10.00 per acre. Land which sold in Rhode Island for \$39.00 per acre was considered exorbitant in price. There was no land hunger; the purchase of Louisiana had supplied much more land than was needed. Each farm family was an independent unit; everything needed for life and living was raised or made upon the farmstead.

To travel from New York to Philadelphia consumed an average time of fourteen to sixteen hours; from Albany to New York took three days; and a trip from Boston to Washington consumed a full week. It cost eight cents to send a letter thirty miles.

New York and Philadelphia were the commercial centers of the nation; in the former city there were eleven banks and in the latter ten. The largest industrial center was located at Huntington, Pennsylvania, where there were nine iron establishments employing a total of 390 workers.

A few days ago I visited one of the hill farms of North Carolina. On that farm I had the privilege of conversing with a lady who has passed her ninety-eighth birthday. She has lived through the epoch which began with the period of reconstruction following the War of 1812 and has witnessed one of the most profound and fundamental changes which ever took place on a single continent. She has seen America change from a farm nation to an industrial nation.

Approximately one-third of the people of the United States now live on farms. Their number has been constantly diminishing in relative proportion, and is destined to decrease still more. The United States is now an industrial nation, motivated by industrial psychology and dominated by industrial discipline. The amount of unused land capable of cultivation and not included in farms is almost negligible in quantity. The products of the American farm are now a part of world economy. There is no immediate danger of lack of food supply, for the American farmer is an efficient producer; he produces more per man than any other farmer in the world. By the application of machinery and the scientific rotation of crops our lands can continue to produce food in sufficient quantity to care for a normal increase in population. There are two limiting factors which the earnest student must, however, take into consideration. One of these is the relationship between the total available mineral salts and food production. This is not the place to discuss a problem of this nature. The other factor is a social one and belongs directly to the topic under discussion.

The crisis in American agriculture is already at hand. The rural problem of our country will increase in direct proportion to the relative decrease in rural population. One hundred years ago there was no rural problem; by the same token there was no industrial problem. Both have arisen in the last century, and both have become acute in our time. One hundred years ago the rural community had no other social unit with which it could compare itself, excepting the few commercial cities which were thought to be wicked dens of vice. The rapid development of industrial centers presented a social situation which was graphic; employers' and workers' families lived in poorly constructed tenements, exhibiting conditions of luxury and poverty side by side, presented a problem which could not long be ignored. There grew up in American cities a humanist movement—a movement which began with philanthropy

or charity toward the disadvantaged, and finally produced a technique and a program which included housing, recreation, health, adequate care for defective, delinquent, and dependent members of society, and an infinite number of other movements, all intended to make life more tolerable for city residents.

The sum total of those agencies, organizations, institutions, and movements which developed in American cities during the last century, and particularly in the last half-century, represents the organized social forces of city life. These forces soon became so effective that city life lost its dreaded aspects; parks, playgrounds, boulevards, modern schools, health supervision, food inspection, and numberless means were provided for making city life attractive. Nothing comparable to this movement occurred in country life. In fact, there was, and still is, a popular delusion to the effect that social maladjustments are peculiarly the problems of city dwellers, and that rural inhabitants, because of their free and open-air life, their habits of work, and their lack of congestion, are free from the ordinary problems incident to city life.

This delusion, coupled with an undue emphasis upon the farmer's economic function, has made a socialized rural life well-nigh an impossibility. In the meantime, the cities have gone on and on with their improvements. Certain diseases, such as typhoid and hookworm, are almost entirely confined to rural areas. The country child is handicapped educationally and recreationally. Child labor laws which protect the children of the industrial worker have almost no application to the labor of country children. Those conditions, such as sanitation, health, education, and recreation, which make it possible for man to withstand the devitalizing influences of civilization, have been but slightly improved in the open country. We now know that social problems exist wherever human beings live, and that country people are not immune. By comparison, the open country is not as suitable a place in which to live and rear children as the average modern city. The essential problem of the present is to discover means whereby country life can be made to withstand a comparison with city life. Unless such a comparison results favorably to the rural community, there is no hope in American country life. As education becomes the privilege of all, rural people will become more and more determined to secure the social advantages which are denied them.

There are those who believe that the farmer's problem is chiefly economic in character; they contend that the farmer, himself, will improve his social environment just as quickly as he is provided with the pecuniary profits which will make this possible. This is an old fallacy which still blocks the pathway of social progress. If economic success is to be the ideal of the American farmer, there is no incentive for him to remain in the country after he has succeeded. If, on the other hand, the farmer looks forward to farming—not as a mere vocation, but as a mode of living—his social success will not await economic success; these two processes will go hand in hand. The absurdity of economic particularism, as applied to the rural problem, appears when we consider the present state of land exploitation, the extent of tenantry, and the comparative social backwardness in those areas where agriculture has been most profitable.

All the foregoing is historical and introductory. There is a social movement in American agriculture. In fact, there always has been such a movement; the Grange—one of the oldest and best-known farmers' organizations—was established in the early seventies on the avowed principle that the "farmer is more important than the farm." In the background of the farmer's consciousness there has always been a deep-seated

aspiration for the things that ennoble and enrich life, but he has been ground between the upper millstone of undercapitalization and the nether millstone of economic pressure from his leaders. The United States Department of Agriculture, the agricultural colleges and experiment stations, the agricultural press, and various commercial and banking organizations have all impressed upon him the necessity for economic improvement. The voices appealing to him for social improvement have been feeble by comparison.

The Roosevelt Country Life Commission presented the country-life problem in bold perspective. Its report indicated three great needs: Better farming, better business, and better living. The first two elements of this program have received more or less adequate attention; the last factor has been sorely neglected.

The American Country Life Association was organized in 1919 to seek expression for the social or human aspects of country life. A number of previous meetings had been held by a small group of interested persons under the leadership of President Kenyon L. Butterfield of the Massachusetts Agricultural College at Amherst. The membership of the Association is composed of teachers of rural sociology, professional social workers, representatives of social agencies functioning in the rural field, farmers, and business and professional men and women. It has held three annual conferences in various places in the country and is rapidly increasing in membership and in influence.

At the first meeting of this organization, held in Baltimore in November, 1919, a resolution was adopted calling for a conference of all national agencies actively engaged in rural social work. Out of this conference, which was held in March, 1920, has developed the National Council of Agencies Engaged in Rural Social Work. Four meetings have been held with the following results: first, the social needs of rural people have been definitely stated; second, the agencies now functioning in the field of rural social work have come to a plane of acquaintanceship and partial understanding; third, the programs of work of the rural social agencies have been tabulated and are to be printed in bulletin form; fourth, steps toward co-ordinating the work of agencies dealing with rural recreation have been taken; fifth, an attempt is being made to state in concrete form the principles involved in promoting rural social work.

In short, the rural social forces are being organized. A unified American country-life program is being formulated. With this information in mind, we may proceed to discuss the nature and extent of these forces.

RURAL SOCIAL AGENCIES

It will be difficult, within the space of this paper, to describe the current programs of the various social agencies at work in the rural field without slighting some and over emphasizing others. A complete category is not contemplated, but rather a running commentary on a few of the representative agencies and organizations.

Governmental agencies of federal, state, and county units are promoting rural social programs. The United States Public Health Service, the United States Department of Agriculture, the Children's Bureau of the Department of Labor, and the Bureau of Education of the Department of the Interior, are definitely committed to certain aspects of rural improvement. Unfortunately, all of these agencies, with the exception of one, are so handicapped for funds and are so restricted in functions that their work is largely that of education, investigation, and publicity. They make surveys, publish

and that the future will reveal a more specialized form of activity related more definitely to the original function of the Red Cross.

In the meantime the rather hurried efforts of Red Cross workers have made a contribution to the organization of rural social forces. In no particular has this effect been more pronounced than in the emphasis which the Red Cross has placed upon co-ordination of social agencies. Wherever its influence has been strong there has resulted a movement toward co-ordination and co-operation.

In addition, the Red Cross workers who have penetrated to the rural field have blazed certain trails of technique which are destined to be of great value to all rural social workers. I have in my possession a number of files of letters and reports of rural Red Cross workers, from North Dakota to Georgia, which portray an insight into the actual rural social needs which, in themselves, constitute a chapter in rural progress. Public health nursing, home hygiene and care of the sick, first aid, home service, Junior Red Cross—these are terms with deep social service import, and they are now known in many of the remotest rural districts of the land.

The Young Women's Christian Association, through its Town and Country Department, has approached the rural field with a scientific purpose which promises to build for it a sound philosophy and technique. It organizes on the county basis and promotes a program of recreation, education, social life, and character-training for the girls and women of the countryside. Trained workers are placed in counties as secretaries, and these workers are given a degree of freedom from stereotyped programs and overhead control which should be an example to many other agencies.

The National Child Labor Committee has conducted three child labor studies whose bearings are specifically rural. These studies are revelations of the place of the country child in our rural economy. They reveal sources of social infection related to delinquency, illiteracy, school attendance, and the numerous other relationships of the welfare of children—the dynamic factors in our social structure and process. These studies have specific objectives in legislation; the legal status of the country child has been clarified and brought to the attention of the people of the states in which these studies have been made. It becomes increasingly manifest that the great bulk of the future work of this agency is to be in the rural field.

Community Service, Incorporated, deals with the leisure-time programs of communities. It has no specifically designated rural department, but its services have extended to the rural field. Its personnel includes individuals who are definitely committed to the development of a technique of rural recreation. Thus far, its main contribution has been along the line of interested assistance to other agencies through its specialists and its publications. The Playground and Recreation Association of America, so closely related to Community Service, Incorporated, in personnel and administration, has always taken an active interest in the promotion of rural recreation.

The Boy Scouts of America deal with the recreational, educational, physical, and social life of younger boys. Rural villages and open-country communities, with limited numbers of boys of similar age-groups, have adopted the Boy Scout program largely through the leadership of teachers and ministers. The number of troops which may be classified as rural has increased materially during the past three to five years. The administrative function of this agency takes cognizance of the social needs of country boys and makes specific provisions for meeting such needs through its leaders and its publications.

The Girl Scouts (Incorporated) functions in a similar manner as that described above in relation to the Boy Scouts; its field is confined to the younger girls. Its leaders are planning definitely to discover and put into practice a rural program.

Numerous health agencies must be mentioned, although space will not permit elaboration. The National Organization for Public Health Nursing, the Child Health Organization of America, and the National Child Health Council are all agencies or combinations of agencies whose future programs point directly to the rural field. The recent publication of the National Health Council contains the programs of work, administrative and promotion organization, and headquarters' personnel of ten leading health agencies of the United States. It constitutes one of the most hopeful pictures of the organization of social forces in the modern history of institutionalism.

The Rural Education Department of the National Education Association has grown to be one of the most formidable and constructive forces in modern rural life. Its personnel is made up of rural school teachers, supervisors, county superintendents, and college and university leaders in rural education. Although its annual conferences are devoted largely to the technical problems involved in rural education, its programs usually include some topics of discussion which are definitely related to the school and education as social forces. Its membership is one of power and great influence. Many of the programs of other agencies await the cultivation of public sentiment which hinges upon the viewpoint and the philosophy of these rural education enthusiasts.

The American Library Association is now promoting a rural library movement which promises to be the lever for bringing the social literature of the world to the farmer's door.

The National Catholic Welfare Council is represented on the National Council of Rural Social Agencies and is promoting a program of community houses, health, and recreation for its rural constituency.

The Russell Sage Foundation, through its departments of recreation and its community centers, is assuming certain definite attitudes toward rural problems.

The American Home Economics Association is a conference body which gives attention to the development of the technique of education in homemaking. Topics dealing with nutrition, food production, food distribution, and home management as related to the country home form an important part of the discussions of this organization. Its membership embraces the leaders in the home-economics field.

The National University Extension Association is also a conference body; it deals with the technique of extension education and obviously has a definite relationship to the rural field, in which so large a bulk of extension education programs functions.

There remains to be discussed one of the oldest and most fundamental social forces in American country life—the country church. It too has been neglected along with the other pioneer institutions of the open country which did such noble service in their time. There are today marked evidences of a rural church renaissance. All of the prominent denominations have special rural church departments, or are giving attention to the rural church through home mission departments.

The great achievements of our race are due to the awakened spirit of the so-called common man. In our industrial centers, the Protestant churches have well-nigh sacrificed their opportunity to have a part in this spiritual awakening. There is still time for the country church to orient its program to similar conditions which are

rapidly developing in rural districts. What the churches do within the next two generations will, in large measure, determine what is to happen with religious institutionalism in the future unfolding of our national destiny.

There are some causes for misgiving. Many church leaders are promoting programs of social service for rural churches, which services will in themselves defeat the fundamental function of religion. The church is subject to the laws of the division of labor to the same degree as is true of all other institutions. It will not increase its spiritual strength by merely rendering social services. And, if the Christian church attempts to defeat this law which indicates that institutions grow by the loss of function rather than by the increase of function, it will devitalize the social effectiveness of the Christian religion.

This is not the time nor the place to suggest the real function of the rural church. It may be sufficient to add, as a warning, that churches that make vested interests of social services will some day find themselves so busy guarding their vested interests that their spiritual dynamics will have been lost. The wise church leaders who are earnestly interested in producing a united program of rural social progress will suggest that the churches of the future shall make the very highest and best use of all of the specialized social agencies, organizations, and institutions.

The foregoing agencies may be divided into three groups: first, those which deal with the investigative phases of country life; second, those which deal with the educative or publicity phases of the country-life movement; third, those which have actual programs of social service operating in rural areas.

Out of the experiences of the past few years, in which the social aspects of rural life have come into national prominence, and in which the social agencies have definitely entered the rural field, the following principles and deductions may be drawn: First, there is an increasing tendency among country people to be suspicious of the numerous social agencies which have suddenly come to regard the farmer and his family as objects of reform. Second, there appears to be a growing tendency in several sections of the country to begin programs of rural social work under governmental auspices. Third, the national social agencies which have entered the rural field within the past few years are coming to recognize the necessity for a new technique, a new philosophy, and a specially trained personnel for the rural field. Fourth, the national agencies engaged in rural social work have come to a sincere realization of the urgency of uniting in the promotion of a unified program of rural social progress.

In conclusion, something needs to be said regarding the farmer and the farmer mind as a distinct social force. Most of the forces thus far discussed have originated outside of the farmer's mind. This is not in itself harmful. The rural problem is serious enough to demand the best thought of the best minds of both city and country. But the final force wherewith a people saves itself is within, and not without.

There are numerous misconceptions regarding the mind of the farmer. It is generally assumed that he is conservative, unscientific, wasteful, materialistic, individualistic, inarticulate, and, all in all, a non-progressive sort of individual, for whom there is little hope so far as his own personality is concerned. If there were time, I should not hesitate to attempt to disprove all of these current and fallacious notions about the farmer. He uses science more than most artisans and producers. He produces more food per man than any farmer in the world. He has been denied an adequate voice in the legislative and executive departments of government, but his

voice has not been lost; it will be heard plainly in due time. Equal suffrage, prohibition, and taxation of income are the three great daring and constructive pieces of legislation of the recent past; each one of them depended upon the support and the vote of the farmer for its achievement. Over five millions of American farmers are members of co-operative organizations.

The farmer has been a neglected class, and it is the neglected classes which usually cause revolutions. All over the United States there is a growing class-consciousness among farmers; they mean to speak loudly enough to be heard. The organized farmer of the future is to play a mighty part in the democratization of American economic and social life. When his growing class-consciousness is permeated with the ideals of social success, we may also witness a revival of the "culture of the soil," which always has been, in its essence, superior to that of the urban center. Healthy blood still courses through the veins of American farmers; warm and hopeful thoughts strive for expression. There shall yet come out of the countryside an expression of the highest social idealism of which the nation is capable.

DIVISION IV—PUBLIC AGENCIES AND PUBLIC WELFARE

EDUCATIONAL IDEALS AND PUBLIC WELFARE

L. D. Coffman, President, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis

It is clear that there is a close connection between public education and public welfare. Each is dependent upon the other. The essence of public welfare is education; and educational ideas are without value except as they express themselves in public good. The schools cannot be disassociated from life, nor life from schools.

These principles have been clearly understood since public schools were first established in this country. The history of public education is a history of achievement. Some day someone who knows how to wield a master's pen will attempt to write the story of public education in America, and the greatest epic of civilization will be the result.

One of the earliest acts of the pioneers of this country was to establish a system of public education. Apparently they understood that the children of the next generation would need a better education than they had had. In 1840, the average citizen of this country received 208 days of schooling, not 208 days during one year, but 208 days during his entire lifetime. In 1870, he received 582 days of schooling, and today he receives a little over 1,200 days. Why this change? It is not a matter of mere accident or chance. It has come about, I believe, because the social, political, and economic problems have grown more numerous, more intricate, and more difficult of solution. The problems which the pioneer of 1840 had to face were comparatively simple and easy of solution; those of 1870 were more difficult; and those of today still more difficult.

Soon after 1840, when the present system of public education was first organized, our forefathers began to enact compulsory education laws. In most instances, they placed the upper educational limit at fourteen years. Evidently they intended that the general level of trained intelligence should be graduation from the elementary

schools. By 1870, private secondary education had begun to be superseded by public high schools. Very soon the compulsory age limit began to be raised. A few states placed it at fifteen years, others at sixteen, and still others more recently at seventeen or eighteen. During war times, England passed the Fisher Bill on education which provided that there should be compulsory continuation schooling for all English boys up to the age of eighteen. There has been a bill before the Chamber of Deputies in France for some time, providing that the upper compulsory continuation age limits for boys should be eighteen, and for girls, twenty.

The United States as a nation has taken no action with reference to this matter. Apparently this nation does not fully comprehend the fact that in the great economic and political struggles yet to come, the best-trained nation will have the best chance of success. And yet the relationship which the American people feel to exist between popular education on the one hand and democratic society on the other, is a relationship which they feel with responding devotion. Any nation that finds its expression in free political institutions is increasingly dependent upon popular education. The freer the political institution, the more widely are scattered the schools for all the people. The more controlled the political institutions, the less widely scattered are the schools for all the people. The chief means of control in a democracy has always been some form of popular education, while the chief means of control in an autocracy is always some form of militarism. It is no mere accident of time and place that Americans have been distrustful of large armies and large navies and of the exercise of coercive police power, and that they have fostered public education as the equal privilege of all, nor is it due to mere political accident that Russian despotism discouraged the schools for the people, and exercised a secret surveillance through a military police.

The intimacy of the relationship between popular education and democratic society was brought home to us during war times in a most striking fashion. Among other incidents that emphasized it, there is one that was particularly unique. The federal government, for the first time in its history, selected a school man to be a member of a commission to visit a foreign country. Usually when commissions are selected for this purpose, they are made up of the representatives of commerce, of labor, and of agriculture; but this time a schoolmaster was chosen to go with the commission to visit Siberia. He visited the schools more than four thousand miles inland. When he returned to this country, he reported that the political and economic conditions that prevailed there were due to three things—first, the starvation of the people; second, their ignorance; and third, the presence of the unscrupulous demagogue. Out of every 1,000 in Siberia, 600 persons could not read and write anything. Where awful ignorance prevails we have a fertile soil in which the unscrupulous demagogue can work.

The war revealed the startling fact that this country is not entirely free from illiteracy. Over seven hundred thousand men of draft age, between the ages of twenty-one and thirty-one, were found to be unable to read and write the English language. The last census showed that there were approximately five million five hundred thousand persons in this country who could not read and write the English language. General Pershing recently declared that the illiteracy and general physical condition of the American army were matters of national disgrace, and that the great army of slackers was due to brutal ignorance. Here we have two matters of public welfare

that are essentially educational in character. Clearly, every public-spirited citizen should join hands to eliminate not merely juvenile, but adult, illiteracy.

Public welfare demands that we give attention, also, to certain other types of problems that are now imperiously crying out for solution. There never was a time in the history of American life when an intelligent study of these problems was so much needed as now. We sometimes think that the highest expression of patriotism is that of courage in time of war. We inducted four million men into arms, sent two million of them over to the fighting front overseas, gave them our money and energy, everything we possessed, that we might bring the war to a successful conclusion. We did all these things in the name of patriotism, but there is another form of patriotism quite as important. It is the duty of intelligence, with reference to the problems of peace. When these four million men returned to the pursuits of peace, what did they find? They found dissatisfaction; discontent; classmindedness; deflated currency; unsolved political, labor, and capital problems. Needless stupidity and needless ignorance with reference to the solution of these problems in the future, will be as truly a criticism upon the present generation as would have been its failure to do its duty in time of war.

One of the chief weaknesses of a democracy is the difficulty it experiences in planning for remote goals. The near-at-hand is always attractive and alluring. Democracy likes to follow the lines of least resistance, but before it can be truly efficient, it will be necessary for it to plan for the future and to organize its forces for the solution of remote problems. Not all the problems that are waiting solution are entirely remote. The whole world is crying out today for disarmament and yet many of the nations are spending millions of dollars to increase their armament for the purpose, they say, of protecting themselves and of preserving the peace of the world. The six battleships which the United States is about to construct will cost \$240,000,000, which would provide enough money to establish a school for the training of teachers in every state in the Union.

Only yesterday the *Chicago Tribune* contained an editorial criticising the commencement address of Dr. John Greer Hibben, president of Princeton University. Dr. Hibben spoke on the subject "America First." He said, in substance, that if "America First" means my nation against all nations of the world, my nation for herself, irrespective of the needs and demands of other nations of the world, then we should not subscribe to the slogan. But if "America First" means my nation in the lead in the service of humanity, associated with the other nations of the world, then by all means—"America First."

Some day the United States may become a member of the League of Nations, or of some association of nations, but no league or association of nations will ever be able to survive through the influence of coercion. It will survive only because there has been developed an intelligent world citizenry. Clearly, we can no longer live to ourselves alone. The problems of this generation are overwhelming, far reaching, difficult, and many of them are international in character.

To solve them, more education, rather than less, must be provided. Just as the men of 1840 sacrificed for the education of the next generation, and the men of 1870 sacrificed that the men of 1920 might receive more than 1,200 days of schooling, so this generation, if it is to prepare and qualify its descendants to solve the problems of the next generation, must provide more liberally for them through its system of educa-

tion. There are few who claim that this cannot be done. They are disturbed by the millions of children who are now in the public schools, and by the enormous cost of public education.

It is conceivable that the increased cost may be met by the increased wealth. There has always been a direct relation between improvement in education and increase in the wealth of the people. There are those who feel that our present system of taxation is antiquated, and that a thorough-going revision of it is imperative. The federal government has already provided forms of taxation for the purpose of uncovering sequestered properties and of raising new revenues. Taxes are now assessed on incomes, inheritances, profits, occupations, and luxuries. Commissioner Claxton recently stated that the total luxury bill of the United States last year was approximately \$22,500,000,000, or nearly thirteen times as much as the total cost of all kinds of education. He declared that approximately three hundred millions of this was spent for face powder and cosmetics; that the total cigarette bill was about eight hundred millions; tobacco and snuff, eight hundred millions; and cigars, five hundred millions—a total of two billion, one hundred million for tobaccos, or about six hundred millions more than we shall spend for all kinds of education next year. In 1870 we spent approximately \$201,000 for the training of our teachers; in 1920 we spent twenty-seven millions. Last year we spent about fifty million dollars for chewing gum. To say that we cannot support public education liberally is ridiculous.

We can make this old world a better world to live in, but it will be expensive. The expense, however, will be insignificant in comparison to the enormous gains society will receive from it. We used to say that the common schools are the hope of the country. I would say that popular education is the hope of the world. The United States, by virtue of its position, power, and influence among the nations, has a peculiar obligation to discharge and that is the obligation of showing the world that public good rests upon general education. Our great duty is that of assisting in rebuilding the temple of civilization. No temple can be rebuilt by the uneducated and untrained. It can arise stronger and finer than it has ever been, safer and more secure in every way, only as we provide more knowledge, more art, more human contacts, higher and finer moral and spiritual relations. The price is great, but none too great.

PUBLIC WELFARE AND PUBLIC SCHOOLS

Professor Henry C. Morrison, School of Education, University of Chicago

We are the only great nation in the world which has committed itself to a program of free general education from kindergarten to university, inclusive. Except in very few instances, none of our educational institutions, neither public nor private, is self-supporting. Our policy has grown up out of the conviction, widely held in the early days and now, that popular education is the chief bulwark of our free institutions. Our formula has been, "You can govern an ignorant folk, but only the educated can govern themselves." And so there has come to be a well-established body of common law which holds, in effect, that taxation to an unlimited extent may be laid for the support of public education, on the ground always that public education is a part of the defences of the commonwealth. Judges have ordinarily refused to scrutinize the

actual ground of appropriation made in the name of education. So long as the legislature has held appropriations to be for the protection of the state, the courts have been indisposed to go behind the claim. Indeed in law the public school exists for the public welfare.

As we look back, particularly over the last century and a quarter of our history, we have much reason to be grateful for the beneficent results which have flowed from our traditional policy. Not until recently have our plans become sufficiently near the ideal of universal education to give us cause to take thought and call in question the possibility of carrying out so magnificent a scheme on the lines which have been laid down. We have gone on building schoolhouses which, as a class, are more luxurious than anything the world has ever seen, providing elaborate equipment, founding institutions with little regard to the actual need, including in the curriculum the whole field of human erudition with uncritical regard to its value in the education of the young and the making of citizens.

Meantime, we are confronted with the staggering cost of the war for the preservation of our institutions, a cost so great that it is beyond our conception, and for that reason comparatively unimpressive—a cost which nevertheless must be paid.

We may well pause and ask ourselves what portion of our education, if any, actually does in fact contribute to the public welfare by making intelligent, conscientious citizens.

Meantime we have taken for granted the core of all human training, which is the teacher, and the object of all education, which is the child and the youth.

A brilliant Englishman has recently held up to our enthusiastic gaze a vision of education and conduct of schools in which all instructions shall be imparted by mechanical appliances invented and, I suppose, edited by a comparatively few very highly paid people, and operated in the schoolroom by individuals sufficiently trained to ring the bell, to keep order, and to turn on the machine. The idea is not new to Americans. For have we not been par excellence the textbook-educated people of the world, most texts being written on the actual theory that if the teacher knows enough to assign the lesson, she knows enough to teach?

Now in the common sense of mankind and in the mind of the critical student of education alike, one factor in the process of education stands out as indispensable, and only one—the teacher.

Numerous expansions of public schools and educational institutions during the last thirty years, their houses and equipment, and the neglect of the teaching force, have brought it to pass that we have by far the most elaborate program in the world, supported by a highly uneducated and untrained body of teachers. A recent report of the United States Commissioner of Education has estimated that about one-third of the teaching force of the country has a minimum of training and two-thirds no professional training at all. Careful study of the situation state by state has led competent investigators to hazard the statement that four-fifths of all the teachers in the United States have less than the minimum acceptable education and training.

If then our whole educational effort is really to contribute to the public welfare, as it has been historically expected to do, it is perfectly clear that we must, as a nation, review the situation, come down out of the clouds, and erect schools which can, and which do, actually contribute to the public welfare. That means, as I see it, three major items.

In the first place, it means the overhauling of our whole unrelated, unco-ordinated system, which at present contains incongruous elements brought in from England and Germany, in the main, with very little left which is strictly indigenous; and build an out-and-out American system, the foundation of which shall be a citizenship school, the indigenous common school of our forefathers, if you please. We ought to agree to exclude from that school everything which has not a perfectly clear claim to be an effective agency in the upbuilding of intelligent, useful, happy citizenship. We ought to insist that that school shall have its place for everybody, and that it shall in no wise be hampered or controlled by the requirements of higher institutions. I can think of it as a very thorough-going enterprise, extending up to the end of the compulsory school period—not eight grades, nor six grades, nor ten grades, but a single school.

Just after the war there came over the country a very much belated wave of financial recognition of the teacher's calling. For the first time in history a great many communities are paying the teachers adequately—adequately even for trained people. When young normal school graduates can start at an initial salary of from \$1,500 to \$2,000, it is hard to say that they are not adequately paid. It is doubtless true that veteran teachers are not yet paid enough to make teaching an object of the ambition of the best American stock. Nevertheless, failure to do so represents no lack of willingness on the part of our people but a lack of means.

We are living in a fool's paradise if we expect the school and the school system to contribute to the public welfare except we guarantee that none but the well-educated and well-trained shall enter the schoolroom. Better no school at all than a school with an incompetent behind the teacher's desk. As I see some of the young people today who are going into the schoolrooms at salaries which seem almost beyond the dreams of avarice to those of us who began a quarter of a century ago, I sometimes wonder if we are not "paying too much for our whistle." People who expect to be well paid in money, and other of this world's goods, must expect to be worthy and well qualified. Having given them a substantial initial salary, the public has a right to demand the most thorough-going kind of training and for that purpose the public must provide practical, thorough-going institutions for the training of teachers for our citizenship school, and that requires money.

Whatever question may be raised as to the economic possibility of supporting our whole program of free education, we can raise no question as to the citizenship school and the training of its teachers. The school must be free; it must be universal; the opportunities for all children must be equal. We can do no less and still keep American institutions. Whatever may finally be the part of the federal government in education, we have got to depend upon the federal government in the main for the training of teachers, for the simple reason that it has appropriated to itself the only source of taxes out of which schools in general can be expanded. We are so accustomed to look at education in a parochial, or at least in a provincial way, that we fail to realize that public education for the public welfare is more a national concern than it is a local concern.

One is impressed with what might be if the national government would do its duty, when he compares the cost of our proposed armament program with what it costs to train teachers. We have a single item on our naval program—to wit, six battle cruisers at an estimated cost of \$240,000,000. Do you realize that the cost of those six boats alone would furnish every state in the Union with a school of educa-

tion as good as that with which I have the honor to be connected, not as good as it is, but as good as we should like to have it? More than that, it would surround these schools of education with regional state normal schools as good as the best we now have, so far as we can make them the best. To me that is a very clear picture of the choice which lies before this country: a mad race for military supremacy, or teachers really trained to make really free and really intelligent citizens.

This brings me to my final point and one which is more intimately related to the activities with which this conference is specially concerned. We ought to have teachers who are trained not only to teach but also trained to be intelligent about the wreckage of humanity. You are concerned with the dependent, the defective, the delinquent. A large number of these cases might never exist if the school had been equipped to do what it might do. In your generosity you think that if the school educates (vague term), that is all it need be asked to do. The school is there to make citizens—intelligent, free, happy. There is no social agency we have in which all the lines of social work cross as they do in the school. The teacher may know an incipient case of delinquency or a distressful family situation before any other worker in the community. She might be able to identify the moron before he has committed the misdeeds which have led to his ultimate diagnosis. Nor am I picturing any ideal situation. We have the material, the procedure, the technique. It only needs to be taught to the teacher to such an extent that she can be intelligent about her welfare cases, make proper diagnosis and bring them to the attention of the proper specialist.

And so I think it is only common sense that we should have in all our schools of education and in all our state and city normal schools, thorough-going courses in social work, with the thought in mind that the essential part of teaching is oversight, care, and guidance of the human material committed to the teacher's charge, not merely assigning and hearing the lesson.

Democracy makes a queer world. We think it the most obvious of statements to assert that what is everybody's business is nobody's business. In truth, actuality compels us to reverse that statement. What is everybody's business will never be done unless everybody does it himself. I fancy that you think it strange that the educator should appeal to a social work conference for help in education. In the long run, public education, social work, every kind of endeavor which makes for the betterment of society, can get things done only as each understands the other's aims and as each supports the other.

DIVISION VI—INDUSTRIAL AND ECONOMIC PROBLEMS

INTRODUCTORY STATEMENT

Sophonisba P. Breckinridge, Chairman

This division does not present a formal report. To do that would require an estimate of the misery and dislocation of the industrial and economic order as they weighed upon our hearts and challenged our intelligence a year ago, and a comparison of that estimate with the corresponding estimate of the chaos and disorganization prevailing today.

The third year since the armistice was signed is now half gone. We are not yet at peace with Germany, nor can we trade with Russia with whom we were never at

\$25 in my pocket. The agreement with my friends was that if that \$25 were gone before I succeeded in getting a job, then it would be up to me to spend at least six months as a hobo; and to my amazement I found there in the streets of that city in January of 1919 hundreds and thousands of men walking the streets of the city, on whose faces you could read as plainly as if it were written there with indelible ink, these terrible words, "When you haven't anything, there ain't no job for you." And after I had gone out into the suburbs, and everywhere had been told the same thing, that through all the war contracts having been cancelled and the big peace orders waiting on cheaper steel, there were no jobs to be had, I was in a position to appreciate just exactly how awful it was. I came into the labor gang employment office one morning, and I heard the clerk say, "Where was you, Bill? I just gave out twenty-eight whites and twenty-eight blacks by the railway job, and I was looking for you. Where was you?" Bill said, "Oh, my God, I have been here hour after hour, day after day, and I just stepped out for five minutes to see a friend, and now this has happened. Oh, my God!"

A few days later I was in a position to appreciate just how terrible the experience was for I had the same thing happen to me, and then the clerk added, "Well, if you will be here tomorrow morning, you and Bill, you might take your chance on a job for the day in the labor gang in the place of a man or two that don't happen to come out for that one single day."

You bet your life I was there. I was there half an hour ahead of time; and I give you my word that I got the shock of my young life when I found seventy-five others ahead of me waiting for the same chance. I think it was one of the longest and one of the most serious hours I ever put in, because, just the day before, I had passed the gang warming their hands by the stoves furnished by the railroad company and had been able to count almost to the hour the length of time that I had before me before I would have to join their open-air country club. Something of that same thing seemed to be in the mind of everyone of these men, because everybody stood there, waiting, with his eyes glued right on that place where the labor gang-boss was to appear, ready and hunched up, hoping that they might be taken on for today—everybody waiting, hoping, but mostly fearing. When he came, this silence was broken; for after he had taken his men—"I will take you, and you there, and you big fellow come on," and he had gone in—then you should have heard a lot of polite conversation about Columbia the Gem of the Ocean. "Look at those hands," one fellow said; "look at those hands! Ain't them good enough to earn a living for my wife and kids? And I have been praying day after day for a job, and I can't get it. Ain't this a hell of a country?"

One fellow said, "It is the blanked Democrats doing it." Another fellow said "Oh, 'ell, it's the Republicans"; and a third man grew very much worse in his tirade about the capital of the country. There he stood with all the capital he had in the world, mostly his muscles, ready to take a job anywhere, and ready and willing to put it down in exchange for the bread and butter and the self-respect that go to the possessor, to the proud possessor of a job.

You cannot begin to see the world as the unskilled workman and even the skilled man must see it, except as you look at it through his eyes or through those of the man who must have a job today, and who must also, if at all possible, have a job tomorrow; and if we could somehow get that into our system, then we could begin to understand

why men have some of these peculiar queernesses in their minds with regard to facts and circumstances as they are. I talked with one man in London who had had three days' work in six weeks, and he said some mighty unkind words about Lloyd George. I said, "How about the fellows down on the dock? They had work and were getting fifty shillings a day on piece-work, carrying frozen beef that came from the Argentine." He came back at me and said, "Yuss, I know them piece-work fellies. They're fellies that do three days work in one. They're traitors to their clawss. They tikes the bread and butter outa the mouths of the women and kids of such honest workmen as you and me. But wot do they care so long as they get theirs, and the rest of us can bloody well starve!"

The second important thing that seems to me to come out in this matter is the unholy alliance between "tiredness" and "temper." I want it borne in mind that a tired body and a tired mind come from the long hours of work. I cannot possibly take time to go into the details of the way a man feels as the result of a twelve-hour day in the steel business, especially when it is added to by the eighteen-hour Sunday or by the twenty-four-hour Sunday. I am hoping and believing, and have assurances from high quarters that within the next year the twelve-hour day is likely to be done away with in the steel industry.

That something must come also from bad living conditions came very forcefully to me in one place where they had an eighteen-hour Sunday, and the only place to live that I could find was a room through which all the roomers had to pass on their way to the bathroom, and through which also all the ventilation had to pass on its way from the bathroom. There were thousands of men living under those conditions; and I am persuaded that a tired man cannot do his part toward making an efficient industry simply because he is paid for the delivery of energy which he cannot possibly deliver because he hasn't got it to deliver; and I am sure also that such a man is bound to make an inefficient and dangerous citizen, just because a tired mind doesn't want to think, and this condition is sure to result in a feeling of meanness and other nasty grouchy, dangerous feelings.

Then the third thing is the tremendous ignorance I found in the worker's mind as to the plans, the purposes, and the ideals of his employer; but this I found also equalled by the ignorance on the other side, an ignorance on which is built a great wall of suspicion and distrust. But I must not take time to go into details. I want to say that in spite of this tremendous trend of unemployment and this tremendous fear of the loss of the job that hangs over the heads of so many thousands of workers in this country, I believe there is a tremendously important connection between tiredness and temper; and in spite of this tremendous wall of distrust and suspicion reared upon the platform of ignorance, in spite of those three things I have mentioned, I am convinced that the average workman is not a Bolshevik, and never will wish under present conditions to be a Bolshevik; but I do think we ought to recognize that there is going on in the world today a tremendously important selling contest. If you are going to sell to the thirty millions of workmen in this country, you will have to see that they are prospects and that they are your best customers in this selling contest. In comparison with this whole platform upon which I am standing you could represent by something the size of only my fist the men who are trying to sell to this body of prospects the belief that the only way they can get all the things they want is by means of a sudden, bloody revolution; and then you would have to represent by something the

else of this tells the men, employers, and foremen, white-collared people like yourself, who are trying to sell to that same body the belief that the better way for them to gain their commodities and their necessities is by means of a gradual evolution.

There ought not to be any particular danger as to the result of a selling contest of that sort, and there would not be save for this one thing; that is, that this salesman of the "left," this representative of revolution, is a better salesman to those thirty million prospects than we white-collared people are, and just for this one reason—that they better fulfill that first and that final requirement of all good salesmanship, that they always have influence with their customers. It is important that you should be able to understand and appreciate, to some extent at least, their situation, and to respect their viewpoint and their desires and the hankerings which are down there in their hearts and which are so important to them, and which mean so much to them while they live, and move, and have their being. In the Bolshevik you will find a great salesman who understands this one big thing, namely, that the workman lives and moves and has his being there on the job. You ask ten men why they are members of unions, and nine of them will surely come back to this matter of the job and say, "If I go on the job, then the foreman, if he don't feel right or if he didn't have a good night's sleep or if he has quarreled with his family, he will say, 'Get out of here, you are fired,' and I have to go; but if I am a member of the union, I say, 'Where do you get that stuff?' I will have my business agent talk to you in the morning."

We might never have made it possible for men to feel the necessity of having a protective association of that sort; and if today there are many employers who feel that some unions have gone too far and taken up offensive rather than defensive operations, those employers have very much of the responsibility for that upon their own shoulders. I believe that there is no single influence which so severely and increasingly works for revolution as the unstable, irregular job.

Glasgow has the reputation of being the most Bolshevik part of Great Britain. I found men there working in the steel-shipyards, and the bone of the shipyard industry is its irregularity. I found there tens of thousands of men working on the ship docks, and I too, have waited with them hour after hour at those docks, and have gone to the dock in the morning, and finally have waited on those docks week after week with them wondering whether we would get a job or not. That one fellow who said those terrible words, "Well, it would seem to me to be the very best kind of a world that any man could want, to get out of bed in the morning and know a job was waiting for him."

I found this position of timorous and vague threat a very great part also in making these men revolutionaries in Glasgow, because there are no thousands of men, women, and children that have lived for years in one or two room apartments in Liverpool that have built up housing tracts ago. And you are very much interested how these men would be very unhappy, but because they are getting these tractors and engines, which as I said, may make us comfortable and in Glasgow there are all sorts of machines.

Now you understand how the irregularity of the job and how the time conditions will determine very much the way in which a man will. "Well, it was understood that the docks would not be a full time work of week because they were 'not a machine'?" That is right, but because they are not a machine they are not a machine that they can be replaced or changed, and it is this quality that makes the job even harder.

ized by years of irregular work. One man said, "Irregular work, I have found, always makes an irregular worker; and an irregular worker is bound to be an irregular citizen."

When you have bad living conditions, you will find men taking an interest in, and linking up arms with, our old friend John Barleycorn, because there is a very close connection between a bad job, an irregular job, bad living conditions, and Barleycorn.

I have in mind an old fellow who sat outside of the employment office in Duluth, who said, "Of course you drinks lots of whiskey in the lumber camps, because the drunker you be, the less you will be minding of the flies and the bugs; and when you sober up, you are used to them."

Quite naturally there in Glasgow, you find a perfectly outrageous amount of drunkenness, such that when I went to visit the slums on a Saturday night, I not only looked as drunk as I could, but I also staggered, because it is absolutely true that there are certain parts of Glasgow where if a fellow visiting around on Saturday looks sober, he is regarded with suspicion. You can go from Glasgow, where you see men being demoralized by bad jobs and bad living conditions, to the center of the British steel industry, and find men there in a state of continual agitation. I went to the local round-house, and a man said to me, "Perhaps you can help me save my job, because if I do not get some of the steel men into our radical unions for revolution at the end of this year, I have got to go some place else." I said, "You are up against it simply because the public and the employers are better salesmen than you are, because they have given these men protection against this terrible T.N.T., this awful explosive powder of tiredness and temper, by cutting out the twelve-hour days; and since March, 1919, they have had an eight-hour day." They also have given them four- and six-room houses, sometimes with bath, and a good wage, graduated to the selling price of steel.

I have been talking about the unsteadiness of the job; I have been talking about the connection between bodily states and mental states; and I have been talking about this question of misunderstanding. I want to talk about this further thing, namely, that every workman, like every one of the rest of us, wants somehow to feel that his life is worth while, and that the things he is doing are things worth while. The workman wants, more than he wants anything else, the feeling that he has a share of responsibility, of worthwhileness on the job. I learned this when I was taken for promotion into the millwright gang. I thought I was doing just exactly what the laborer would do when I asked, "How much more do I get?", and when he told me I would get only two cents an hour more, I thought, Far be it from me to get "het up" about it. But the moment I took my wrench in one hand and my oil can in the other and walked past my old buddies, I made a sensation. They were all there, Italians, Greeks, Slavs, Poles, Mexicans, and all the rest of them; every one of them stood there in amazement at my good luck.

That same thing is true in the coal mines. So when I went to South Wales and got my job and found the place in the hands of the Bolsheviks, with the men on strike, and windows broken all over the place, I began to go through my formula. I said, "It cannot be the irregular job because these men have regular shifts; it cannot be this matter of tiredness and temper because they work seven hours; it cannot be a matter of misunderstanding. It must be a matter of self-respect. The men want to feel their importance on the job, or rather I should say, they want to feel that their importance on the job is being properly respected. I found that true, because when

old Evan Pugh and I found ourselves as laborers, we found that the mechanics felt that they were a bit above the haulers, and the hauler's wife had an edge on the wife of the miner, and the clerk's wife at the office had it over the wife of the miner, and so down the line; so that Pugh and myself found ourselves in the very cellar or basement of the whole social structure. It is true that on this one proposition, social levels always follow job levels. And even old Evan Pugh—you could just see how he swelled up as we worked there, just like the doctor does when he comes into the sickroom, and everybody says, "Yes, doctor," and "No, doctor." He often would say to me, "Stawnd you not by there! Stawnd you quick by 'ere! For if it fall by 'ere, it 'ave to bounce by there!" And I would obey him with alacrity. Just as the fireman said to me one night when he was explaining the whole thing as we sat in a group, "Yusterday the oonder-manager do come to me and sye to me, 'Pugh, that been a good job!' And I do sye to 'im, 'In forty-three year I been in this pit; in forty-three year thot do be the first time thot any mon do sye to me, 'Pugh, thot been a good job.'" And another man took it up and said, "Oh, aye. Oh, aye, thot been it; look you. Every man do know that for a kindly word a mon will work 'is guts out. But every mon do know thot no dog be 'ave well for a mon with a w'ip. Awnd ev'ry mon o' feelin' and sensibility do know thot for 'im the w'ip o' the tongue and the lash o' the lip been worse nor any w'ip on any dog."

I have in mind one old fellow that knew that he was slipping, because every day the foreman would give him an easier job, and in the evening when I would meet him at the bar, he would say to me what a wonderful career he had had and tell me about this job, and how he had done things up on that job. I said, "Well, how much do you like to drink?" He drew himself up and said, "Oh, I just like to drink enough to get the feeling of my old position back, like, you know."

I say that there are thousands and thousands of men drinking today because they do not get the chance to keep their self-respect on the job. I see no hope of ever making the Volstead Act and the Eighteenth Amendment stick until we get back to the source of men's troubles and put working conditions and living conditions where they should be. I have in mind the story of the carpenter. He was working every day in the aeroplane factory, and every day while he was there, the management had made it possible for him to have the feeling that he was helping to make this aeroplane a completed thing, whether it ever saw the western front or not. Every man in a situation should be made to feel that way, and there are thousands and thousands of men in this country who have never seen the completed machines, although they have been making the parts of them for years. And that is a tragedy. This carpenter went down to Long Island, and there on the drill grounds for three weeks helped with whatever was to be done, but he got dissatisfied and came back. His friends guyed him and said, "Oh, you got fired, because you would not leave a fine job like that, with more money and less work, unless you got fired." And of course he would not if all that honor means is in the pay envelope. But this carpenter said, "No, I didn't get fired. What do you think them guys had the nerve to ask me to do? They wanted me to spend two weeks of my time, and my ability, and my tools that I have been collecting all my life, and take all them things, and pack together some rough boards into a room over in the park, and then they would get one of their big cannon, going fourteen miles a minute, and blow the whole damn thing to pieces. They don't want to try to make a monkey out of me."

We make a tremendous mistake when we say that these men are skilled workers, because I say every man clear down to the very bottom of our whole industrial structure is trying to justify himself as a man by what he does, and I have the exact wording of the secretary of the International Hoboes' Union on this point. Before I talked to the secretary of the International Hoboes' Union, it was always my understanding that a hobo and a tramp were the same thing; but he said, "You don't suppose I would be a tramp, do you? Do you realize this country of ours could not get along without us hoboes? Do you suppose Minnesota could afford to pay men to stick around all summer because it needs them in the winter for the lumber, or do you suppose that Oklahoma could afford to keep us around all winter because it needs us for the harvesting in the fall? We are migratory workers who go from place to place, and we don't believe in spending money recklessly on railroad fares." He said, "A tramp is a man who walks from job to job because he don't give a rap whether he ever gets there or not, and nobody else does. If you give him a job he will take it periodically and pass on." "But don't ever make the mistake of letting a tramp see that you do not know the difference between him and a bum, because," he said, "Good Lord, a tramp is miles above a bum, because a bum is a man who neither rides, nor walks nor works."

I wonder how many of you know or appreciate that even under normal conditions, one-fifth of the time of the average worker is spent in unemployment. The average man wants to hold a job because he takes more pride in that than he does in eating his daily bread.

Some of you may ask if I think that capital is to blame, and others of you may ask if I think that labor is to blame. What I can say is that we are all to blame, and it is about time we stopped the system of trying to pass the buck to the other fellow. I would like to say to social workers particularly, that there is a tremendous connection between men's minds and men's bodies, and that you cannot possibly move men forward to the place where you would like to see them so long as you overlook this fact and consider that it is none of your business what the men are doing there on their job. It is there men have to meet conditions, there is where men have to meet complications, and there is where men have to meet the exigencies of modern life, because the conditions of their living are very largely the result of conditions which they must meet on the job. No one can make better men except as they see the necessity of helping toward making better jobs. We must see that they are given a larger amount of respectability; and particularly is this true of the younger workers, and then for the older workers we must try to increase the amount of security there on the job. The laboring man must have a larger measure of opportunity and a larger measure of security. Those are the things he is after in industry.

Those seem to me to be very vital things, and things which ought to touch our hearts as social workers. I think we must have a better understanding in some way in our minds and show the worker that we have sympathy in our hearts; and I am afraid perhaps the only way we can get that larger understanding and wider sympathy is to realize that the world today is in danger. Last summer when old John and I were going down to work, our friends that should have been working were singing valiantly about the beauties of the red flag of revolution; and when men do that, there is danger. And when we got down under the earth with our lamps, when we got down to the bottom and were walking up and down a hole through the darkness, we would come

to a certain place where old John would motion to the roof and put his finger to his lips, meaning that the roof was in such dangerous condition that the sound of the human voice might bring the whole place down upon our ears. As they sang about the beauties of the red flag of revolution, little slivers of slate came down upon our own heads and shoulders, and I could not help but wonder whether Great Britain would be able to stand the tremendous strain to which it was being put—and, believe me, it is being put to an enormously greater strain now. I feel sure of this: If the roof of Great Britain ever cracks and gives under that strain, then the roof of America is in danger. It is a time of danger; and just because it is a time of danger, it seems to me tremendously important that we should realize that we do not get anywhere by saying to capital, "It is all your fault," or by saying to labor, "It is all your fault," or by capital or labor telling each other that it is the fault of the other. The public, of course says, "It is not our fault at all; it is just capital and labor." But I think every one of us is trying to duck the proposition of tackling the job of trying to give a larger measure of understanding and good will toward the other fellow.

You go down into the coal mining districts for a few days and see the men standing around idly; finally the great whistle gives one, two, three blasts; and before the echoes have died the men are saying, "Thank God, work tomorrow!" Because today in this country, even under normal and good conditions, men cannot possibly work full time. I could tell you of countless experiences of men in those regions, men who do not talk English perhaps, men who know what it means not to be able to hear that whistle blow. When they hear the whistle that tells them there will be no work tomorrow, knowing that they have their wives and families and their little children to take care of, they run their hands through their hair, and they say, "My God, what can I do? How can I live? No work, no work tomorrow!"

What these men want is regularity of employment, not unemployment or less employment. They say that if every man in the country should mine five days a week and six hours a day, they could produce not only as much coal as they produce now, but 35 per cent more. I have in mind a man who made an appeal from the very bottom of his heart, when he said, "For nine year I work in this country, all the time same place, all the time same job. Six months ago come no work, have no job. Every day go down plant, want job, and no job come. Wife sick; flu; doctor say she no can live; baby come; baby die; wife she going die; hospital she cost \$40 a week; I got \$1; no work here; make only \$3 a week; I no can pay."

We ought to be ashamed of ourselves if we tried to get out of solving a problem of this sort. I remember one man on the London docks who said, "Wul, I'll sye this to yer. If 'arf of us wuz dogs 'twould be a better world than 'tis now, cuz dogs is true and men eyent." Their problems are our problems, and if we want to solve them and help the worker, we must go hand in hand with him, because his fight is ours, his God is our God, his danger is our danger, his roof is our roof.

In conclusion, the thought I desire to leave with you is this: that if we can, somehow or other, get a little more understanding, have a little clearer and cooler head, and a little warmer heart in our attitude toward the workman, then we will find in him a tremendous wealth of co-operation.

ORGANIZING IMMIGRANT AND UNSKILLED LABOR

*Sidney Hillman, President, Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America,
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When the subject-matter of "Organizing Immigrant Workers" was assigned to me for discussion nearly a year ago, I felt rather ambitious to appear before you here tonight. The wisdom of Congress has since solved that problem. There are no more immigrants to come. It is true that the 3 per cent proportion may be as effective in solving the problem of immigration as the 2.75 per cent was effective in other legislation, but at least we have solved the problem for a few days. Those among organized labor, who have been praying for this kind of legislation are definitely assured that now there will be a job for everyone who seeks a job; that now there will be no more immigration. There is a grave danger, in my judgment, when remedies like these are proposed to solve problems that are confronting us and will continue to confront us unless we go deeply into the causes, boldly examine them, and then courageously try to find a solution. The easiest method for solving a problem is by giving it a name, and then finding fault with it. Everything that we do not like is the fault of the foreigners; it is the work of paid agents of the Bolsheviks.

The trouble with the leaders of organized labor is just that. I said once that if one or two or three men can make hundreds of thousands of people leave their jobs, there is something wrong with those jobs. Whether it is Foster or Gompers or any other man, there are no individuals with sufficient power to create those upheavals, if conditions do not exist, responsible for them. While there may be a question as to what in particular is bothering labor, what is on the mind and in the heart of labor, I think that one thing is definitely established: that labor refuses to go on under the present established rules of the game, and whether we like it or not is not of the greatest importance. After all, the function of industry is production. Some people have to do the work of the world. If labor refuses to go on with its function, and industry stops, it is idle and foolish to try to solve the problem by calling this or the other group "foreigners," "Bolsheviks," or what not. I feel that in the great struggle going on, none of us can afford to stand idly by. Too much is at stake. At times one feels that the very foundation of civilization is at stake, and it is the duty of everyone to examine the different proposals, and then help formulate a healthy public opinion, so that the proper courses of action may be followed.

Just a short while ago we had a tremendous struggle in the steel mills, and for some reason or other, most of the newspapers formulated public opinion. The public was brought to the help of the man controlling the destinies of the men and women in the mills. The critic found the twelve-hour day, and its evils responsible for the helplessness and hopelessness of the workers of the mills; I feel that the public has just as great a responsibility for the continuation of the twelve-hour day in the mills as have those who are in charge of the policies of the United States Steel Corporation.

And so I shall try, not to make a plea for organization, but to bring to you briefly some facts, that may be helpful to you in coming to a decision. We all know that evils exist. I believe especially you who come in daily contact with the housing problem and the undernourishment and other kinds of things all know that those things are ill. The question then is, by what means can we escape? I believe the facts brought out in the industry with which I have had the privilege to be connected and whose

men and women, organized and working in the industry I have the privilege to represent, are of the utmost importance.

The clothing industry has been known as the sweat-shop industry. The statistics gathered by the Labor Bureau for the year 1914 show that ten thousand women in the clothing industry at that time, when at work every day in the week, from fifty-two hours upward, were making less than \$5.00 a week. If you take into consideration the fact that the clothing industry, like many other industries, was highly seasonal, and that eight months a year in some markets was a fairly reasonable period of work, you have the picture before you. I do not believe that we have to go very far to draw our conclusions. Ten thousand women making on the average throughout the year a little over \$3.00 a week! With all the legislation, with all the investigations, we always found that the conditions remained about the same. These were conditions right at the bottom of the ditch. They could not go much below, because they had struck bottom. And there you have the question of hours of work, of housing conditions, of health, and of good education and citizenship.

I heard that one of our Senators in an investigation in the city of Pittsburgh was very much outraged against the lack of appreciation in this country of its institutions, when the worker, after slaving for twelve hours a day, did not go and find somewhere a night school after twelve o'clock midnight. You also understand that this status of the worker is completely dependent on this set formation, and at times comes very near the status of slavery.

Today the clothing industry is 90 per cent organized. Our last records show a total membership for our organization of 177,000 men and women in the men's clothing industry. The hours of work have been shortened to the eight-hour day, and half a holiday on Saturday. We have the forty-four hour week throughout the country. The status has been raised to a level where it at least permits the worker to earn a living wage while at work. The rule of equal distribution of work, so the workers know when there is work that they will all participate in it equally as little as there is, is recognized throughout the industry. And what is to my mind most important is that the workers through their organization have received a recognition in industry which approaches the status of citizenship in industry. I don't care how good jobs may be. While it is well that the jobs should be as good as they can be possibly made, no matter how high the compensation, how short the hours, I am convinced that labor will never accept a condition in industry less than citizenship.

Labor is a large part of industry. Labor has responsibility in industry. Because of that it demands, and rightly so, that with this responsibility, there be also rights, undeniable rights that cannot be taken away by the will and whim of the employer, rights that must be guaranteed by the power of an organization, and not left to depend on the good will of the employer. We have established in our industry what we call governmental agencies, government in industry. We do not claim that we have invented something new. We simply are trying to bring into our industry those institutions that have worked so well in our political life, institutions that even employers, who still hope to hold labor in subjection profess to believe in. We simply say if those institutions are good in political life, by all means let us bring them into industrial life as well. And so we brought in that legislation through joint conferences between the employers and the workers, and we have established executive branches to bring the legislation into life. We have established a permanent forum of every-day arbitra-

tion that takes the place of the courts, not to make laws, but to interpret the legislation agreed upon by labor and the representatives of capital, by which not a single man or woman may lose his or her job unless there is cause for it. I do not believe that any man has the right to deprive his fellow-man of a job unless there is good cause for it. We have enacted this into our legislation, and every worker has a right to come with his or her complaint to the board of arbitration, to the trade boards. Formerly whenever there was trouble in the industry regardless of what the trouble or the cause of it was, some were called radicals and revolutionists and what not. I suppose that none of us understand what the two terms mean today (I heard someone suggest that even Gary is not quite sound and sane) and that now under the new efficiency it is a matter of relativity after all—nothing fundamental.

What happened to the industry since labor gained recognition, since the forum was organized? This: since the agreements have been made there has not been a single interruption of work wherever those agreements have prevailed; under the war conditions, and post-war conditions, there has not been a single strike in the clothing industry where there were agreements. And so when you try to examine it, it is highly important to find out which practice in industry is the most desirable from the point of view of the public—the Gary type, which has stopped the wheels of industry, which has made it possible for a few men to call off hundreds of thousands of people, or the other form of government in industry which has made it possible for men and women to go on and work and settle their differences in a way that may be called at least more civilized. Now, we have these two contending forces. One is the force of the old scheme that desires to give no recognition to labor, the force that recognizes the double standard, one standard for employers and the other standard for labor. I consider it a privilege to belong to the group that is termed *labor*.

We find that on occasions there is no law that may not be violated if it affects labor. The constitution, with all of its provisions, may be nullified by the first policeman, or even by a hired gangster, as long as it is against labor. Let me just for two seconds give you my experience. At least in certain quarters I am still considered fairly respectable, so that on occasions I receive invitations to address meetings. There happened to be a little strike in Utica, New York, and in my capacity as president of the organization, I went there to address the meeting. When I came into the city of Utica, three gentlemen said to me, "Are you Mr. Hillman?" I said, "Yes." "Oh, get out." They just took me by the arms as a sign of courtesy or something else, and carried me bodily into the train, and insisted that I have their company until the next station. There was no law. There was no question I could get into the city but in the meantime that particular strike might be broken. This is the status of labor.

And so I say there are these two forces—one trying to hold labor in place, which, in plain language, means at the bottom of the ditch, in the sweat-shop, which, at times, you would term the open-shop, and sometimes dignify by "the American plan." It is the same thing. It is the absolute autocratic power of the employer to dictate terms. The other is to fight for the recognition of the status of the men and women in industry as well as in politics, and that struggle will go on until it is settled, and settled right. All of us have to make up our minds which is in the direction of best public policy.

There should be no agencies for investigating poor housing conditions. After all who wants to live in a poor home? Why should people select those places without

ventilation, air, and light? Why can't we make them feel that another place is a better place to live in?

Now, labor is not merely pleading for its cause. It is determined to fight for it. What I want to say to you is this: that in my judgment this fight is a fight in the interest of the public.

In the clothing industry, after we spent all our energies for organization, and kept the wheels of industry moving, as soon as the great industrial depression came, a large group of our employers were carried away by the open-shop movement. They all became interested in Americanizing the industry. The people who worked for them for years and years, the people whom they were instrumental in bringing over here, were no more good Americans, were not good enough for them, and a lockout was declared against our organization, a lockout involving at one time sixty-five to seventy thousand people, people who were out for months because of non-employment. In this lockout was a demonstration of the struggle. Labor was fighting for what? Our demands were, "We want this system of law and order in industry, we want government in industry, we want legislation in place of dictation, we want to preserve the forty-four hour week, the living wage: we do not want a permit to bring back the sweat-shop. The employers attacked the organization to destroy it, so that the old conditions might be brought back. What happened to the public? Here was a vital issue that the public was deeply interested in. Whether your associates have less or more work depended on the outcome of that lockout. What happened? Some of the newspapers could not say anything else but that this was an attempt of Lenin and Trotsky to bring in a soviet form of government in New York. It is to the credit of the newspapers in this struggle that the greatest number of them did not print this, and did not permit others to mislead them in the situation. What happened to the agencies representing the public—the courts? The employers went to the courts and prayed for injunctions. The courts did not bother at all about these. On purely technical interpretation, one judge, quoting the law of 1809, issued an injunction in 1921. Another judge went so far as to say that the courts must represent capital in its struggle against labor. About twelve injunctions, perhaps more, were issued against us. You understand that the courts were no more bystanders in the situation, after they had authority delegated to them by the public for the public interests. They went to the help of the employers in the fight for a sweat-shop. Now, it may be that this sweat-shop is good public policy.

The employers went to the courts and asked that we be dissolved, 177,000 people organized to promote our welfare and to get a living wage. They went to the courts and said, "You issue an edict dissolving the organization," and it may be done—not, however, that it can affect the life of an organization. It can dissolve the shell. The will of a people to stand and fight for what is right cannot be dissolved. The workers in the industry have raised during the time of unemployment, nearly two million dollars to sustain that struggle—two million dollars from men and women who were out of work themselves, and tens of thousands of workers stayed out for six or seven months until the employers recognized that they would have to deal on a new basis in the clothing industry.

I believe that what has been accomplished by our organization is completely in the direction of the public will—the improvement in living conditions, the educational programs, and all the other activities that are directed to make better men and women,

men and women who will love the spirit and the purpose of those who brought about the institutions of this country. So I believe that in this great struggle between the two forces, after an examination of the facts, you will find that a sane public policy, which will lead to progressive improvements instead of violent upheavals, a movement that is directed to bring more hope into the lives of the millions of workers who toil, will win; and I hope that you will see as we do that the fight of labor is not only in labor's interest, but in the interest of the community as a whole; and after examining the facts, and reaching your conclusions, you will use all the power at your command to create a public sentiment, for a sane, healthy, and proper labor policy in the country.

CONFERENCE SERMON

THE RELATION OF SOCIAL SERVICE TO THE CHURCH

Rt. Rev. Charles H. Brent, Buffalo

"Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy mind. This is the first and great commandment. And the second is like unto it. Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself. On these two commandments hang all the Law and the Prophets."—Matt. 22:37-40.

This moment of the conference is of solemn and welcome significance, because it is the public recognition that all our social effort springs from and centers in God. It is not a formal hour; it is not, so to speak, a mere nodding to God in order that we may say that we do not forget Him. It is the giving Him first place, and upon that depends the whole value of the efforts to which you and I are putting our hands.

We have been occupied with the second or social department of love. We now swing ourselves up into the first. What I may say to you is of less significance than that moment of silence in which with the honesty of faith we turned our souls to the Source of Being, and thought of our lives as being dependent upon Him. The importance of accent is so well known in other departments of life that it is rather curious we fail to give it proper attention in that which has to do with the more fundamental matters of our life and conduct. Accent makes all the difference, doesn't it, between sense and nonsense, between ugliness and beauty, between right and wrong, between religion and what I would call moral paganism, of which there is not a little in this country. God comes first, persons and things afterward. The emphasis is on the first commandment of love. Nothing can precede it, much less supersede it.

Two years ago the president of Harvard College, in discussing the aftermath of the war, said to me, "We are in for a period of materialism, but," he added, "I hope it will be short." The first part of his prophecy has come true. His hope we trust will be speedily realized. As you and I think of materialism, doubtless we say to ourselves: "Yes, it must be a very terrible ogre to lay hold of life and possess it. I am glad that at any rate I am not the victim of materialism." We picture it as something so repulsive that we would immediately recognize it and turn our backs upon it. But are you quite sure, if this has been the course of your reasoning, that you are not deceiving yourselves? Materialism is anything but an ogre. Materialism is a Delilah dressed in garments that appeal to our finer sensibilities, with a countenance

winsome looking, like an angel of light, and we succumb to her wooing before we are aware that we are in her toils.

Materialism is a wrong accent. It is putting God second, and some thing or some person first. Idolatry is just that, and nothing else; it is putting persons or things in the place of God. Even to put humanity in the place of God is so grave an error that we must, contrary to all our desires, injure our capacity for real service. If it were only the pulpit that was speaking of the necessity of religion today—and by religion I mean putting God before everything else—then it might be that you would say that it is the professional viewpoint, but that is not the case. When we have such men as Bernard Shaw and H. G. Wells and Herbert Croly, hitherto counted secularists, preaching the necessity of making religion the basis of life, then it is time that all of us gave our attention to these new prophets telling old truths. They preach that religion is not an appendage of life but an indispensable foundation. I could quote all three of these writers but I will content myself with a passage from one, Bernard Shaw. He is referring to a possible socialist state, and he says: "All our vital and fundamental laws are religious at root, religion being the foundation of the essential duties. If you have people legislating without any religious foundation, you will get the sort of thing we have had from 1914 to 1920. When irreligious men control affairs the danger of war is greatly increased, especially now that the implements of war are so cheap. That is why Ireland is such a fearful danger to the British Empire. The only remedy for war is conscience, and you won't have conscience until you have religion carefully taught and inculcated." Truly Saul is among the prophets!

You have given me the honorable but extremely difficult responsibility of bringing home this fact to your conscience, in order that all our deliberations and findings may be lifted above the merely human sphere and the loneliness of crude experiment, and become as a sword bathed in heaven, capable of cutting its way through those discouragements and obstacles which always lie between promise and fulfilment, hope and realization. I don't need to be either a seer or sage—and I am neither—to be able to say to you that I know that God is with you. "Inasmuch as you have done it unto the least of these, my little ones, you have done it unto Me." You are servants; you are organized to combat the forces of selfishness; indeed, we might say that this conference stands for organized unselfishness. Moreover, it isn't as though you each were giving your little independent contribution to the great cause. You are bound together and recognized, both by man and by God as a corporate body with a living soul, with a will, with a vitality so great that you yourselves have not yet tested how wonderful it is. The tie that binds us social workers is not artificial or arbitrary. Our conference is its expression rather than its cause. Our relationship is more intimate than that of friends; our annual gathering is—what I shall call it?—a family festival, a coming together for the joy of it, the power of it, the sociability of it. It does not create a unity, which would otherwise not exist; it declares a unity that already is, and reaches after an intimacy that never ceases to develop fresh and enlarged contacts.

"Kindred groups," as they are called, like to find shelter under the family eaves, with reciprocal recognition of, shall it be, first cousinship? Nor do we fail to claim a treasured kinship with that great army of social servants who have not specialized, but whose sympathy and faith and insight make them the light of the world and the salt of the earth. We all gravitate together because of a common hope, and need,

and vision. The great beauty of such a gathering of social workers as we are is that we are inclusive, and we would scorn to be thought exclusive. It is true, isn't it—and you know it perhaps more in detail than most people—that our world of today is complicated and intricate and tangled, and the question is: How are we going to make things better? Now, we are at it in the right way. Simplification comes through co-ordination on the discovery of common principle and inspiration. Simplicity—real simplicity—is never the result of elimination. It is the gathering together and relating to one another of all honest thoughts and words and deeds.

I am sure that the conference must have had the same effect on you that it has had on me. It has tended to deliver me from the crippling self-conceit of mere specialism. I think it was the famous Master of Babliol who once said that "most men live in a corner and see but a little way beyond their own home or place of occupation; they don't lift up their eyes to the hills; they are not awake when the dawn appears." It is in order, in part, to prevent this crippling life of isolation that the conference method has come in, and, I believe, come in to stay. The worker perforce gets new zest if he sees the whole plan of which his own product is a part. It not only helps the finger to be content to do the work of a finger, but also to be glad that it is a finger.

You know as well as I do some of the great defects of our American democracy. I am inclined to think that we are frequently in danger of giving too much importance to officialism, aye, and even to specialism—not that I am against specialism, far from it, but specialism in isolation, that so frequently tends to make specialists become not merely dogmatic, but ultra-dogmatic. The value of all specialism comes out only when it is related to the whole. I have taken a quotation from Scripture, the two great commandments, the twofold commandment of love, and it closes by Christ saying that all the law and the prophets hang on those two commandments. Without them, the specialism of the law and the prophets are of no avail. Now, the law and the prophets gain and do not lose dignity by being put into such a noble relationship; and so it is, not only in relation to social work but to every department of life, the larger our contacts, the more we can recognize just how great a bearing on the whole part has, the more likely are the workers to do their work well.

You have given me a subject—the relation of social service to the Christian church. Perhaps it was put the other way—the relation of the Christian church to social service; but if you will allow me I will restate it in the form I have just read, because, after all, all social service originated in the church. Now, the relationship is that of a child, albeit a grown-up child, to the parent, and the parent is asking for aid that the developed and educated child can give. Unfortunately, in order not to be misunderstood, I shall have to take a few moments to define what is meant by the church. It does not mean the churches. It means something infinitely more than any one church, as we use the term, or all of them put together. Ideally the church is an eternal society which looks to and leans upon God as its living head and accepts His plan of life and conduct for all its members. In the second place, the church is not a synonym for the clergy or for the single generation of Christians now on earth any more than the nation is a synonym for the present administration, or for the population of the United States at this moment. It is an ideal society that lives from age to age, gathering momentum and power as it goes on, surviving all the individuals of any given age or all the ages together. It is not co-terminous with society, but it has a standing mission to the society of every age. In one sense that mission

never changes; in another sense it changes with each new generation, as the problems vary from century to century.

The purpose of the church and the meaning of life are all summed up in the words that I have quoted in the twofold commandment of love. "Love is life, and life is love; and where there is no love there is no life." Love must be twofold. Mystical? Yes. Do not tell me you are not religious; I know the human heart, because I have one. You will never be satisfied unless or until your heart finds rest in mystical relationship with the invisible God. But there is another fellowship and another love, love toward our fellow-men, widening out in increasing circles, so that when at last that timeless time will come when there will be a multitude that no man can number, we shall not be afraid of the multitude because we know we shall find, not lose, ourselves in the multitude and the innumerable friendships which that multitude stands for.

Life is twofold fellowship, and there is no superior definition of life—fellowship with God and fellowship in God with one another. I said that the church was separate from society and yet with a mission to society. There was a time when leaders of the church thought that the true Christian, if he were going to be perfect, would have to retire from the world of men about him, and carve within his soul a perfection, with the help of God and those who were like-minded with himself. That conception of the church has passed. The church, if it is to fulfil its mission, must go out into this great world of progress and make captive for God everything that has been achieved by the mind and the hand of man. Today the special mission of the church is a social one, to give vitality and aid and illumination to those who, like yourselves, are trying to bind up the wounds of a suffering world, to bring comfort to those who are in distress, to aid in the normal development of those lives which are peculiarly blessed.

Now, the church, or rather, I shall say, the special representatives of the church in a given generation have not always been true to their mission. When Sir Thomas More wrote his *Utopia* people criticised it on the score that it was beyond human ability to put into effect. He met his critics in words which are pertinent in our own day: "The greatest part of Christ's precepts are more disagreeing to the lives of the men of this age than any part of my discourse has been; but the preachers seemed to have learned that craft to which you advise me, for they, observing that the world would not willingly suit their lives to the rules that Christ has given, have fitted His doctrine, as if it had been a leaden rule, to their lives, that so, some way or other, they might agree with one another." In part that is true as applied not merely to the clergy but also to the laity of our day. We are alive to the fact, we are ashamed of it, and we are going to change it; but the clergy cannot change it without the help of the laity, because the laity are as much a part of the church as the clergy, and the responsibility is on them as well as upon us. The charge has been made that the clergy are afraid to preach the truth boldly because it may interfere with their immediate interests. That is not a just generalization. It is true that in the first group that Christ chose to represent His Kingdom, there was a traitor—one in twelve. I hope that the proportion has not changed for the worse in succeeding generations.

There is a charge against the clergy of class partisanship, especially in connection with the industrial question. But just as in those early days when there was an attempt to buy spiritual advantage, the response came, "Thy money perish with thee!" So from the lips of some of our generation of clergy who have been submitted to the

indignity of a bribe, have come the words, "Damn your money!" Again let me say, I believe there are very few men who call themselves Christians who would demean themselves in such a way as either directly or indirectly to offer a bribe. I recall one instance where it was stated that the clergy must be properly paid because if they were not they might take a position that was contrary to the established order of society, an order that it was desired to continue by those who had certain vested interests. The insult of it you at once see—if a dog is well fed he is not likely to bite. I believe that both the clergy and laity today are ready to make a bold adventure in the direction of the twofold law of love, not for the sake of their own individual salvation but for the salvation of the social whole, without which I do not care to be saved. In such an adventure the church must not go to sleep mystically or theologically because it is awakening socially. We are apt, in our enthusiasm, to lose our balance and when we get a new vision as we have today—a social vision—to think that it is the whole thing. It is not. It hangs upon the mystical and the theological. The mystical is the basis of the practical, the ideal of the real, poetry of prose.

Perhaps the most pertinent question that was asked in this conference—and I am not aware that it has been answered—was: What is the meaning of social or organic progress? The query has been on the lips of men ever since there was a human society. Just where are we going; what is the goal that we are after? The War has shattered a great deal more than the cities of Flanders and of France; it has shattered certain goals that we hitherto had in view, and which we considered sufficient.

Today large masses of people are moving without any clear sense of where they are going, and are more or less satisfied because they are moving and doing. Remember—and I say this without any fear of justifiable contradiction—that progress is not inevitable; it is not a necessity; it is a task. Progress indicates that you know what your goal is, and where that goal is. It is not sufficient to say that we are doing kind things, or that we are ministering to man in this way or that. Admirable as it is on the side of unselfishness, it is necessary that the world of serious-minded men and those who are religious at the core, should once again as in days of old, get a clear social goal before them, and then at all costs move toward that goal. We have outlived the philosophy of Herbert Spencer and all that group of luxuriant optimists, who were confident that everything must come out right in the end. Indefiniteness, so far as a goal is concerned, is a fatal thing to progress. Once again we must draw pictures of an ideal society, an ideal society not only for the nation but also for mankind.

In the ages that are past, it was deemed sufficient that a nation should have its own definite goal, and democracy was the charming and charmed word which held the attention and represented a goal to the American mind. If democracy is still to hold our attention, it must be restated in entirely new terms. It has lost in potency and attractiveness. As long ago as Plato the necessity of having the vision of an ideal society was recognized, and as a result we have today his great work "The Republic," a work that it would be well for us social workers to read about once a year. Again, in the New Testament, aye, and in the Old Testament, there was a perfectly clear goal towards which social progress was directed. The New Testament derives much of its force from the distinctness with which social completeness is held before us. I have taken the fundamental commandments of ideal society as my text. The twofold law of love covers everything necessary for the commonwealth of mankind. Given that this was lived out in the world today the world would be heaven. Not

only in that twofold commandment, but also in the Sermon on the Mount, we have a body of teaching that is the only hope of perfect society. In the center of the Sermon on the Mount is a prayer which we said together at the beginning of this meeting, and I wonder if we know just the significance of that for which we prayed—"Thy Kingdom come, Thy will be done, on earth as it is in Heaven"—a goal of social perfection. Today, even in the business world, we find men taking a little bit of the Sermon on the Mount and saying, "We are going to live by that. Let us accept the Golden Rule." Or somebody else will take such part as appeals to him and say, "I will incorporate that in my life." But remember that the whole of the Sermon on the Mount stands or falls together; you cannot pick and choose. I would not trust a man to know how to treat his neighbor if he hadn't something more than the Golden Rule as his guide to conduct. I want to know just how he loves himself. There are various ways of loving yourself, and I certainly would not want to be loved by some men as they love themselves.

You will find that there are two things in common in the New Testament and in Plato's "Republic." Both require of us that we accept for here and now as perfect a social ideal as we can conceive of. At the same time both concede the limitations of human nature and face failure without relinquishing the ideal. Therefore both claim for life beyond the grave the full realization of that which must fall short of the best human endeavor in this life. Glancon says of the ideal of Socrates: "You speak of that city of which we are the founders, and which exist in idea only; for I do not think there is such an one on earth." "In heaven," replies Socrates, "there is laid up a pattern of such a city, and he who desires may behold this, and beholding, govern himself accordingly. But whether there really is or ever will be such an one is of no importance to him; for he will act according to the laws of that city and of no other." The New Testament caps Socrates in such passages as "a city that hath foundations, whose builder and maker is God"; and "the new heaven and the new earth" after the old is passed away.

We must aim to shape and order society after God's pattern, even though we know that we are not going to do a perfect work in time. Yet we must not be discouraged when we are thwarted and disappointed, for all the while we are gathering within ourselves a value-deposit which is so imperishable that it laughs at death. When we pass over to the other side into the perfect city of God we shall make that perfect city still more perfect because we have been loyal in this world to the vision we had of it, and without being fully conscious of it have become a part of the vision's reality.

The goal for the individual and that for society must both occupy the same high level. There cannot be mass salvation unless there is individual salvation for the sake of the common weal. Without the development of the mystical, as involved in the command to love God passionately, there can be no certainty of true social service. There is no more important duty today than worship. Worship is not hearing sermons. I realize at the close of a sermon like this, how second rate it is compared with the exercise of concentrating our attention upon God as the active, loving source of all that we think, do, and say, whose wisdom is our guide, whose strength is our sufficiency.

There is a memorial to a great social worker, Henry Scott Holland, in Christ Church, Oxford, bearing the following inscription which I leave with you as a perfect

biography of a Christian social worker: "As beholding God invisible, he was unceasingly founding on earth His Heavenly Kingdom, in unshaken faith, vivid hope, joyous love."

DIVISION VII—THE LOCAL COMMUNITY

THE COMMUNITY, MAKER OF MEN

Joseph Lee, President, Community Service, Incorporated, Boston

The common object of the members of this conference is nurture—"that they might have life and that they might have it more abundantly." And the sovereign means of promoting life is action—the self-activity of the individual. It is by living, investing what vitality they have, that men become alive.

It is true that in order to act, a man must have some command of the instruments of action—of his body and his natural faculties, of tools and sustenance, and of the physical means of knowledge and expression. Accordingly, we fight disease and crime, supply tools, grant pensions, provide schools and libraries and art museums. But after all the parts have been assembled—body, mind, tools, and material to work with—we know that life does not result unless the man himself is brought to take a hand.

And action to win life must be whole-hearted. New growth will start no deeper than the spot from which the action sprang. Only what is exercised will be developed. If you want the man himself to grow you must get the whole of him enlisted. We must discard the foolish arithmetic of the primary school, that fallacy of the fixed total which teaches that the more you spend the less you have, and learn that it is only what we spend that we can keep.

Action, whole-hearted action! And there is one other requirement: action, to foster life, must be of certain kinds.

You have in your hospital a disabled soldier. He finds it almost impossible to walk: he cannot raise his hand above his head; his arms and legs will not respond to his command. And then you introduce a game, and as he plays the game there comes a change: he leaps and shouts and enters into the spirit of the contest; and behold his arms take on new life, and his legs acquit themselves in a manner he had thought impossible. What they would not do for him they do for the new spirit that has taken possession of him. And it is not his arms and legs alone. These are the visible beneficiaries. There is not a tissue of his body that does not know the difference. His heart has heard the summons and beats a march, his lungs have heard and sighed with happiness. All the organs fear and are rejoiced. Here at last, they feel, is something they somehow remember and have been homesick for, and they fall to with a "now then, all together!" like a good team when the game is on.

I have said the condition of new life was self-activity, but it is in truth the activity of something more than self that holds the secret—something of which the individual and all his members seem to be the product. Was the man playing that game or was the game playing him? His arms and legs seemed to think it was the game. They would not come out for him and go through their paces, but when the spirit of competition called, they recognized their master's voice. It was the same with the whole of him, not the body alone, but mind and spirit. "He smelleth the battle afar off, the

thunder of the captains and the shouting." The contest has become for the time the artificer of the man and has raised him up to be its instrument.

Something of the same effect is seen in the use of music. You find that the rhythm of a dance or a song will also carry your wounded patients beyond themselves and leave behind a permanent accession of new life.

The same spell resides in action in yet another form. A patient, confined to his bed, who has made but little progress through such gymnastic exercises as you could give him, is one day handed some material that he can make things of. He proceeds to mold it into certain forms. As he succeeds there comes a change in his condition. His eyes are brighter, his voice stronger. He laughs and jokes. His appetite improves. These shapes in clay, or raffia, or wood, possess a magic power over him. In fashioning these images, he has somehow made himself. There were gnomes imprisoned in the wood who thus evince their gratitude to the mortal who has divined their presence there and set them free.

Man, it would appear, is the child not merely of action but of certain forms of action, the fulfilment of certain purposes—of contest, musical expression, the service of the beautiful in sound, in color, or in shape. As these purposes are satisfied in him,—as they play through him, make him their instrument, as warrior, artist, or musician—he becomes alive.

And there is another ingredient, another dimension, in the purposes that recreate—a dimension that we must find to be represented if the man is to become thoroughly alive. I mean a market for his work. Your patient has been making images of wood or clay, and his idols, reversing the usual procedure, have returned the compliment by re-making him. For a time this is sufficient; he is contented to look upon his work and know in his own mind that it is good.

But pretty soon he seeks external confirmation, looks for some further mark of reality in what he has produced. It takes two to create beauty, just as we have learned from Emerson that it takes two to speak the truth. Nothing for us is quite done until it has achieved a social standing. And so he looks for outside testimony. The nurse says his things are beautiful, but he suspects the nurse: she is of a deceitful generation, not to be trusted in such matters. He requires a more impartial witness. Suppose somebody would really buy his stuff! That would be a testimonial indeed. There is no evidence so convincing as cash payment. And to what an invigorating truth it testifies! To have found a market! To have done work that compels the bedrock Philistine adhesion of the unsentimental dollar! Through such testimony as this your work itself has reached a new degree of actuality. And you, through it, have had the sustaining experience of being needed.

To make good, to be somebody, to hold a place as a competent member of society—this is an achievement which, as the members of this conference know from the daily experience of a thousand cases, is the prime social requisite of health. Here, indeed, is an instance where money talks, and with an eloquence for which the tongues of men and angels afford no substitute.

And so you get up sales, beneficial in proportion as they cease to be philanthropic; best of all when the man's work sells in the open market and is brought not because people want to help him, nor because he is a hero, nor has a large family, nor has done his best, nor is entitled to a minimum wage, but because they want the goods. This unbiased payment for things or service because they are really wanted is the only

and possessed of the true eloquence. The most devastating waste of which any economic system can be guilty is that which disassociates payment from demand. It is a failure in that conservation of motive which I take to be the chief and inclusive method of enhancing life. Money to possess a therapeutic value must represent the other man's need of you, not your need of him.

Man, it thus appears, is the child of purpose—of certain specific purposes which like command and fashion him as he obeys them. And among these purposes—one which blends with and reinforces every other—is the satisfaction of a market for his work. There appears this constant social demand of the spiritual body which it is his salvation to fulfil.

But cash payment is not the only market; or rather, it does not fully express the social need and corresponding social dimension of accomplishment. It puts the authoritative stamp on competence but has no work for those who, because of sickness, or extreme youth, or age, or other disability, cannot satisfy its test. And to the very able, to whom the money-value of the work has become a matter of course, it leaves the craving for some higher standard.

There is another market, a demand other than that expressed in cash payment, that has magic power. I do not know what the war meant to the soldiers, and I do not suppose that anyone who was not a soldier will ever know. But to those of us who stayed at home it was, with all its horror and its disturbance, a marvelous generator of vital force. It called out something in all of us that we did not know was there, that in truth was not there, or at least was not at home to any other visitor. It restored power to the invalid and gave the old a new lease of life. It made the lame to walk, the blind to see, and gave the well an almost miraculous power of performance. It broke down our most rooted inhibitions and led forth a galaxy of unexpected talent, releasing the miser from his fears, and with pentecostal power touching the tongue-tied banker's lips with eloquence. It carried many million people beyond themselves and established for them new frontiers of personality, from which, the present evidence of reaction notwithstanding, they will never wholly recede. It is true that some were broken by their work and gave their lives as truly as the soldiers in the field. But most were better for it. The war spirit seemed to take up the souls and bodies of men into its service, to make them pregnant of the public cause, and capable of its delivery. You could see it immediately in their look and gait, hear it in the way they laughed, and divine its presence in the way they prayed.

The most striking symptom was in the sense of rest—rest from worrying about immediate success or whether the thing you were doing was worth while. Here at last was true rest for the weary—not surcease of toil, but the dedicating of your toil to a cause so satisfying that—let time and the Devil do their worst—you could surrender to it with a happy recklessness, a cause that you devoutly believed must triumph, but a good ship to go down with in any case. And you didn't have to bother about your health. If you broke down, there were plenty more where you came from. It was like the exhilaration of a race after the tedium of training. No need of thinking of your condition now. The race is on and it is win or bust. To millions the war was the trumpet of the Angel Gabriel, the resurrection of those who accepted this last call to life and work.

An essential quality of this national demand, as seen during the war, was its penetration to all sorts of people and all occupations. Back of the soldiers in the

camp and trenches, back of the makers of supplies and the munition workers, it reached every home and workshop and every citizen. Rich men's sons spent their vacations in farm-work or passing rivets in the shipyards. Shop girls walked to and from their work to save their nickels for the Red Cross. Mothers, fathers, children, all had their part. An artist friend of mine, to whom arithmetic is an occult art and letter-writing an abstruse branch of interior decoration, telephoned to know whether he could help out by doing clerical work. People everywhere found their private interests and ambitions less compelling than the common need. Most interesting of all were the business men who stayed at home and carried on their ordinary work, shouldering everybody else's share besides their own in order that their partners might take up the more exciting and romantic kinds of service.

There was no question of ability or lack of it. The nation was fighting and every scrap of human power that could in any way contribute to the nation's strength was called. It was a question of giving what you had, and no one's gift was large or small in its relation to the cause. People who had never known the happiness of being wanted felt the bracing current of demand. The hardest service of all, the bitter contribution of not giving unnecessary trouble, by those to whom the joy of a positive contribution was denied, became illuminated. Even the law-breakers in the prisons were given their opportunity to help. There was exhilaration in this new equality of obligation and of sacrifice. For the first time in this generation everybody counted and everybody had a place. Each felt he had the purpose, the need, and in some way the recognition of the nation back of him.

This universality of appeal is a distinctive attribute of a great national purpose. Nobody is exempt and nobody's sacrifice scorned. All work like children in the hay-field when the rain is coming. It is no longer a question of how great a work you can accomplish, but of the spirit you share in the doing of it. Each serves according to his talent; all are one as members of the team. A great national purpose adds a new sanction to all forms of service. It makes of every worker an official, with a responsibility not to his customers alone but to the state. He is no longer merely the man who sells shoes to his neighbors; he is the shoemaker, one, who in the public economy, fills a necessary part. To the sense of rendering competent service to individuals, is added the sense of status, of holding a responsible position in the commonwealth. Such is the life-giving property of a public cause.

As a true purpose in an individual carries down into his spinal marrow until every cell and tissue thrills to it, so a true purpose of the commonwealth vibrates through every citizen and through his work. It is the maker of the citizen, as the sweep and tenseness of a rapid carves the shape of every wave, or the thrust of a great arch holds each stone in place.

At most times and in most nations this greatest of life-giving influences does not exist. The young, the old, the sick, the inexperienced, are made to feel that their services are not required. If they were to drop out altogether they would not be missed. Not even the skilled and able are subject to any national appeal. If they choose to build up a serviceable business, to perform distinguished work in a profession, that is their own affair; the rest of us are not concerned.

Nobody can be well or able under such conditions, or make his normal contribution to mankind. A community that is settled down to smug content or given to material pursuits, will not produce great men—or only sporadically and by accident—

or call forth the powers of the rank and file. To be the mother of soldiers, it must sound a call to arms. To bring forth heroes, it must itself be heroic.

The war showed us how a great national purpose can bring us life. I doubt whether any other national undertaking can give us that experience to the same degree. War is, I suppose, the pursuit upon which the social instinct itself, in its extension beyond the limits of the family, was formed. Society, in its last analysis,—the residuum that would be left after everything possible had been abstracted—is the war band, and I doubt whether its full reaction, the thoroughgoing social orgasm, can take place apart from war.

Fighting is to the individual also an essential spiritual item. He also was largely built around this instinct. Chivalry is still the code of ethics that most appeals to our imagination. Contest is the common element in the majority of our individualistic as well as of our great team games. The states and empires, whose citizens have shirked military service, have disappeared, and their downfall has been due as much to moral deterioration as to military defeat. The fighting qualities have in all ages been closely identified with manly virtue. We are so committed to this instinct, both as citizens and as individuals, that we cannot reach full stature without its exercise.

Are we then to adopt war as a permanent and necessary means of spiritual life, a fixed requirement of moral hygiene? Most peoples in the past have gone on this assumption, but for us today, the point does not bear arguing. War, apart from its manifest abominations, its infringement of liberty and suspension of democracy and law; apart from its permanent lowering of human possibilities, especially in the production of the warlike virtues by the killing off of the best and bravest,—in addition to all these evils—has failed to show itself an emancipating pursuit. The story of Sparta in the old world and of Germany in the new, the moral degeneracy of both herald of their military downfall, affords sufficient testimony upon this point. The god of war himself has turned his back at last upon his too abject worshipers.

We have seen the beginning of what is partly the same thing among ourselves in the moral reaction—return to normalcy, like the dog returning to his vomit—that has succeeded the more or less inevitable war hysteria.

The reason for this bad moral effect of war is that it is too exclusive. Madame de Staël said that war spoils conversation, and that is a profound as well as witty criticism. We are not all primarily fighters. None of us are fighters and nothing else. We have need of other methods of expression. War may find a use for the poet and the artist and the thinker in writing war songs, or painting camouflage, or finding more lethal poisons. Kreisler was found useful in interpreting the music of a shell. But we can find a better use for Kreisler. Our human nature is a harp of many strings and war touches most of them too little or too roughly.

The warlike virtues, moreover, can be cultivated apart from war, as they are cultivated even by the warlike nations in time of peace. War itself was originally and instinctively a seasonal occupation like baseball. The young Indian braves danced the war-dance and took up the warpath in the spring. It was in the spring that the perpetual private wars of the Middle Ages were begun—an old campaigner of Philip Augustus' time sneers at those knights whose warlike sentiments were only for the winter months. Our own youth feel the same impulse and can be trusted to follow there interpretation of the warpath in the spring, and again in the fall until snow flies, if we will give them half a chance.

In mature life we can preserve the element of contest in the very form of team competition—though not of the most satisfying sort—if we will make our industrial organizations into teams with true participation by their individual members.

Whatever as a state we undertake, we can put through in a courageous and chivalric spirit. There are dragons enough if you are looking for them, and a sufficient supply of human subjects who need a little even of the ancient treatment, to satisfy the most exacting.

As to war itself, the readiness is all. I do not mean preparedness—that vicious circle in which each nation seeks only to go a little faster than its neighbor, until all the moral landmarks disappear in general vertigo—but moral readiness to risk life and all for country when true occasion calls. To keep the fighting spirit alive among us, if there is no other help, our pacifists can be relied upon—those unconquerable champions who put the “fist” into their very misleading name.

If war is not the angel of liberation that we are seeking, where shall we look for him?

There was a city once which, in little more than a century, from a body of about one hundred and fifty thousand to one hundred and eighty thousand citizens—approximately equal to the population of Scranton, Pennsylvania, or Worcester, Massachusetts—produced about half the genius that the world has seen. Within its walls, in that brief space of time, there was traced out the nearest approach we have to the spiritual outline of a man. In Athens, not simply more than elsewhere but in many thousand times its due proportion, the human mind and spirit were set free.

It was in Athens that man's great constituting purposes, as soldier, thinker, creator of the beautiful, were more devoutly followed by the state than in any other place at any time. So devout was public reverence for these purposes that each was worshiped as a god—as Ares, Apollo, Pallas Athene. The stage at Athens was an instrument of public worship. The office of architecture was building the temples of the gods, that of sculpture the construction of their images. The Parthenon was the Athenian Temple of the Virgin, Praxiteles' Olympian Zeus, the chief of all the gods, invoked by Hellas as patron of its athletic sports. Athens demonstrated how much of human genius may become incarnate where the public dimension is added to its constituting aims. She so hungered to render these their fitting service that, as in the myth of Orpheus, her very stones rose up and made her beautiful.

Shall we then follow Athens as our model? If following her were morally possible to us it would be a choice devoutly to be considered, but there is one thing in which we must depart from her example. The leisure through which Athens wrought her miracles was based on slavery. For us, on the contrary, the one constituent purpose of humanity which we must stand for above all others, the one which this conference especially represents, is nurture, the promotion of the fullest life of all. And it is to this purpose, especially, that our nation must, in my opinion, be dedicated, if it would save the lives of its citizens or its own life.

Such a purpose would give expression to an instinct older than fighting, the desire for wisdom, or the love of beauty; the mother instinct—almost as strong in man as it is in woman—that is as old as life. The adoption of nurture as a leading aim would fittingly mark the recognition of woman in our political affairs.

Such a proposal is far from new. The spiritual welfare of the citizen was the object of the state as laid down both by Plato and by Aristotle. The service of all

men is the great commandment of the world's two greatest religions; it was the inspiration of the Puritan movement and is the accepted aim of democracy everywhere. As a doctrine it is in fact a commonplace.

But the serious, practical carrying out of this purpose would be revolutionary. What are the main steps it would involve? First, we would clear away the outstanding obstacles to life. Within the first year our county prisons would be abolished; we should have made full provision for the care and segregation of the feeble-minded; tuberculosis, the white plague, and other diseases would be on the way toward extermination; typhoid, the especial political disease, would not exist. We should have made a revolution in our politics. Our police, to cite one instance, would be permitted by those higher up seriously to undertake the stamping out of vice and crime. Above all we should have begun to take our public education seriously; to pay real salaries to teachers even where not forced to do so by political pull; to cut down classes to a size that can be taught; to make appointments for other than geographical qualifications. As a general strategical measure of prevention, we should have already drawn a line at the public school which no preventable disease nor mental nor physical disability should pass.

Democracy, seriously applied, could I suppose, within a few years, not indeed literally abolish poverty and crime, but so reduce these ancient enemies that they would not be recognizable. At least, there is no reason to suppose it could not do so, for as yet the beginning of such experiment has not been made.

To the objection that such drastic action for human betterment is "playing at providence" our answer would be: "Gentlemen, we are not playing at providence, we are working at it. We believe that love is as proper an instinct to be obeyed as any other. We believe that service of one's fellow-men deliberately, systematically, upon the largest possible scale, is as legitimate a form of action, and as much in accordance with the divine will, as eating, or doing business, or giving smaller and less effective help."

In the carrying out of these and other changes, we shall adopt a lesson from the war. Not merely in the receiving of ministrations but in the devising and conferring of them we shall leave no one out. Every employer will be a teacher and every business a school; every working man a contributor to management and methods. The home exists for nurture; it is the institution created to this end. Every person may contribute to the life of all he meets by the standard and expectation that he has of them. All wield the compelling power of example, most potent in those who bravely face the hardest tasks, such as meeting sickness and defeat. This I believe is the most important item in democracy: the attitude that all are wanted; no one's contribution is despised.

It is here that we atone for the necessary cruelty of competition. Suppose you cannot compete; you still have as much a duty and a place as any man, and may stand as near the center of the public purpose as any other. Equality in membership, equal moral responsibility, beneath all differences in the form of service, extends the saving value of demand to all.

But we shall not, like war, be tyrannous in our command. The community will call on every citizen to serve its purposes because it knows that they are also his. It will call as with a trumpet blast of peace, but it is to the still small voice within, to the great purpose as it is whispered to the man himself, that it will speak. It will,

if well inspired, call even for better service than it knows, invoke great rebels—a Socrates or a greater than Socrates—who shall interpret its own cause so nobly that the people will shrink from serving it. And it will pray that it may not crucify its prophets when they are found.

From the war, also, we shall learn to demand the fighting virtues and shall give our boys and young men the opportunity, now largely lacking, for their lawful cultivation.

We will, like Athens, call men to freedom as the servants of the true and the beautiful. We will, with all our power, fight our present industrial slavery to the machine; will do our best, through making each worker a member of the team, through the preservation of competition, through insistence by the consumer upon true workmanship and on aesthetic values, to make the daily task expressive. We will, in every city and every town and every country district, so organize our leisure time that men may, in drama, music, architecture, in their sports and in their avocations, find compensation for the sterilizing of their working hours. We will, through the development of parks, of libraries, and art museums, above all through the return of the humanities to our public schools, render public observance to these ends.

And we will serve these ends in a religious spirit. We will learn from Athens that truth and beauty are not secondary but are to be reverently pursued as attributes of the divine. We will not lead the citizen to seek his own perfection in the service of these ends. What made the war life-giving was that our lives were of no importance in its presence. What made the art of Athens the liberator of genius was that to Athens art was religion; the citizen lost himself in service of the god. There is no more disheartening pursuit than culture. Here as always the only path to life is through the losing of it. God, from the first, created man in his image and man will never be the handiwork of any power less divine.

Chivalry, search of the true and the beautiful, service of the true life of all—these ends our national purpose shall prescribe. But for us in America, at least, the greatest of these ends is service. "The main enterprise of the world for splendor, for extent, is the upbuilding of a man."

We must say to the public of this country: We are not putting this service of the fuller life in every citizen before you as a purpose that you may espouse or may reject. This purpose is not submitted for your choosing. It has already chosen you. The choice is, for America and for democracy everywhere, a matter most literally of life and death. For democracy, hitherto, and increasingly at the present moment, has frankly disappointed its friends. As a fighter it was successful; but now that its emancipation has been won—now that it holds the stage and the disturbing element has been ejected, now that the curtain is up and the audience waiting—it hesitates, stammers, and seems to have nothing to propose; or it falls back upon abstractions such as, do your duty, serve God, be American.

In this country, especially, we suffer from this suspended purpose. We are an idealistic people without an effective or concrete ideal, lacking in the great life-giver of all—a public purpose. We still like to use the formulas of a strenuous and righteous fight, to talk about Armageddon and the like. And for a time, in political campaigns, we feel a false exhilaration, as if we were really fighting for a cause. But when the day after election brings the morning newspaper, we know in our hearts that nothing in particular has happened, and that a new tariff, some supposed aid to business,

will comprise the whole result. And we are sick in consequence. Foreigners often call us money-grabbers, but we are not such in our hearts. If we were money-grabbers truly and believed in it, we might be saved. But as it is, money is only a consolation, and a very poor one. We are a people homesick, lost, with something on our minds that we have not expressed. If we talk of money and business, it is because we have forgotten our part and can think of nothing else to say.

We must be true to our purpose of promoting the more abundant life of every citizen. In order truly to serve this purpose, we must serve also those ideals of the true and the beautiful in which, as well as in the service of his fellows, the life of man consists. America, by calling all its citizens to this inclusive service, may become for its citizens the greatest human power for evoking life.

"And thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy mind, and with all thy strength: this is the first commandment,

"And the second is like, namely this, Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself."

DIVISION V—THE FAMILY

CASE-WORK METHODS IN LEGAL EDUCATION

*Joel D. Hunter, General Superintendent,
United Charities, Chicago*

When I left Chicago this morning my main intent was to hear Dean Wigmore address this session of the conference. As your chairman has said, a painful and sudden illness has prevented his attending. I am glad to speak, not in Dean Wigmore's place, but simply to relate the observations of an outsider concerning the way in which the Northwestern University School of Law has been using the case work method in legal education.

For a number of years the Northwestern School of Law, as did a few other law schools, asked the law students to volunteer their services to the Chicago Legal Aid Society, and many of them did so. The students did valiant service, which in turn was of advantage to themselves. However, the law school gave the students no university credits for the time spent as volunteers; nor were reports of their service required by the school. About two years ago, in Chicago, the Legal Aid Society and the United Charities were amalgamated. I need not give you the reasons for this amalgamation. It would be out of place in this discussion. Shortly after this consolidation was brought about, the United Charities and the Northwestern School of Law signed a contract relating to legal education. Under this contract the law school promised to do certain things, and the United Charities promised others. The law school promised to require every Senior student in the school to devote ninety hours during the Senior year to the legal clinic. For this the student was given thirty hours' credit. In addition, the law school agreed to assign one of its faculty as advisory counsel to the Legal Aid Bureau of the United Charities. This professor was to come three times a week to consult with the attorneys of the Legal Aid Bureau and give advice concerning the practice and procedure of the society. There were two reasons for this. The first was to supervise the students in their work, and the second was to make sure that the

Legal Aid Bureau was performing its functions according to the legal standards of the law school. This the professor has done consistently during the past two years. He comes to supervise the actual work assigned to the students and to review the reports they make. From the standpoint of the Legal Aid Bureau it was agreed in the contract to provide certain types of work for the students—tasks which the faculty of the law school under Dean Wigmore's leadership, felt would be of educational advantage to the Senior students. In the first place, there was *interviewing*. I need not speak to this audience of the value of the first interview. It is as important for the young attorney in a lawyer's office to know how to meet a new client and to carry on the first conversation as it is for the social worker. It was agreed to assign a certain number of interviews to each student, and in addition a certain amount of *searching of public records*. In fact, the law students have been given a great deal of that to do. They also go out from the office to interview witnesses when it is inconvenient or impossible to persuade these witnesses to come to the office, and sometimes they interview defendants in the endeavor to settle cases without litigation. The Legal Aid Bureau must take some cases into court. The students, under the direction of the attorneys, help there. They are unable to do much court work, however, because they cannot appear in court as attorneys. They ask for continuances, make motions, hold cases until the attorney arrives, and in such ways become familiar with the personnel and procedure of the courts. They also *search law books*. Often information is needed on certain cases, and the students help in searching for the laws which are applicable.

That, in general, is the theory of the undertaking. How is it working? To answer that question it will be necessary to speak a little about the administration of the organization. The Legal Aid Bureau has a central office with five attorneys. There are also five district offices with trained legal aid workers. The attorneys in the general office handle the cases that come to litigation and advise the district workers about the proper procedure in others. It is the aim to settle cases as much as possible out of court. When assigned to the legal clinic, the law student is given a special assignment. Each student spends part of his hours in the central office and part in a district office. He is asked to write a daily report setting forth what he was assigned to do, what he did, and whether he succeeded or not. These reports are sent to the senior attorney in the central office, who goes through them with the professor from the law school. On the basis of these reports the professor meets the Senior students every other week and consults with them about the cases they are handling and the legal problems they are meeting.

I believe firmly that this thing is of value to the society and to the students. In the first place, it makes the society better known. Is it worth while for a family organization in addition to the usual functions, to give legal aid? I believe it is. It helps the public to know what family service means. It adds weight to the argument that while material relief is important it is only one function and the easiest function of a family society. In the second place, it has helped us in efficiency. It has raised the standard of our work. If you have an expert person coming three times a week to advise and consult about your daily work, as the years go by the work is bound to improve. The professor from the law school does just this, and of course the work of the bureau is improving! In the third place, it adds to the dignity and support of the organization. There used to be, and there still are, some people who pooh-pooh at various types of social work, but when the people who do this see that the leading

law school in a community thinks enough of legal aid work to make a definite contract with the society carrying it on, it gives them food for thought and tends to stop some of the criticism which unintelligent and uninformed people make of social work. The legal clinic has made the Legal Aid Bureau more efficient, and it has made a group of young professional people conversant with the needs of and demand for free legal service and the way in which the demand is being met.

How does it help the student? I believe it helps him in his legal education. A law student can learn by actually going out and doing something on a real case, following through the processes of arbitration or litigation, as well as by reading cases. He takes part in real practice in the court. In the second place, the law students get information about the community in which they live, information which many of them would not otherwise obtain. Many young attorneys, when they graduate from law school, go into large offices where they specialize in certain types of legal work. Few have to do with the municipal court. They perhaps go into offices which handle corporation cases, or patent law, etc., but as for the domestic relations courts, the small claims courts, in which the poor are interested, they come into little or no contact with them. The legal clinic affords these young law students an opportunity to observe the practice of law as it relates to the poor. That is worth while in itself, for when they go out to practice their profession their legal ethics will be higher and they will be better citizens. Anything that adds to their knowledge of the world tends to make them better lawyers and also better citizens. Every once in a while—nay, quite often—injustice is found.

Many of us feel that the greatest agitator in the world is injustice, and the people who represent the bar should feel this as strongly as social workers do. Should we not do everything in our power to see that young professional people in their professional training are given the opportunity to see the conditions which exist in the communities in which they live? Through the legal clinic the Senior law students of a great university are required to give ninety hours a week out in the field, where they can see the courts and the way in which law is administered, and they see both justice and injustice. I want all of you to read the book "Justice and the Poor," written for the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, by Reginald Heber Smith, who was formerly with the Boston Legal Aid Society. I believe it is for free distribution. It is the last word on legal aid work in this country.

Postscript by John H. Wigmore, Dean, Northwestern University School of Law, Chicago

I am thankful that Superintendent Hunter was available to take my place on the subject assigned to me; for his description of the new movement is clear and convincing.

The legal clinic is soon destined to play the large and useful part, in getting justice for the helpless, that the medical clinic has long played in relief to the sick and injured. As a measure in legal education its utility is as obvious as in medical education. But even more is it destined to benefit the social hospital in the same way that it has so enormously aided the work of the medical hospital. Every metropolis teems with abuses and injustices which seem petty to the comfortable citizen, but are potent causes of distress and social unrest to the humble and helpless. The legal clinic enables the services of the social relief agencies to be multiplied, and supplies a type of service which rounds out their function. By long tradition, the bar owes the duty to the public to aid the poor man's cause gratuitously. This duty, which to a large extent

has existed in name only, will once more become a reality on a large scale. The social duty of the lawyer will be impressed upon him at the outset of his career. And the fullest aid of government and law can now be organized for those who need it most of all, to an extent limited only by the number of schools that join in the good cause.

AFTER-CARE FOR INDUSTRIAL COMPENSATION CASES

Frances Perkins, Secretary, Council on Immigrant Education, Formerly Member of the New York State Industrial Commission, New York City

I have been thinking that the fates which control our destinies have a sense of humor when they assign to me the topic on which I have been asked to speak this evening. I have been a social worker ever since I left college, yet the first time I have been asked to speak on the program of the social workers' convention I am asked to speak on "case work." I have never been a case worker. The fact is, I have all my life been one of that somewhat ardent group committed to the belief that if we could give people opportunity, poverty would disappear and people could look after themselves and manage their own affairs without the activities of a social case worker. However, when I was appointed to a real job on the New York State Industrial Commission circumstances made me a convert to the value of case work. However, it is not only this experience which has brought about a change in my attitude, but also my own deeper experience in life. For as I have regarded the operation of social work generally, it has seemed to me that the thing we are all striving for has been to modify the environment in which we live so that it should be favorable to the development of the best things in human beings. I have been challenged by the perfectly obvious fact that in the last fifty or a hundred years our environment has changed enormously. We cannot expect human beings suddenly to adapt themselves perfectly to this new mechanistic environment, that has come about as the result of industrial development. I suppose it is the introduction of the automobile, the telephone, and more and more of machinery into the household, which has brought to me strikingly the realization that many human beings, even social workers, have not yet perfectly adapted themselves to the mechanistic era in which we live. I find I do not like to cross the street under the present conditions of automobile traffic. You know, doubtless, as I do, many people who cannot bring themselves to hold a telephone conversation. So I have sympathy with the idea that there may be a great many human beings who are not perfectly adapted to the environment in which they find themselves, and need some help in adjusting themselves to this environment. This I hold to be the real function of the social case worker.

I was appointed to the State Industrial Commission because I was a social worker but not because of any activities as a case worker. I had been in social work that was preventive in its aims and general in its application rather than individual. Our work was directed at prevention of fire and industrial accidents, and at other conditions that made for industrial ills. This work had gained some popular and legislative support and because of this preventive social activity I seemed to the governor a suitable appointee to the Industrial Commission. I thought of this new work merely as a greater opportunity, a larger field for exercising these same preventive activities.

Imagine my surprise on finding in just the first week of my duties that I was becoming an amateur, rather awkward case worker. The commission, among other duties, administers the workingmen's compensation law. After a week of attempting to act as judge in these cases I realized that in many cases something more was needed than a decision to make or deny an award according to the letter of the law. All sorts of complications appeared not covered by the law, and the only thing to do was to call upon the social resources of the community to meet an individual need or problem. My knowledge of the resources of the community was limited and I found myself wishing many times for a good old-fashioned case worker who would know everything and do anything that needed to be done.

There were four cases that first week. One was the case of an old woman who claimed her husband had been killed in an accident. Nobody had seen the accident and there was a question as to whether the man died as a result of the accident or whether he died from natural causes. The commission held he died from the accident. The insurance company held that he died from natural causes and refused to pay the claim. The case had been dragging for months and it was proposed now to take it to the highest court of the state. Mrs. Smith appeared before our commission and in the midst of the hearing the poor old woman fainted and was brought into my office to recover. I inquired into the matter and found she had not had anything to eat for some time. The case had been dragging on till her savings were gone. She had been "poor but proud" and would not go for charity, so she fainted from exhaustion and hunger and the excitement. I knew enough to know that in New York City nobody need go hungry, so I got a local charity organization society headquarters on the wire, and Mrs. S. was fixed up for the night. I knew, however, that that did not solve Mrs. S.'s problem, and I had sense enough to turn to the local charity organization society and ask them to look after Mrs. S. for the time being and perhaps forever. Mrs. S. did get her compensation money finally and will have it now for the rest of her lifetime, but the charity organization society had to look after her for several months while the case was in the courts.

The next case was different. It was that of a girl who had been injured in an accident in a carpet factory where she had been running an elevator. The first day on the elevator job she had a terrible accident. Both legs were broken, and in fact almost everything happened to her that could and she still be alive. She got well unexpectedly and made her claim for compensation. She had taken this elevator job at a low wage and the rate of compensation had to be figured on this rate and therefore amounted to but six dollars a week.

Upon her recovery she came to the commission for a hearing. We learned that her father had died since her injury, and she claimed that with his death her last means of support had been taken away. She could not live on six dollars a week, and something must be done. Her hands were all right, but she could not walk, and she could not stand for five minutes at a time. She had worked since she was fourteen years old at a loom. Her fingers were swollen and coarse and incapable of fine work. Three of the commissioners sat together over the case. The fatherly commissioner proceeded to give her good advice. He thought it would be nice if she could become a milliner. The commission was in the habit of doing justice, and when the sympathies were deeply touched it was a temptation to give kindly, well-meant, if inexpert, advice. When claimants had received justice, and when we had been kind, the applicant disappeared,

and out of sight was out of mind. But Helen Jones was a burden on my mind, so again I turned to a case work agency. I called up another branch of the charity organization society, asking them to go to visit her and try to make some analysis of her problem and plan for the future. They found she had a good many resources. They found she had a married sister living in the town where the carpet mill was, and that the family, because of long years of employment had some claim to the attention of the people who owned the carpet mill. It was arranged to have Helen go to live with that sister and the management of the mill was persuaded to give her an easy job, which she could do sitting down. Thus again a case worker came to my aid.

The next day I had on my calendar a case of another girl, a young and pretty girl who had lost her arm. She was only seventeen years old and, as a minor, was entitled to certain special consideration in the way of having the rate of compensation raised. She had lost her arm in operating a printing press. She had recovered when her claim came before the commission and in a very short time would be ready for an artificial arm. She had about six thousand dollars coming to her under the compensation law, to be paid over a period of several years. It seemed to me terrible for this young, lovely girl of seventeen to be turned back to society without an arm, and with this large sum of money, and with no plans for her future. She was without relatives and was living in a boarding house. I found the Young Women's Christian Association willing to do something for her, and persuaded her to go there to live and return to high school. After two years she would be ready for the normal school. She had real brains and ability. She is still there and doing well. She is going into the honorable teaching profession in which she can be successful and in which the loss of an arm will not be a disability. Her compensation money will be enough to cover the costs of this rehabilitation of a young worker. Here again I had to call in a group of specialized workers to help a young girl over a special difficulty.

In a few weeks I found myself sending too many cases to the charity organization society. These cases in my opinion were the responsibility of the state, not a private organization. Then began to appear certain other problems that related to the individual lives of our applicants—confidential cases where the people were not objects of charity, and I felt we had no right to betray their confidence and put their secrets into the hands of other people. And then came other cases where, to be of assistance, a case worker would have to have intensive knowledge of the compensation law as applied to the individual case. In one case I asked the charity organization society to make a very intensive investigation to get certain legal evidence in regard to a case in which our commission had voted three to one against making an award. I felt there were facts we had not found out and if those facts came out, there would be legal evidence upon which to make an award. So I asked the charity organization society to make the investigation. This worker did not know anything about the compensation law and had to bone up on the fine points in order to know which evidence was pertinent and acceptable. Finally she dug up some people who lived in the house with the injured man, and the parish priest. It took a very skillful and patient case worker to get together the evidence. After about six weeks we had the evidence that led the commission to reopen the case and make an award which the court sustained. All to the account of a case worker.

I began to realize that I was calling on the local case work agencies too often and felt that the time had come when the commission itself ought to have within its own

personnel people competent to do this kind of work. I noted on my calendar several cases where I desperately wanted a case worker to look up the social conditions surrounding the claimant, in order that substantial justice might be done. The commission is not bound round by the stiff and rigid rules of the courts. Social evidence may be accepted if it is relevant to the case. The New York law is elastic in some respects and it is possible to treat a case humanly and socially if we have the evidence. The compensation money awarded to injured people does not solve all their problems. Sometimes the people get their reward and go away with as complicated a life as they had before. The accident often merely serves to intensify a problem which has been there for many years. We had the usual number of domestic problems, all sorts of complication in family life. For instance, often when the wage-earner of the family is injured other members of the family become an intolerable burden—the old, the tubercular, the mentally deficient—something has to be done about them because the family economy is deranged.

I determined to ask for funds to add a few case workers to the staff of the Workmen's Compensation Bureau. Governor Smith was interested in the plan, and it was the governor himself who invented the name "After-Care Service" for that branch of our work. The Finance Committee of the New York State Legislature recommended and the legislature appropriated in the general budget funds to establish this after-care service with a director and two field agents. There was no attempt to make political appointments, the people who were selected had no political references at all. I wanted someone who had been through the charity organization society and Red Cross Home Service mill and had a little experience, but I was rather anxious that they should not have too much charity organization society experience. Such work in the service of a department of government work could not be done in a dogmatic, but must be done in a broad fashion. The money going to claimants has no relation to their behavior, nor to the advice given them. The money belongs to them under the law and they get it whether they take the advice of the case worker or not. The whole relationship between claimant and after-care agent must be one frankly free from compulsion and wholly democratic. Two quite remarkable women were selected and after they came they developed the work in a very fine and satisfactory manner.

Now, as to what they did and how they did it. Their technique was not different from that of other case workers. They knew the social resources of the community. The only difference was that they possessed no moral coercion as a tool of their trade. They were on the whole unbiased in favor of the claimant, although most of their work was, by its nature, in the interest of the claimant. When they first came the young men who represent the insurance companies before the commission eyed them with great suspicion. They did not know what these two young women might do to help claimants, and were surprised to learn that they had respect for truth and justice, and if they found an Italian playing sick when he was not they said so truthfully. Of course most of the reports were in favor of the claimants. It is the commission's duty to help the claimants. Claimants are told that the commission will represent them and therefore it is important that the commission should be equipped to make that representation. The work of these young women was not only the making of investigations and reports on the cases, and rendering general social service to claimants, but as time went on they found themselves spending a certain portion of each week in the hearing rooms testifying. People about the commission grew to have confidence in them.

At the beginning there had been certain discussion among us as to how the after-care division would get cases. I would refer cases to them and one other commissioner would do so, but was there anybody else on the commission who would do so? The fact is, after the first month they never had a moment in which to wonder about new cases. Everybody from the chairman down to the policeman at the door was referring cases to them. Then they began to get cases referred to them by the insurance companies, at first surreptitiously, then openly. This came about through their great success in persuading people to have operations. The prejudice against operations is common among many people. Any compensation case is likely to have need of an operation. I began referring cases where it was perfectly obvious that an operation was needed, to the after-care people, asking them to go to the home and establish friendly relation and then talk over the situation quietly and calmly. So the insurance companies began to get confidence in these after-care people and began also referring cases to them. The last report shows that in the month of May eleven cases were referred to them by insurance companies, usually from the medical department.

There were several types of cases that they got regularly. First, the cases where we needed social evidence in addition to the legal evidence which we already had—such as where a man or woman wanted to buy out a business or perhaps a farm, and needed a certain amount of money all at once. The law gives the commission the right to decide upon matters of this kind when in their judgment it seems that in this way substantial justice can be done. It is serious to give people all their compensation money at once, and it is necessary to have knowledge about what kind of people they are, in order that we may decide whether the venture they propose will be successful. Then in case they wanted to buy a farm we needed to know whether the land they had in view was good land, we needed to know whether they knew how to cultivate it, or whether they knew how to carry on a dairy business, etc. Often people wanted to go into the shoe cobbling business. We needed to know whether they knew how to cobble shoes, and how to carry on the business of shoe cobbling. These things the after-care department had to investigate. I think on the whole their advice has been good in these matters, although they always hesitated to give advice in such cases; they got the social facts and brought them to the commission for decision.

There was another important piece of work that was constantly coming up—the putting of cases receiving inadequate medical care in touch with medical agencies. This sometimes means taking a patient away from a private physician and getting him into a hospital. It meant pretty straight talk with the medical service of the insurance companies. We had always with us the problem of those people who were not equipped mentally to battle with life. We had coming before us the insane, the feeble-minded, the neurotic—cases most difficult and important, not only to themselves, but to the community at large. The After-Care Service frequently had to arrange for the putting away of insane people. They had to find relatives and attempt to get them to co-operate. Then there were the feeble-minded, where the accident had brought to light the fact that they were feeble-minded, and were a public menace, and needed special care. Also, the problem of the neurotic. Before many years medical science will begin to understand and do something about the prevention of these accident neuroses. Now, before industrial commissions all over the country, are coming cases of people who have been working and considered normal until they had an accident, but the accident served as a determining factor which brought to the surface all the neurotic tendencies in the patient. We do not get these cases early enough, but usually after

the malady is firmly fixed. The practice of making a small lump sum award in these cases of neuroses is commonly recommended by the medical profession as an aid to cure, but this method is most unsatisfactory and uncertain. People have come back years afterward not cured at all. The insurance company, the physician, and the claimant must co-operate to discover those individual accident cases which have the possibility of neurotic developments later on, and put them in touch with agencies in the community which can best break up the tendency. Sometimes a new kind of work will break up a neurotic tendency. A man's mind must be cleared temporarily at least of the things that are worrying him. If it is his wife's disposition, send him, or her, away to the country for awhile. We found all kinds of tricks that would work, if only we could find out what was worrying the worker and get rid of it.

Another important part of the work of the After-Care Service was finding jobs for disabled people—the rehabilitation of cripples. That is increasingly important. Then, there has been the making of proper connections with the right kind of relief agencies who would supply the inadequacies of the compensation law, in cases where it was necessary.

I wish I had time to tell you exactly what we accomplished in the first six months of this work. But I can only sum up their activities from the report the workers have made to me. There were cases involving children, 23; cases involving the giving of a lump sum, 29; employment and rehabilitation cases, 37; neurotic and mental cases, 20; cases involving additional, or change of medical care, 32; cases where the compensation was inadequate to the family need, 22; miscellaneous cases, 56. These latter included a lot of diverse and interesting cases.

The after-care workers have done much to humanize the work of the commission. They have found men and women whom the investigators could never have found, and they have also served subpoenas on people whom the burly process servers could not serve at all. So I think there is a great future for intelligent and reasonable and democratic case work in this department of the government. It is having a setback just now in New York State, and this work will be dropped or curtailed, I hear. It is false economy, and before many months have gone by the insurance companies, the trade unions, and the claimants themselves will recognize it as false economy, and the politicians will then realize that it is false economy. In the meantime I hope that some of the progressive states of the west will go ahead and try this thing out in their workmen's compensation bureaus and try it out on the basis of intelligent case work, co-operating with claimants and with the public. Such work should always be under the direction of people like yourselves, who have a large vision of what community life and social life should be, and of what real civilization is.

DIVISION III—HEALTH

MAKING HEALTH KNOWLEDGE THE PROPERTY OF THE COMMUNITY

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Such a title expresses a hope more than an accomplishment. The hope is worth interpreting and we owe it to ourselves to analyze the limitations of the undertaking.

By health knowledge we mean at least two distinct classes of information and instruction. First, the acquisition and application of such facts of hygiene and sanita-

tion as will permit healthy people to increase in vigor, maintain a normal work capacity, and take full benefit in recreation. Those who are not handicapped in mind or body through mischance of inheritance, environment, or personal conduct, should, we conceive, be so informed that the maintenance and even increase of all their powers may be matters not merely of accident or good fortune, but the well-earned results of a reasoned manner and control of their own lives.

In the second place, we are all determined that much of what has heretofore been the almost exclusive knowledge of the liberal professions and especially of the medical and associated professions, and perhaps of a small group of the better educated in a community, in matters of disease, its recognition, its causes, its natural history, its manifestations, and the relief or cure of its processes should be made more generally available as far as the intelligence of the people permits.

Not that there are included in these general statements all that may properly be classed as health knowledge, but for the present and until we have at least assembled, delivered, and put into use in communities these relatively simple blocks of knowledge we can spare ourselves more extensive ideals and efforts. As a matter of fact, health knowledge is limited only by the scope of human knowledge, the bearing of any fact, act, or thought upon the human mind and body having an appreciable effect upon the completeness of life which we term health.

In the presence of such modern philosophers and social engineers of collective existence and adjusters of human relationships as are here assembled it would be presumptuous for me to attempt a definition of a community, but from some experiences in the practice of individual and public medicine I am inclined to suggest that a community depends more upon a state of mind than upon numbers, location, or density of population; more upon the consciousness of mutual relationship, dependency, and interest, whether material or spiritual, than upon political or geographical limitations of area.

As it is obvious to all, whose professions take them into homes, that parents and children do not alone suffice to constitute that precious foundation and anchor of civilization called a family, without the bond of common life and perspective, so an assembly of human units does not constitute a community. Briefly, a community of whatever size is a group of people who are conscious of their collective interests, needs, fears, and their interdependence in matters of education, health, occupation, and possibly also in political and religious affairs. We have progressively committed ourselves in this country to a gregarious existence, and we are constantly developing more communities out of these human aggregations.

This has been possible only through acceptance of self-restraint, the willingness to be controlled individually in the interest of the whole. Sanitation in large measure has been created by cities, and in its turn has caused or permitted them to be. Our first difference between liberty and license came through the recognition that neither property rights nor individual freedom of action were as valuable as the health rights of the group. This followed inevitably the proof of communicability of disease. We now see personal liberty as precious in proportion to our willingness to sacrifice it for the sake of others. That health or life-rights take precedence over poverty or possession rights is recognized by our highest courts.

Health knowledge was preceded by many centuries by great familiarity with disease. The physician saw only the sick. Those who developed the facts of life—

the physiologists, the chemists, the physicists, and biologists—had no contact with the people as a direct educational force. The beginning of what we are discussing was probably in some home or family circle where the trusted physician who had watched a patient recover from or die of some preventable disease, some child perhaps a sacrifice to ignorance of diet, was asked how others might be spared and what to do to prevent a repetition. Only since the causative agent of infectious or the true origin of functional disorders has been clearly defined has it been possible to give the answers. Only by the asking of such questions has the demand for such knowledge been in a measure satisfied.

And until recent times the outlook upon disease has made attempts at health education impracticable. We have passed through the submissive and evasive stages and are now aggressive in our attitude toward ill health or lack of health. Sickness, once a visitation for our sins, an inescapable affliction to be borne by virtue of religious resignation, then recognized as avoidable by separation, by precautions of time and place, by quarantine and segregation, is now a reproach, an object of attack to be met and overcome in its strongholds, to be searched for and uprooted by intelligent action. What a great psychic revolution it was when the slogan "Keep the well baby well" replaced the call for a summer corps of doctors and nurses to attend the sick infant in our tenements. From now on we shall not only attack sickness and its causes but educate for health.

Understanding of the meaning of the words communicable and preventable as applied to common and serious diseases and the truth of the term remediable in referring to defects of development in mind and body have created the modern demand for health knowledge which should extend to the outer bounds of our information on the laws of health and reliable means of disease prevention.

We now know that obesity creates a serious liability to diabetes. We now know that alcohol is a depressant, habit-forming, narcotic drug and not a stimulant safe for use as a family remedy. We know that continence is compatible with healthy development. We know that typhoid is avoidable by vaccination; that diphtheria is preventable by active immunization of susceptibles; that paresis, locomotor ataxia, and aneurysm are sequelae of syphilis and not diseases independent of previous infection.

It is no easier to declare the right laws of health than those for healthy business, and panaceas are sought and advertised with the conviction of enthusiasts in both spheres. Each cult is an expression of confidence in a panacea, and under the cloak of religion, commerce, or beneficent patronage we are offered Christian Science, osteopathy, and birth control as discoveries of laws and resources which still lack proof and confirmation as to their soundness or wisdom for community health.

In our efforts to give communities health knowledge the strong arm of the police power of the state was enlisted, usually in the presence of epidemics or fear of them. Then precautions were taken by the community, through its agents, for sewage disposal and water supply, an educational process of the officers but hardly understood by the community. We have passed on now to a stage in many parts of the country where further progress in prevention depends almost wholly on what the individual will do to himself and for others. This requires a new step up in the range of his information. We have largely reached the limit of administrative resources without voluntary and determined individual and community participation. Enforcement, sanitary engineering, quarantine, licensing, reporting, all are necessary but limited.

We have gone beyond them in our needs which can be met only by a general diffusion of knowledge. Even the most effective use of the police power under the health laws cannot be expected to prevent or control those disabilities, the acquisition and development of which depend on our own individual acts and human relationships, such as tuberculosis, syphilis, colds, drug habits, malaria, hook-worm disease, and malnutrition. We know this better as the laboratory and clinical students disclose the natural history of these affections.

No building laws will ever make premises safe until the occupancy is intelligent and interested in self-protection. Selfishness in industry, indifference and unneighborliness, mischievous disregard of cleanliness will need to be curbed by the community for its own protection, but in this way death-rates are but little affected and sick-rates but slightly reduced. Not new facts is our need, but distribution of them. The answer is education.

Whom shall we teach and when? First, children, because of their age; they are naturally interested in the acquisition of facts which affect them in their playmates. Next, parents, because of their children; the presence of a child in the family makes the parents more educable than they have been since their childhood. Next, the workers, because if they would continue to work and maintain their health they must compete with the health of others, and each industry has its own hazards against which the workers must be warned. Next, the sick, an army of people always with us and always particularly susceptible to education, partly because they are humbled by their sickness and partly because in their selfishness for recovery they are interested in what is taught. Furthermore, we can teach everyone in a community during a community epidemic whether it be from typhoid, influenza, infantile paralysis, or in the presence of a threat of cholera or plague. Lastly, we should expect to teach public officials and publicists all the time because an error on their part, or ignorance among them, leads to disastrous results.

Who will be the teachers? First, the teachers in the public schools. Certainly the facts of causes and means of prevention of communicable diseases, as called for under the laws of Michigan, are more important to a child at school than the branches of the Oronoco or the princes of the Balkan States. The teachers of the laws of hygiene and the prevention of disease must not be the school doctor and the school nurse alone but the same teacher that teaches what are now accepted as the necessary elements of a common-school education. This calls for the training of our teachers in normal schools in the elements of health knowledge. Next, the physicians and nurses, both those in private and public practice who have the best opportunity of reaching people in their homes at times when their services are welcome and when their lessons are heeded. But for this, both doctors and nurses must be taught health in their schools as well as disease, and patients must ask for services while they are well in order to keep well instead of only when they are sick. To build up a family stock will be considered a greater triumph for these professions than the saving of the lives of the disabled. Dentists also have a rare opportunity and those with the modern prophylactic point of view are taking advantage of it to teach health and the laws of oral hygiene. The most recent acquisition to the group of health teachers are the social workers, but among them only those who have come into the profession through medicine or nursing can be considered competent to share in real intelligent constructive health teaching in the community.

What shall be taught? This can be determined by the same standards as prevail in other educational efforts; namely, what capacity has the individual for health knowledge; what has been their previous training; and what is the character of their daily acts and lives? It is better to teach nothing than to teach what is not so.

There have been three notable successes in community-health knowledge, namely, in the field of tuberculosis, the protection of child life, and the control of venereal disease. We need the same organized effort in the field of heart disease, cancer, mental disease, control of malaria, malnutrition, and hook-worm disease.

At present we are searching for a spiritual, an emotional, or an intellectual appeal in the community on which to build the desire for health knowledge. Healthy people do not consciously seek health knowledge. Among the devices we shall certainly use for distributing health knowledge are health centers of whatever genesis and community hospitals, all institutions for social service through which a stream of willing learners are sure to be passing. This so-called health knowledge is most susceptible of confusion from lack of proportion among volunteers in the different health hobbies. There is so much variation in the normal limits of people for work, rest, play, food, endurance, resistance, adaptation to environment, that what is meat to one is poison to another.

Mystery must be removed from medicine, and physicians be readier to say "I don't know"; to point out that not drugs but the forces of nature healed and the M.D. was the source of relief of anxiety which permitted, not caused, recovery. The motto "Man Tends, God Mends," is as true now as in the time of Ambroise Paré. What Osler applied to tuberculosis applies as well to many a disease. Not what is in the lungs but what is in the head determines recovery. It is character that cures in many diseases as it is the healing agency in social case work.

To summarize: making health knowledge the property of the community depends upon trained teachers, principally school teachers, physicians, and nurses; upon the capacity and desire of the community for the knowledge, and upon teaching the truth personally; upon periodic medical examinations and community hospitals. Information is abundant and at hand but its application has baffled us chiefly because we desire a get-well-quick panacea instead of accepting the evidence that health, as other desirable human assets, is the result of self-control, unselfishness, and personal effort, and cannot be attained through endowment or public funds.

The profession of social service has come just in time to take on the burden of recreating the character of beneficiaries of the government. At present the colossal generosity of the government is ruining human character and personal endeavor and initiative among ex-service men and in so doing is causing more social disability and inadaptability than it is curing; is teaching men to say they cannot work; is teaching men to develop and continue symptoms for the dollar; and is reversing the relationship to physicians. The M.D. that convinces the man that he is sicker than he thinks is praised as a benefactor. A hospital has become a boarding-house for financial ends, a school and training-center, a place for postponement of self-support. A claim is a gamble. We are reverting nationally to the charity and political hand-out phase of government subsidy and turning our back on the principles of that justice which is another word for social service. The attitude of the newspapers, of Congress, of the ex-service men through their official spokesmen is in direct opposition to the principles of social justice. Facts as to relief and hospital care are intentionally misstated.

Making health knowledge the property of the community will be unattainable while the principles of character formation are undermined. The physical and industrial rehabilitation of our ex-service men and women is only part of the national obligation. For those legally ineligible for compensation, hospitalization, and training, the social forces of the country must mobilize or betray the confidence of the men in a democratic form of government.

CONFERENCE DINNER

OUR NATION'S OBLIGATION TO HER CHILDREN

Julia C. Lathrop, Chief, Federal Children's Bureau, Washington

I do not know who gave me this ambitious subject for an address, and yet I am not quite sorry to have it. I understand that someone has spoken about the government at a meeting of this conference in terms of "brass tacks." I, of course, as an employee of our government shall speak with marked gentleness.

Times change but is it necessary to have any better definition of the obligation of our nation to her children than that it shall secure to each of them the inalienable right set forth in the Declaration of Independence to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness? It is for us in our little day to do what we can toward translating that dictum. We are sure, of course, that we see a few things that our forefathers did not see, and those of us who have any sense of the future know that posterity will smile over the things we do not see.

I have been accustomed for the last nine years to think chiefly of the federal government's obligation to children, which is quite a different and much more manageable subject than that assigned me and I shall venture to speak chiefly of the government's obligation.

Under the Constitution it is the right of the state to make laws regarding the children and the family. The government has a restricted function—it can investigate and report. This has a hollow sound as applied to the seven million illiterate persons in our land, most of them born and bred here. It is a hollow answer to the parents of more than two hundred thousand children who die yearly, a large proportion of them needlessly. It is a hollow answer to children who begin work before they learn how to use their minds and are doomed to the lowest level of comfort and dignity for all their lives in consequence. It has a hollow sound to the immigrant accustomed to centralized bureaucratic control, who comes to the United States with its magic promise—not to any one of the forty-eight states, whose names he does not know, but one of which will govern in the main him and his children. Yet what can be done by investigation and report?

Perhaps it is not so discouraging: The great power of the Department of Agriculture lies in fifty years of investigating and reporting. Out of that it has come to have certain regulatory provisions, but its greatest services to the country are those it has made by investigation and report, and these have been fundamental to the laws which have developed from them. The department makes continuously an invaluable contribution toward forwarding the science of agriculture by its laboratory research,

and by its investigations at home and in foreign lands. It reports by sending agents into every country to advise as to soils and stock, and the details of farm work. It sends women agents to the door to advise as to household arts. It keeps traveling experts who develop canning clubs for girls; corn clubs, and pig clubs for boys. It shows extraordinary skill, ingenuity, and directness in its reporting the manifold applications of scientific research to the daily work of men and women engaged in agriculture, yet it exerts no authority.

It is by this approach that the Children's Bureau is trying to work—investigation and report in the field of child welfare, the social field. Here the methods of research are slow, painstaking, and undeveloped and methods of reporting are still less developed. Yet the spade work of the last nine years encourages a belief in the rich contribution which such a government bureau can in time be made to give. Does not the theory of a democratic non-centralized government depend upon this method? If facts can be discovered and set uncolored in true proportion before us, can we not trust ourselves to understand and work out the remedies? There is only one answer in the long run, and it is affirmative.

Ever since I learned of the recent death of Mr. Edward B. Rosa, chief physicist of the Bureau of Standards, I have desired an opportunity before a great audience of social workers to pay tribute to that modest scientific gentleman for the aid which he gave those who work in the field of social science.

We are told that after being challenged by the Congressional Appropriations Committee as to the estimates submitted for the expenses of the Bureau of Standards, he determined to assemble precise data as to the general cost of the government, and he prepared a paper which finally took form under the title of "Expenditures and Revenues of the Federal Government," published this May, which showed at an opportune moment the relative cost of the various activities of the government. We shall never know quite how much he has contributed to that change in the popular current thought on the subject of disarmament of which we are now all aware. He made his facts clear by terse statements in simple English, by absolute precision of data, by charts and tables, by "pies" cut in labeled "pieces." In the 1920 "pie" the sector containing social and industrial research is hardly visible to the naked eye, while the share of the Bureau I know best could not be seen. Indeed, the Children's Bureau, spurred on by the indignity of being unable to find itself, turned to calculating percentages whereby it discovered that its cost of \$271,000 for the year was less than $\frac{1}{2}$ of 1 per cent of the tiny "piece" spent for educational, developmental, and research functions, and a trifle less than $\frac{1}{1000}$ of 1 per cent of the whole budget and exactly $\frac{1}{1000}$ of 1 per cent of the war "piece."

These figures of Rosa's are not new. Usually they have been sedately, innocuously filed. They never entered the popular mind, yet they express stern living facts which he has driven into the understanding of the amiable and careless public. Rosa makes us see that war—past, present and future—cost 93 per cent of all the money the government spent in 1920 and forces us to realize that our only salvation for the improvement of civil government, for social research and betterment must come by reducing the 23 per cent for present military maintenance and preparation, because the great sector of the war debt, 68 per cent, must be paid. Those of us here clearly realize that democratic improvement in attaining standards of living which will make much social work unnecessary must be slackened for many long years because of the

war debts, and this meeting of social workers has given evidence of its belief in disarmament for this reason at least.

It is the ambition of many a government officer to emulate the ingenuity and skill in research and reporting which made Rosa's modest book his worthy monument. But the government has another method of serving the United States, the method of stimulating the activities of the states and aiding the federal states by appropriations on the fifty-fifty plan with which we are all familiar. For years, by this plan the Department of Agriculture, like a network of university extensions, has helped the farmer and his family. This fifty-fifty plan is improving our roads, and therefore reducing the isolation which is responsible for much illiteracy and child-neglect. It is helping to improve vocational education. It is building up knowledge of social hygiene. Some of us trust that it may be invoked to improve the care of mothers and infants and to reduce the present infant and maternal death rates. The present Federal Child Labor Law, which undertakes to control the labor of children in industry by taxing the net income of industries which employ children illegally, is an experiment not yet passed upon by the Supreme Court. However, whether sustained or not, it can hardly be depended upon as a precedent of federal legislation in the protection of children. Indeed extended governmental control would do violence to local autonomy beyond the measure of any benefit it could confer—as some of us believe. On the whole, the great service of the federal government in the child welfare field is that of improving, increasing, and popularizing knowledge—a vast series of government extension schools, if you please, where there is no compulsory attendance, but millions of eager students.

The nation, through the machinery of its forty-eight states, is responsible for the welfare of children and in all those matters reserved by the Constitution for state control. The inequalities are great and even shocking. Sometimes they seem beyond toleration, but cheering indications of progress are observable. One may refer to the new interest in child health and the thirty-eight states which have in recent years created child hygiene divisions within their boards of health, to the vast increase in the popular conviction that children can be kept well and not need to be cured. The increase in rural and city public health nursing and in the number of child health centers throughout the country points in the same direction. The solution of the health problem should be more rapid, but it is well begun. The juvenile court movement swept the country with an enthusiasm for taking the helpless child of neglect out of the category of criminals, and all of our states have juvenile court laws, yet we were told in 1918 that of the one hundred and seventy-five thousand children who appeared before the courts, fifty thousand were heard in courts without adequate equipment for their reasonable protection. The effort to control child labor by good schools and compulsory education laws is steadily becoming more effective and is at last reaching toward the rural child. We must not be surprised, however, that foreign visitors are disappointed in us when they see some of our failures instead of looking only at the brilliant successes reported to them abroad and which, as a matter of fact, they have imitated. This inequality is one of the evils of legislation by forty-eight separate states which time and public interest are slowly remedying. The Committee of Juvenile Court Standards which has been formed at this conference gives promise of study and research which will aid in stimulating interest and pride in equipping juvenile courts to serve the ends for which they were intended.

Illiteracy is the worst blot on the national child welfare escutcheon. Whether it can be wiped off without aid from the federal government is an open question. For myself I wish we could use the fifty-fifty plan with some freedom for aid and stimulus to the states, for stated periods, not as permanent contributions. Congress might review every seven years and determine to cease or continue, as the results justified—politics laid aside. Great progress has been made in some of the states in the last few years, although the figures of the draft warn us of the enormous task which this generation has to perform in educating young adults as well as children. There is hardly a state whose finances would not be strained if the appropriation really needed for elementary education were made immediately.

No surer sign of the trend of state legislation toward better provision can be found than in the code commissions which have now been appointed in twenty-four states for the purpose of reviewing and improving legislation regarding children. Every one of these commissions has become aware of the child welfare legislation and standards in our other states and has endeavored to secure the best standards for its own state. These commissions may be temporary, but law is not static in our country, and the children's codes will be reviewed again and again. These commissions are really engaged in legal research for the immediate use of their respective states, and thus we come around to the same proposition for the government and for the state, that only by painstaking study, by determined effort to know the facts and put them clearly before people and make them of practical use do we secure any real progress. By this method honestly pursued, we are on the path of democratic progress which cannot lead anywhere except toward better opportunity for life and liberty and the pursuit of happiness for every child. In fact one dares to hope that—not in our day but before the history of our country is all written—we shall add another clause and say that the rights of the child include not only the pursuit of happiness but its attainment.

OUR DUTY TO THE CHILDREN OF EUROPE

Homer Folks, Secretary, New York State Charities Aid Association, Special Representative in Europe of the American Red Cross

I must begin with a protest that the program committee has shown itself to be very far from 100 per cent American, because in the make-up of the printed program for this evening, it did not put the children of America first. I know our representative in England, Mr. Harvey, would not approve of that. The printed title is "Our Duty to the Children of Europe," but I am never quite comfortable, and never efficient, in discussing other people's duties. So that I would rather tell you a few facts in regard to Europe and let the question of duty follow of itself. I think it would be safer and more effective.

The first thing to be said about the children of Europe today is that they are not so badly off as they were. You are entitled to know that during the past eight months the condition of the people of Europe, in all the countries, in all the cities (except that we do not know anything about Russia), has slowly but definitely improved, and continues to improve. That statement should be followed immediately, lest it be misunderstood, as we are so prone to be optimistic, by the further statement

that when things began to improve they had a tremendously long distance to go to get back to where they were before the war, even judged by European standards. It is still true, after nearly a year's improvement (which is recognized by all the workers abroad, that hundreds of thousands of children will go to bed tonight in Europe with a pain in their stomach instead of food; that hundreds of thousands of children next winter, in spite of what can be done, will go to bed to get warm; and because the covers are thin, if there be covers at all, they will shiver almost as much at night as they did during the day. It is also true that tens of thousands of children in Europe get sick and die without seeing either a doctor or a nurse. But the worst of these conditions is slowly passing; there is progress; and no country in Europe, according to present indications, is facing towards a breakdown; no country is facing anarchy; in no country are they headed toward worse conditions, but everywhere toward better conditions. We may believe that, in the absence of any great setback, if there be no more war, if progress can be allowed to continue, in perhaps a year from now, there will be enough food to go around, there will be enough fuel for Europe to run its railroads and to cook its food, and enough clothes for its children, even without American aid. But after you have said that it remains further to be said immediately, and most emphatically, that the widespread effects of years of suffering and hardship, lack of food, lack of warmth, lack of care, and lack of everything, have left deep marks upon the children of Europe; which only the utmost effort, the most intensive child welfare work, along health lines, along preventive lines, along constructive lines as distinguished from emergency lines, for at least a period of ten years, can remove. And it is further to be said that in all that great belt of the war zone, stretching hundreds and thousands of miles, through Belgium, France, Italy, Montenegro, Albania, Serbia, Roumania, and up through Russia and the Baltic states, scores of miles wide—in all that region, children and their parents still suffer from all sorts of sub-standard living and will continue to do so, and that there will be no real complete reconstruction in those areas for at least twenty years.

This general statement, this effort to sum it all up, may become a little more definite, if I refer more in detail to a few of the countries I have visited during the past four months. I visited Poland, Serbia, Czecho-Slovakia, Lithuania, Latvia, and Esthonia. Let us begin first with Poland. We are apt to think that each of these countries is homogeneous; that conditions which prevail in one part of the country necessarily prevail in all others; that there is free interchange of food, fuel, clothing; and that there is a reasonable degree of governmental efficiency in equalizing conditions and needs in different parts of the country. That is not at all true. Hardly a statement can be made about Poland generally, which is true of all parts of Poland. You must remember that until recently a considerable part of Poland was German for many years, that a considerable part of it was Austrian, and that a larger part still was Russian. A member of this conference who has been a social worker in Poland for a year and a half gave me my best clue to the present general situation in Poland. Her work here had been the care of dependent children, and she suggested to me that Poland at present is like a family of three boys who, when very young, were adopted by three different foster-homes because their home had gone to pieces. One boy was adopted by a German family, one by an Austrian family, and one by a Russian family. When they arrived at years of maturity, by a chance circumstance the home was re-established and the three brothers were brought together. Great was the joy

of the brothers in the reunion. They looked forward to a happy home life. But they had no sooner been brought into close association in one household than they discovered things about each other which they did not understand nor quite like. The German thought the boy reared in the Russian home—well, he wished he bathed more often, had better manners and was more concerned about making a living, about where food and clothes were coming from, and how to contribute his share toward the running of the household. The Russian thought uncomplimentary things about the German-raised Pole; he recognized he was a skilled farmer, but he wished he sometimes took a little rest, and could be depended upon a little more. And both thought the Austrian Pole undependable and flamboyant. It was some time before they could adjust themselves to each other, in order to begin to address themselves to their common problems, which were very real and very pressing. That describes present conditions in Poland.

There are twenty-five million people in Poland, and all but a few of them have not enough food to eat and will not have for another year. They are not starving to death, but they are starving to disease. You can verify that easily in either of two ways. If you go to the food ministry you will find as chief assistant one of the most competent of American economists, Dr. E. Dana Durand, formerly director of our census bureau; and he will pull out some formidable tables which show how much food they raised this year, how much they have been able to buy from anybody who would give them credit, how much they hope to get from Roumania if they can but re-establish their railroads so as to bring food to the border, how they hope to get credit from Belgium for wheat; and on the other side he will show you how much food the people of Poland ordinarily consume and how much they need to consume on the lowest basis consistent with just getting along; and then you would see at the bottom of the sheet a substantial deficit. I do not recall the figures, but it runs into many thousands of tons still short, with no visible evidence as to where it will come from. That means that practically all of Poland (remembering that German Poland has the largest share) is on short rations today, and will be for another year. Or you can arrive at a judgment by the intensive method, which always needs to be used; that is, to go into the homes in Poland, in the cities and towns, and after establishing friendly relations, find out how they are getting along. We did that, Dr. Durand and I and a Polish-speaking American trained nurse. In the little city of Siedlice, forty miles east of Warsaw, in the early evening, we went into a home which consisted of a single room about ten by twelve feet large. We had inquired where the poor people lived, and some boys took us to this as the home of a poor workingman, his wife and two children. There was a tiny bit of a stove, one very narrow single bed, a little table, and two boxes for chairs. Upon the table was a plate of boiled potatoes. I said to the mother, after becoming acquainted, "I suppose you boys get dinner at the American kitchen"—which serves a meal a day to a million and a quarter of children in Poland. She said, "Yes, they get their dinner from the American uncle." I said, "I suppose they also have other meals at home." "Yes, they have other food at home." I asked what they ordinarily had. "Well, potatoes." I asked, "What do you and your husband find you can buy in the markets?" "Well, potatoes." "And bread, I suppose." "Oh, no. We cannot afford bread. We never have it." (Bread costs five times as much as in America.) I said, "What do you have besides potatoes?" "Well," she said, "I always look around and once in a while I find something I can buy, but

generally speaking, it is potatoes." I do not think any physiologist has yet termed potatoes the staff of life. I suppose she felt a certain sympathetic tone in my voice as I asked the last question, and she, with just the faintest trace of a smile, said, "We are getting along all right. The poor people live further down the road. They cannot pay the rents around here." I thought to myself that if that was a fair measure of the quality of the working classes of Poland, between whom and the aristocratic classes there is so little appreciation and sympathy, the future of Poland might be regarded as hopeful.

I went to Vilna to see the food stations there. It is not yet settled as to whether Vilna and its region is a part of Poland, or whether it belongs to Lithuania. That is still to be decided. There were many food kitchens, I was told, and I set out to visit two of them. It happened to be Palm Sunday. I found one in the basement of the university. I saw sitting in the front row a woman whose face attracted me. It seemed to me an embodiment of hope, and patience, and suffering. She had a little baby in arms, a little boy by her side. I asked her to let me see the baby, which she did with all the pride any mother could have in her baby. I asked her what she was able to get for food besides the meal a day she received at the American kitchen, a meal of six hundred calories. She said that before the baby came she used to go out and work and earn money, not much, but a little, and then she could buy some food; that her husband went into the army at the time of the last fight with the Bolshevik, and had not been heard from since, and now she could not work and all she and the baby and the little boy had was the food they received at the American kitchen. A representative of the American Relief Administration who was present immediately said she should have more, and that he would send her a \$10 food-package the next day. Then we went to a kitchen in the poorest section of the city, where we felt sure the people had no resources beyond what they received from the American kitchen for their children. We approached the place where the kitchen is, and it was perfectly quiet, nobody about, and no children. We rang the bell and the manager appeared, a Polish woman, who told us she did not open because it was Palm Sunday, a holiday. That again is Poland—thinking of the holiday part of it, not thinking of the elements of first necessity. When we got back to the hotel in Vilna, which is supposed to be in as poor a condition as any city in Poland, we found the street in front of the hotel full of women, rather well dressed, cheerful, quite active; and we wondered what it was all about. I thought probably there had been some new turn of the political wheel. We heard it was a "protest" gathering, that a few days before, the inter-allied commission had ruled that if there were to be a plebiscite in Vilna the women would not be allowed to vote, and the women had turned out to make a demonstration and demand that they should be allowed to vote. They pushed their way into the hotel where the commission was, and got a promise that they would confer with the women that evening about the possibility of reopening the question. So much for Poland.

I should like to speak about the three little countries to the north, Lithuania, Latvia, and Esthonia. In the order named, they extend from the Baltic sea to the Bolshevik line, from East Prussia north, almost to Petrograd. I found these countries had been much harder hit by the war than I had supposed. After traveling thousands of miles from the barbed wire, trenches, and destruction in Belgium and France, I had hoped that one would be free from these evidences of the destruction of war.

Coming back for a moment, not to our duties, but to our opportunities as American social workers, I wonder if any of you have been struck by the number of fiftieth anniversaries which have just been or are about to be celebrated in this country. The American Public Health Association, which has taken so much leadership in public health education, will celebrate its fiftieth anniversary next fall. Our own organization will celebrate its fiftieth anniversary two years from now. The American Prison Association celebrated its fiftieth a year ago. In our state the Conference of Superintendents of the Poor celebrated its fiftieth last year, and the State Charities Aid Association will celebrate this year. This grouping of anniversaries must mean something. It means that in the period between five and ten years after the end of the Civil War, there was a great emergence of a wave of interest in social welfare, and most of the great activities which have entered so largely into the shaping of our policies took their origin as organized activities in that period between five and ten years after the Civil War.

In the present time one can hardly be so optimistic as to say that social welfare commands a great share of the public interest. Everybody is tired and worn out with the great world-war, and everybody thinks he is poor. To my individual thinking, there has not been a time in my experience when there seemed so little genuine widespread interest in social welfare among people outside the range of social workers, as just now; but cannot we read a lesson from the events that followed the Civil War? This apathy is bound to be followed by the emergence of a great new wave of interest in human welfare. When we really get a glimpse of the horror and insanity of what we have been through, of what the war has really meant to the world; then will come a time when the world will want to devote itself to great measures of human betterment as never in the past. Shall we not read the lesson, as social workers, to prepare ourselves in advance for this? Shall we not be ready, that our sails may be filled, when that great wave of human interest rises from the deepest part of the heart of man? It will be world-wide, not America-wide only, for the world was in the war. Shall we not have our plans ready, and our proposed laws in mind, and our agencies and activities outlined, so that we shall not be found wanting when this new great opportunity comes to crystallize and make permanently fruitful the one real asset that may come out from the most devastating war that the human race has ever known?

B. DIVISION SECTION MEETINGS

DIVISION I—CHILDREN

NEW VALUES IN THE FIELD OF CHILD WELFARE

A. IN TERMS OF CONVENTIONAL CHILD-CARING WORK

Homer Folks, Secretary, State Charities Aid Association, New York

I take it that the chairman desired me to get an entirely objective view of our ordinary child-caring activities, to lay aside all considerations of sentiment, all the natural inclination to take pride in one's own work, and to make a perfectly cold-blooded, even hard-boiled, estimate of our work in its proper perspective. So far as I can see, the only way to get a new perspective of it is to try to see it, not as an isolated set of activities, but as part of the general subject of child welfare. We have not been very successful in reaching a consensus of opinion in our field, and I think the reason is that we have not seen our work objectively. It is hardly an exaggeration to say that the nearest we have come to the consensus of opinion is to believe in one set of principles and to practice the opposite.

When we take into account the full cost of caring for children apart from their own homes including necessary supervision, the question should always occur to us: Would this amount of money, if spent in aiding the child in its own home, accomplish as good or better results? When I wrote the little volume on *The Care of Destitute, Neglected and Delinquent Children*, in 1902, I said, "The forces which produce poverty, neglect, and crime seem to be beyond our reach." I wish now to publicly retract that statement, and perhaps this change registers a change on the part of many of those who have been engaged in child-caring or child-welfare activities. It is perfectly evident that many of the forces which tend toward poverty, neglect, and crime are, to a substantial degree, within our control. Every day children are being saved from becoming homeless; every family-welfare society, every mother's aid worker, every probation officer, every health and clinic visitor, every nutrition worker, is reducing the number of children who otherwise would have to be removed from their own homes.

The fundamental divergence in the child-caring field is not between those who care for children by boarding out and placing out systems on the one hand and those who would care for them in institutions; the real, fundamental divergence is between those who readily, or even lightly, remove a child from its own home and those, on the other hand, who do so with the utmost reluctance and only after all other efforts have failed. We must not, however, fall into the error of trying to assist children in their own homes for sentimental reasons. We must be hard-headed as to why we do it. Some of the factors which tend toward this result are perhaps still beyond our analysis, but two have occurred to me as typical or, perhaps, additional considerations. These are: first, that in the child's own home we have an ally—the child's mother—who would not hesitate an instant to endanger her own life to save her child from an obvious and threatening danger. Our job is to make her see the dangers which are equally threatening but are less obvious. She will be far more in earnest, far more inflexible, far

more valiant in removing these dangers when she sees them than we would be. Second, a mother always believes in her child to the end, always has confidence that there is good in him, always is ready to help him to regain lost ground. This attitude of confidence toward an individual is one of the essential conditions of rehabilitation.

Whenever the question arises of removing a child from its home, I wish that three questions might be asked and objectively answered: first, is there any real and conclusive reason why the child should not stay where it is? Second, what is lacking in his present home which we deem necessary for the child's care, and just how is that particular thing going to be provided under our proposed plan? Third how much will our proposed plan cost and would that sum, if used to assist the child in his own home, secure better results?

I wish that the charters of societies and institutions for aiding children and the terms of all bequests for child-caring work could be so altered that the agency would be equally free to assist the child in its own home or to assist it elsewhere, and that the money would be equally available in one case as in the other.

B. IN TERMS OF A BETTER UNDERSTANDING OF PERSONALITY AND CONDUCT PROBLEMS

William Healy, Director, Judge Baker Foundation, Boston.

New values and new standards in our field have recently been set forth clearly enough by a number of authors. We are attempting nowadays to gain more knowledge through digging away at the facts as they may be unearthed, the real facts of child life, with the directly consequent development of an altogether better understanding of the causes of the special problems that we have to meet.

One of the main contributions has been in the appreciation of individual differences and in the formulation of these as they show in abilities, mental balance, and in the content of inner mental life. Yes, and now we are studying the varieties of mental experiences, even as they differ among children in one family, and ideational differences, and the differences in mental habits, and altogether in reactive tendencies.

In illustration, we had the chance to study two brothers, a very interesting case in which the reaction to evil communications was totally different—one of the brothers developing a mental conflict and bad behavior which made him impossible at home and made him feel great disgust with the brother who readily communicated, in turn, the bad phrases heard. The first boy, on account of his overt misconduct, had to be placed away from home and only after a considerable time made a recovery, the other boy said what he pleased under his breath and was regarded as the good one.

Experience by this time has taught us very thoroughly that the ordinary formal mental examination is only one small part, and often the least important part, of a real mental study. We might know by looking inward ourselves that the essential features of our own life, and consequently of a child's life, are concerned with matters of ideation, particularly habitual and recurrent ideation, and with imagery and with definite mental traits, such as susceptibility to emotional reactions or qualities, such as suggestibility.

Consider, by way of example, the potency of the instinct of imitation and what it means for character formation. And we may here only consider it in connection

with one aspect of life, that of the influence of parents. A philosopher has said, "Everyone bears within himself an image of woman, derived from his mother; it determines his attitude towards women, whether to honor them, to despise them or to remain indifferent to them." The mother image is a vitally potent affair—a whole group of modern students of psychology insist. This, then, is a mightily important matter for mothers to know and for social workers to think of in providing foster mothers. "Children have to imitate someone in order to develop their own standards of behavior."

Institutional life has to be viewed in the light of the foregoing thought. Many of us have observed the results but few have thought clearly to the causes. One author suggests that teachers and caretakers cannot lavish on a large group of children the love of parents—and, of course, even the love of good foster parents. This leads to a sense of inferiority. Such children do not know that they are important, for they have never seemed important to anyone. Imitation of parents is the natural thing in family life. Who have these institutional children to imitate?—only distant models, perhaps dwelled on in the imagination. Perhaps, as this author suggests, this is really one of the great causes of the stunting of mental growth. He points out that in an institution there is wholesale imitation of children by children.

And another standard of child welfare work has to do with the effect upon children of the untruthfulness of parents and elders. Our collected material shows many examples of disastrous influences, and we feel sure that not nearly enough public attention has been drawn to the very definite results. The very dilemma that a child is in with the lying parent is significant. If the child does not take to lying itself then in its better standards there is already criticism of the parent. And if it does lie then its behavior in this respect is misconduct. We shall not soon forget the bitter statement of a girl, years afterwards, who was brought to an institution door by her mother under a misrepresentation, and was left inside. Probation officers and social workers of all kinds who would have a good influence upon children should never forget their own integrity in this matter as a bulwark of faith and respect.

Day dreaming so frequently indulged in, is looked at as a bare fact, possibly somewhat interesting, but with little thought of the world of ideation that is being built up as a structure, often a firm structure through the formation of habit, in mental life. We are learning to know the value of inquiring into this ideational world and of directing it. Heaven knows that day dreaming is not to be looked at askance, as one newspaper writer recently suggests in a fearful frame of mind, it has been a force in many of us in the building up of fine ideas and has afforded much worthy mental satisfaction.

Childhood fears are well recognized among specialists in mental hygiene for the dangers that they are, and the common sense of many mothers has led them away from the practices of a generation ago, but still the great public remains to be reasonably educated about this. The contagiousness of fear is very real. There is danger, not only in the sort of communications that ignorant servants indulge in, but also in the atmosphere that is engendered through the timidity of weak and neurotic mothers. There can be no doubt that fear is one large cause of the neuroses, and that the evil influences of the emotion of fear may be largely prevented by rational upbringing. Is it not a fact that Christian Science and other religious or semi-religious organizations are very largely successful through their consciously directed combatting of fear idea-

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tions? On my way to this conference I saw an exquisite example of the effect of engendering fear through the modern method of health campaigning in the schools. A most intelligent and very healthy little girl has her weight chart, and the person in the school who reviews these charts calls her attention to the fact that she is in the "D" class, she is in some danger because she has lost weight in the last month, the last hot month of the school year. The child goes home in a perfect panic, the unnamed danger preying upon her imagination. To this I say, most emphatically, that no child health work can be decently carried on, in this day and generation unless one remembers that human beings are minds as well as bodies, and that children's minds are tremendously plastic and to be thought of in terms of hygiene as much and perhaps more than their bodies.

Perhaps a good illustration of the recent more scientific attempt to understand processes, in sociology as well as in mental life, might be to consider the studies that some of us have attempted to make of why gangs of boys hold together, definite gangs. We used to say a good deal about boys being naturally gregarious and about this being an age of gang life and so on, but one finds such general considerations to be of very little help in understanding what gang life frequently brings forth in the way of conduct. If one does, then, make a real inquiry, one frequently finds quite subtle factors, bonds of union which are quite unsuspected. And the alleged fact of universal gregariousness hardly looms so large under these circumstances. One finds the bond to be very specific matters, secret practices, as well as possibly some hidden habitat or mutual possessions.

And this brings us to the whole matter of sex ideation in childhood. The newer point of view in this matter is that we are dealing with affairs, most frequently, of mental life, of ideation, of imagery, and not merely with physical feelings and habits. This is not the place to enter into this most vital subject, but I do want to insist to you that what we have learned in recent years that the very greatest of value for the correction of sex misconduct has to do with the finding out of what the mental content is and the ascertaining of, not only the sources of mental contamination, but also the actual form of the contamination. It is a truism to state that if parents do not instruct children in sex matters someone else will, but we ought not to rest content until parents generally appreciate the fact, and then the next step is to gain better understanding of what makes for a healthy mental content in these matters, or, if there is trouble already, how to uproot and supplant acquired unfortunate ideation.

Nowadays I wonder if we insist enough upon mental rest—in these days of quick transportation and many public amusements and the vast experiences that our children have through the movies and the modern bustle of life. "A child's mind is burdened with so many problems of adaptation and conduct while society is shaping instinctive nature," as Tridon says in his little book which contains so many suggestions for a healthy child life, that we should take special pains to see the values of quietude and thoughtfulness.

And all through one does very clearly see the great necessities for insisting on the constructive aspects of developing children's character, emphasizing the *do* rather than the *don't*. Again, I like what Tridon says, "People with the puritanical ideas harp on the protection needed by immature minds, but they never make any positive suggestion for developing minds to some greater maturity so that the world can be withstood." Of course this paragraph could be expanded to a whole paper dealing simply with this idea.

A fundamental point that I would insist on over and over, as a general point, without giving the illustrations that one might give by the scores, is that the basis of personality and character tendencies is in conditions in youth. One foundation, of course, is in the native equipment of mind and personality, and nowadays we consider it our business to diagnose the individual in these terms. But the other foundation is found in conditionings, which are modifiable, in the character-forming experiences of environment which leave a specific content in the mental life.

We are not nowadays, at least very few of us, asking for any great extension of sympathy, in the fashion of a Charles Dickens, for childhood, but we are asking for a deeper and more extensive understanding of child life. We are asking for the general development of this in the general attitude of social workers as well as in the dealing with separate cases. We are asking for an understanding of what goes to make up individual tendencies—native equipment, mental and physical; for an understanding of instinctive life as far as it may be known; for a knowing and an understanding of the influence of experiences; for a knowing and an understanding of many elements in the inner mental life. A just treatment of children may come out of this.

C. IN TERMS OF A BETTER UNDERSTANDING OF THE PSYCHOLOGY OF CHILD LABOR

Raymond G. Fuller, Director, Department of Publicity, National Child Labor Committee, New York.

With progress in child labor reform the conception of child labor has broadened, and with the broadening of this conception the program of reform has expanded. The field of vision in child labor reform includes much that was not there, and much more that was not there conspicuously, at the beginning of the century. This is partly due to accomplishment of first tasks, partly to enlightening experience, and partly to increasing knowledge about the child himself.

A rough outline of child labor and its problem would run somewhat as follows:

1. Direct effects (or hazards). These group themselves into physical, mental, moral.
2. Indirect effects or deprivations. These are chiefly loss of schooling and loss of play, constituting together an educational loss, if we take "educational" in its broadest sense.
3. Substitutes for child labor. The principal substitutes are play, schooling, and suitable work. These are all educational. Child labor might be defined as the absence of its substitutes.
4. Methods of reform may be classified as prohibitory, preventive, and substitutional. Methods of each kind are necessary. Establishment of the substitutes for child labor in the lives of all children is both a goal and a method of child labor reform—the method of overcoming evil with good.

Vital to the solution of the child labor problem is an increased popular appreciation of childhood itself, and this presupposes, of course, a better understanding of childhood. In spite of parental love for children, in spite of the claim on the part of society to have a special place in its heart for children, children even today are visited with vast cruelty and abuse—not a conscious cruelty and abuse, not a brutal cruelty

and abuse, but a cruelty and abuse of adult ignorance and thoughtlessness and neglect. So many fathers and mothers know so little about children that one sometimes wonders whether they are entitled to be the fathers and mothers of children; and society, upon which also devolves the task of fostering and bringing up each succeeding generation, is not better informed or more intelligent, and a doubt similar to that concerning parents arises concerning society.

Two sources of encouragement may be noted: the first is the comparative recentness of real humanitarian regard for children, together with the results of this regard; and the second is the rapid spread of the facts discovered through scientific study of child nature in both its physical and its psychical aspects.

There are those who believe that child labor is solely an economic phenomenon and its solution therefore an economic solution; that is, if we could do away with economic greed and economic pressure, we should thereby do away with child labor. They are only partly right. I mean to say that child labor may flourish and indeed does flourish in the midst of plenty. It is not a matter alone of power to provide children with the things they need, but is also a matter of knowing what they need and of providing it at all costs. It is not so much a matter of economic income as it is of spiritual outgo.

We cannot measure children's needs in terms of their future adulthood. We often, in dealing with child labor, condemn conditions which we regard as injurious to the child's future efficiency when the real question should be, not what kind of adulthood he is being prepared for, but what kind of childhood is he having now. The principal new value in the field of child welfare is, in my opinion, the new value attaching to childhood as a good in itself.

Now though it is true undoubtedly that we need in child labor reform a social vision, a social conception of the child-labor evil and of the objective in child-labor reform—in a word, humanitarianism broader than the old humanitarianism of pity and tears for the individual exploited child—it is equally true that our central and dominant interest should be in the child, the child as child. He is our proper point of departure in child labor reform. The elder economists used to talk about the economic man, as if he were a separate and distinct being from other men, but that viewpoint has been discarded. There is no economic man merely as such. There is likewise no child laborer merely as such. There is, instead, a child. We may consider the child in connection with child labor; we may consider child labor in connection with the child; but in either case we need to know what the child is, by nature.

Modern child psychology has taught us that in neither body nor mind is the child a miniature adult; he is a child, not a little man or a little woman. Out of the nature of children arise their needs; and out of children's needs, children's rights. As the primary and principal right of children is the right to childhood, so it is also the right to a full childhood and a normal childhood, which really amount to the same thing. What constitutes a normal childhood, and what are the environmental conditions of a normal childhood? This is the most important question in the entire field of child welfare. The answer will not be attempted here, beyond the pointing out that a normal childhood is one of natural development in accordance with developmental needs, that development of body or of mind depends on previous development, and that between physical development there is close correlation and more or less interdependence. Any occupation that interferes with a full childhood, a childhood of

normal and complete development, a characteristic childhood in each of its stages, is far from being a gainful occupation.

The general popular conception of child labor is one that is still limited very largely to the physical and physiological aspects of the evil. Not only does it fail to place due emphasis on the indirect effects of child labor—the deprivation of play and of schooling—but it fails, as regards direct effects, to emphasize sufficiently the psychical side of the child labor experience. The physical effects have been uppermost in the public mind, possibly because they are more obvious and more easily understandable; moreover, the physician and the physiologist have had more to say about child labor than the psychologist and the psychiatrist. Nevertheless, the psychical effects are quite as numerous, and quite as much a menace to future happiness and efficiency, as the physical. Deformation of the person is not more terrible than deformation of the personality, and health of body not more to be esteemed than health of mind. The child has a mind, a nervous system, as well as a body, and it has to be remembered too, that he is mentally as well as physically immature, and susceptible and plastic. The abolition of child labor and the establishment of its substitutes, particularly suitable schooling, suitable play, and suitable work, is a task of mental hygiene.

In true play no movement is made or action performed ahead of its natural and normal time; there is no unreadiness of body or of mind for that movement or that action. Thus it fosters no prematurities or precocities of physical, psychical, or psycho-physical development. Its activities, being timely not only, but interesting, since interest and play are one and inseparable as body and soul, are without that defective psychic motivation so common to child labor and so favorable to cumulative fatigue, which in turn is favorable to the inception of those dread diseases of personality the neuroses and psychoses.

The psychical side of the child-labor evil might be stated partly in terms of suggestibility. Children are more suggestible than adults. Fatigue enhances suggestibility. In child labor we have a combination of the two factors. Suggestibility and fatigue may become psychopathic, with consequences many and serious. Conditions which involve fatigue and particularly the cumulation of fatigue, which lower the general physical tone, which separate the child from his own natural society, which destroy self-confidence and initiative, which starve the instinct of workmanship instead of feeding it, which present an experience of repeated failure, which are marked by such concomitants as worry and fear, which fail to develop a rich fund of wholesome, objective interests, are conditions found in child labor and in the etiology of nervous diseases and personality disturbances of various sorts.

It does not seem to me that we are taking a utilitarian view of play when we recognize the service which it renders to the individual and to society. In preaching the gospel of play we must not forget, while enumerating the values of play, that play is a right by virtue of inheritance—a right written in biological laws that none can repeal.

We have mentioned the prophylactic and therapeutic value of play in mental hygiene. Next come in for consideration such psychological processes as catharsis sublimation, and socialization, which are of great significance in connection, for instance, with the instinct of pugnacity and the impulses of the psycho-sexual life. We may speak also of the fact that through play the play habit is formed. This means a great deal to the adult in keeping physically and mentally fit. It

is valuable as a prophylactic against mobmindedness. But over and above the play habit is the play spirit which is developed through children's play. Henry S. Curtis has said, "Perhaps the greatest service that play has to render life is to give it the play spirit in which to do its work. The tragedy of child labor is that too often it kills the spirit of play itself."

Nothing could be further from the truth than the rather widespread notion that child labor reform is predicated on the assumption that children should have no work whatever to do. As part of the solution of the child labor problem, as a means to the abolition of child labor and the breaking down of opposition to reform, we must give attention to the work that children should have and see that they have it. To establish children's work is quite as important as to establish children's play or to abolish child labor. These are all aspects of a single problem.

Psychologically, the fundamental characteristic of child labor is unmotivated activity—or activity motivated from without rather than from within. Some forms of activity involved even in school work may be described as child labor. They are beyond the child's needs, that is to say, beyond his powers, except as they are externally motivated or artificially forced. They may run directly counter to his needs. For instance, his need of free bodily movement or his need of interesting occupation.

In distinguishing between child labor and children's work, very definite psychological facts and principles are available for guidance and aid. This from John Dewey is suggestive: "To confine the growing child to the same kind of muscular activity is harmful both physically and mentally; to keep on growing he must have work that exercises his whole body, which presents new problems, which teaches him new things, and thus develops his powers of reasoning and judgment. Any manual labor ceases to be educative the moment it becomes thoroughly familiar and automatic." Child labor is child labor partly because it is not educative in this psychological sense. It does not give the child experience in solving problems and coming off well from situations; it does not, in other words, develop intelligence.

The distribution of degrees of intelligence among the general population, as indicated by the army tests, has been the subject of considerable discussion. It appears that 10 per cent of the population is of "very inferior" intelligence; 15 per cent of "inferior" intelligence; 20 per cent "low average"; 25 per cent "average"; 16½ per cent "high average"; 9 per cent "superior"; and 4½ per cent "very superior." Or, otherwise stated, 10 per cent is limited to a mental age of not over ten; 25 per cent of not over eleven; 45 per cent of not over twelve; and 70 per cent of not over thirteen or fourteen. On the assumption that the age-grade progress of school children corresponds with their intelligence, it has been concluded that 70 per cent of our boys and girls are incapable of acquiring a high-school education; 25 per cent of going beyond the fifth grade, and 10 per cent of finishing the fourth. It has been pointed out that, according to the figures of the federal Bureau of Education, 13 per cent of our school children actually do drop out in the fourth grade or earlier and that 69 per cent do not complete the eighth grade.

Taking the conclusions drawn from the army mental tests at anywhere near their face value, surely we must regard them as having a very direct bearing on the question of a sixteen-year age standard for leaving school and going to work. It is a psychological question as well as a physiological one. Why keep children in school if they are incapable of profiting by staying there? But maybe they could profit if we had

schools from those we have today. It has been suggested that the data on intelligence levels point to the necessity of picking out the children of the higher grades of intelligence and seeing that they are enabled to go on. The idea is that social and economic ends depend on a trained aristocracy of intelligence and that the schools are primarily to that aristocracy. The incapables may be charitably taken care of through special classes or may be allowed to depart at an early age. But, after all, the schools belong to this aristocracy—to the few who are favored mentally, any more than to the few whose parents are favored with money? Do the high schools cater to the small minority who are able to complete the course? Would it not be as wise to adapt the school system primarily to the needs of the 85 per cent who are supposedly incapable of profiting by staying in the present schools until they are grown, and provide special classes for the highly intelligent? Would it not be just as wise to emphasize the educational needs of the group of "high average," "average," and "low average" intelligence (60 per cent of the population) as the needs of the "superior" and "very superior" group (13½ per cent)? And keep the sixteen-year standard for school attendance and going to work?

REDEFINING OF THE SCOPE AND FUNCTIONS OF THE JUVENILE COURT, IN TERMS OF THE RURAL COMMUNITY

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It is only a few years ago that the people of a mountain community gathered on a Sunday morning around a woman of about forty-six or seven years as she lay pale and almost speechless on bed on a little front porch of a tiny home. They had gathered by request.

The preacher was there in their midst and made a little talk to the effect that the sister who lay upon the little bed before them had, up to about a year before, lived a strong life and hadn't had scarcely a pain or an ache; but that here of late she'd been a-havin' her troubles, that she had drunk all sorts of teas, taken all kinds of medicine sold at the store, and had had two doctors a-tendin' on her regular without gettin' any better whatsoever. He said that the doctors had done the best they could, but had finally give it up, that they didn't know what wa a-aildin' of her unless there was something the matter with her innards, and that they had decided to take her to the hospital and have her cut open to see what was the matter and if anything could be done. The preacher, continuing, said that the sister, realizing the uncertainty of life, especially when one goes to the hospital to be cut open, desired that all the people gather about her bedside and sing, "God, Be With You Till We Meet Again." They gathered and sang as requested, and then they lifted the sister on her little bed into the hack to be jolted down the rocky road ten miles to the train to be carried on it thirty miles to the nearest hospital. They brought the sister back, not on the little bed, but, utterly speechless, in a coffin. The jolt of the hack, the ride on the train, and the operation had been too much for her.

A gruesome tale, and told simply to say that the sister was quite as near to a good hospital as the child of much of the rural country with which I am familiar is to a well-organized and efficient juvenile court, or any other organized social agency public or private.

There are children in these rural counties, thousands of them. Some are abused, some are neglected, some are dependent, some are just poor, and some are going wild. Unfortunately, there are no private agencies, such as you have in the city, to cover the field. The church does a little, oh, so little, but about all that is done. The Red Cross, hard as it may be trying, is touching only the high places. I see no prospect of any very great improvement in this respect, and therefore, feel not only free but forced by observation to say that whatever is to be done in strictly rural communities for the care of children, unfortunate for any reason, will have to be done by someone employed to do it and paid for his work out of public funds. Rural social work will have to be paid for just as school teaching is paid for—a thing well recognized in well-organized cities, a thing that must come to be recognized everywhere.

Every child should be under the geographical jurisdiction of an efficient juvenile court. The rural child is entitled to have his interests cared for and promoted by the best juvenile law that can be evolved for the care of urban children, but you cannot expect the same type of full-time juvenile judge as in large cities. There cannot be a full-time juvenile judge for every county. The expense would be burdensome, and besides there would not be enough work to keep him content. Some other plan must be thought out.

The best we can do, perhaps, is to make some already established court of record a juvenile court. Where by reason of rotation the judge is absent from the county much of the time, someone must be provided to sit in his place. If nothing better can be had, a referee under an already established court of record would serve, but I think that not much difficulty will be met in finding an officer for the place. In North Carolina we took the clerk of the Superior Court. In Tennessee the clerk and master in chancery seemed to be the proper officers. After all, almost any honest person of good common sense and with good probation service would make a fair juvenile judge. The rules of practice are simple, and the probation officers are, or should be, there to tell the judge what to do. It would be a great mistake to undertake to press full-time juvenile judges upon rural communities. Any attempt to compel small rural counties to support a special full-time juvenile judge will fail, as it ought to fail, being altogether impractical.

The rural juvenile court, just as the city juvenile court, should be a court of record and on a level with circuit, district, superior, or criminal courts and should have exclusive original jurisdiction of all children under eighteen years of age. It may be necessary to give the juvenile judge the right, in his discretion, to remand children over fourteen years of age to criminal courts for trial in certain extreme cases. I am not at all sure that any child under eighteen years of age should ever be tried in a criminal court; but if he is to be tried there it should be always by the permission of the juvenile judge. The juvenile and not the criminal court should be named as the court of hearing in the first instance; first, because if this right is not distinctly placed in the juvenile court it will be exercised by the criminal court; and second, because I am seeking to avoid any excuse for trial by jury in juvenile courts.

It is now admitted by all that a juvenile court should be a chancery court. I am thoroughly convinced that no rural juvenile court should ever proceed by jury trial. Jury trials mean delay and a lack of well-considered treatment of the case. On the other hand, no person should ever be convicted of any crime without the right of trial by jury. In fact, he cannot be legally convicted of a crime without this right.

To say that the right of appeal protects this right means nothing except delay, a possible hearing by criminal court, and that your juvenile court is made a second to the criminal court whereas it should be on a level with it.

No person should ever be tried in a rural juvenile court for the commission of a crime. So far as children are concerned the very prime purpose of a juvenile court is to deal with the child as a child and not as a criminal. As for adults, the court should proceed by orders leaving the matter of conviction for crime and punishment to the criminal courts. The court having jurisdiction of the child should make orders with reference to it reaching adults, and all such orders should be enforced by contempt proceedings.

At present, I am of the opinion that the juvenile court for rural counties should have exclusive original jurisdiction of all delinquent, neglected, and dependent children. If there is to be a mothers' pension it should be administered by this court.

There is no question as to delinquency and it seems to be generally admitted that the juvenile court should handle cases of neglect, as well as cases of dependency, when the guardianship of the child is to be transferred. The time may come when simple cases of dependency and mothers' pensions, if there are to be mothers' pensions, will be handled without juvenile court action, but that cannot possibly be until well-articulated state and county child-caring agencies are established. In some parts of the country they do not now exist. The juvenile court idea is coming to be understood by rural people. A county board to expend public funds for the relief of dependent children is not so well understood, except as a function of county courts or boards of county commissioners, and they are what I fear most.

Whenever state and county child-caring boards are created with good county workers much of the work for the relief of dependent children can be carried on without hearings in the juvenile court, but even then it will have to be done in very close co-operation with that court, and I am inclined to the belief that orders for the expenditure of public funds for relief should be issued by that court. In my opinion it will be a most serious mistake to attempt to build up state and county agencies to care for dependent children apart from the juvenile court and at the expense of preventing the extension of its probation system. It must never be forgotten that it is no easy matter to get even one full-time public social worker in most counties. In many, many counties there is not one, and no great assurance that there will be even one soon. For me the juvenile court is the first hope. It would be a great mistake to allow anything to come in to interfere with its development in rural counties or to attempt to withdraw a part of the children from its jurisdiction.

I doubt the wisdom of a mothers' pension law as it is now understood. A comprehensive system for the relief of all children in need would be much better. But if we are to have mothers' pensions the administration in rural communities should lie in the juvenile court. So far as I can see it is the only rural agency that is likely to have competent investigators and supervisors until state and county child-caring boards are developed and when they are developed they will have to work with the juvenile court. And besides, if the juvenile court is to have the right, after investigation, to order a parent to make payments for the support of his child, why should not that court order payments for children in need out of public funds? For the time being, therefore, I am of the opinion that in the rural sections of those states about which I know something, the juvenile court should have jurisdiction of all delinquent, neglected,

within the larger institution, or reception institutional homes, for the purpose of close, intensive observation and study of each child, preparatory to starting him upon a course in the institution or placement in family life. The rigid and honest adherence to this plan has brought splendid results.

The experience of a certain child-caring agency, specializing in the foster home plan, both adoptive and boarding, may be cited. That agency operates a Receiving Home plan for the "discovery" period of each child accepted for placement in a permanent foster home. Giving no controlling attention to expediency or convenience as to numbers in passing children through this receiving institution, a rigid program for physical, mental, and character study was put in operation shortly prior to January 1, 1920. The essential provisions of the program were as follows:

1. Before attempting to adopt a plan of care for any child accepted for permanent guardianship, a period of observation and treatment in the receiving institution is required.

2. Before admission into the receiving institution facts are gathered: (a) regarding child's family—physical, mental, moral condition of parents, habits of conduct of parents, and any facts bearing upon the parents that would assist in "knowing" the child, also such facts relating to grandparents or other relatives; (b) regarding the child itself—all facts active before the child's acceptance that might bear upon the child's future development, relating to such conditions as physical, mental, educational, personal appearance, habits, characteristics, behavior, etc.

3. Immediately prior to admission into receiving institution, laboratory tests for venereal infection, and for bacilli in nose and throat are given.

4. Upon admission into receiving institution, individual isolation is provided until child is insured free of infectious diseases.

5. Competent medical and dental service is provided, consisting of a specialist in children's troubles, in constant attendance; a surgeon specializing in eye, ear, nose, and throat; a dentist; a trained nurse and assistant. All medical and surgical work is done in the fully equipped operating room at the receiving institution.

6. Complete physical examination of every child upon admission by the children's specialist.

7. Proper instructions for the treatment of all conditions found, such as special feeding and program of activity and rest for undernourished cases; treatment of any and all minor disorders found.

8. Operations for tonsils, adenoids, circumcisions, or other minor operations by surgeon, assisted by children's physician and nurse on stated days.

9. Examination and treatment and fitting of lenses for all eye cases needing same.

10. Examination, extraction, or treatment of teeth.

11. Following in due course of time, after these physical treatments have been cared for and after child has time to become comparatively adjusted to his new environment, psychopathic examinations are made on all children admitted to the receiving institution.

12. During this period, a study is made of the child's conduct, his reactions under certain situations in the receiving institution, his characteristics of conduct and temperament, his special aptitudes and tendencies.

The remarkable evidence of the importance of the "discovery" period before fitting the child into a plan, lies in the cold fact that of the 71 children placed in foster

comes for permanency from this institution during 1920, all except 6 are keeping their places as members of their foster families; whereas before the operation of such an intensive "discovery" period, that agency had an annual percentage of removals from foster homes of 75 per cent more than in 1920.

This same agency reports that several years ago a policy of more intensive and extensive investigation of cases presented for care was established. At that time the agency was accepting for permanent guardianship and placement in foster homes, for permanent care, approximately 500 children annually. With the inauguration of the more careful investigation of cases, the number accepted for adoptive care began to decrease, and the number of cases served in temporary care began to increase. This tendency has been constant, and in 1920 that agency accepted only 150 children permanently separated from their parents, as compared with 500 in 1910, and served approximately 1,200 in temporary care, parents retaining their responsibility and finally fully assuming it.

In summarizing, it seems reasonable to urge all child-caring agencies, equipped to care for dependent and neglected children outside their own families, to recognize and keep operative these principles: first, in considering cases presented for care, proceed on the basis that the family and child shall be saved for each other, if it can be done with justice and safety to the child; second, that there shall be provided adequate facilities for investigation necessary to accurately determine whether a given child shall be removed, either temporarily or permanently, from its own family and placed in the care of a special agency; third, that the method of care of the agency shall in no way interfere with, but should assist in, the rehabilitation of the child's own family and its return to the family; fourth, that whatever be the plan of care after the agency accepts the child, provision shall be made for knowing all there is to be known about the child, based upon information and experience relating to the child himself, and the child's own family, and finally enabling those responsible for the child's future to place before the public a plan that finds its inception and development in a fully rounded out, composite judgment.

THE PUBLIC SCHOOL AS A LITTLE USED SOCIAL AGENCY

A. AS A FACTOR IN THE TREATMENT OF THE SOCIALLY HANDICAPPED CHILD

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As the implications of the topic may be misleading, let me say at the outset that the public school, whatever its pedagogical or social shortcomings, nevertheless, stands as our greatest child welfare agency. We sometimes forget that one of the undusted forms of social service is that rendered every year by the teachers in our public schools.

The public school possesses certain strategic advantages. It reaches practically all the children, and it has them under observation and to a certain extent under its control during their plastic period. Almost universally it possesses the parents' confidence. Further, the public school belongs to the people, and there is no taint

of philanthropy about any activity it may undertake. It is easy of access to parents in perplexity. As a social agency, therefore, it must be "counted in" and utilized. Still, in some places the school is almost an untouched resource so far as social workers are concerned, and plans affecting children, families, and community are made with little regard to the information possessed by the school.

Both social worker and the school are, broadly speaking, engaged in the same enterprise. Social work carries over into the field of education, too frequently re-education. This single word, re-education, forces on our minds the fact that to a great extent the problems of social work are due to the failure of the schools of the past, if the school's task and success are to be measured in terms of training the child not just to use the three R's but to earn his living, co-operate with his fellow citizens, and live a well-ordered life.

Even more challenging is the realization that the schools of today have on their present registers those children who will be our problems in future years, those who will fill our children's courts, our jails, our relief agencies, and our workhouses. The social worker should aim to push into the public schools and to see to it that the educational lacks which have necessitated social work be met by the schools in the first place so that the need for re-education may be eliminated—together with the cost in human suffering and money. Research studies of case histories show that much work with adults is concerned with those who as children in the schools presented symptoms of deviation from normal conduct, or who belonged to the groups recognized as "socially handicapped."

Socially handicapped children—what does the term mean? We should all include dependent, delinquent, and neglected children, but should we not add also those who, while they do not come within one of the groups which call for the protection of the city or the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children, yet live under such unfavorable conditions that they cannot enjoy the natural rights of children for air, play, chance to experiment with toys and tools, and to carry out their own projects? The list is not complete without the child whose family is lacking in the essentials of understanding childhood, the nagged child, the repressed, the overstimulated, as well as the overburdened and overworked. These are all problems which represent handicaps in the development of the child, and call for social or educational adjustment. Whatever the handicap, it is the school's duty first to know of its existence, and second, to see that it is removed, if possible, or if not, at least that the results of the handicap be counteracted or mitigated.

Progressive schools are recognizing the need of intensive individual study of all children and adaptation of school work to meet their special requirements. With handicapped children this need is greatly intensified, for each type of handicap represents a weakness to be anticipated, or an adverse influence to be counteracted.

We hear much these days about "patterns of behavior" and know that the children get their life-habits fixed at a very early age. Each dependent or neglectful family, therefore, means an extra problem in child training, for as a rule, children of such families will have a tendency to follow poor patterns. The social worker must make every effort to substitute patterns of efficient behavior, must see that the child is reinforced at every weak point, must call on the school for aid in the reinforcing progress, and for extra care in noting new symptoms of wrong or inadequate conduct. There must be constant interchange of information between school and social worker,

and mutual modification of plans to secure the greatest benefit to the child. Between them, they must see that all the essentials for up-building are provided. What the school cannot yet give, the social worker must be called on to supply. With children whose heredity or environment is poor, or lacking in some essential, special care should be taken in anticipating recurrence of the underlying trouble and in counteracting predisposition to it, just as with children of tubercular tendencies, we definitely plan to provide proper health conditions. For these the school has responded with open-air classes, special feeding, rest periods, and the like.

Granted the greater needs of the handicapped child, and the consequent necessity for close co-operation between school and social worker, let us briefly consider what the school can give the children's worker. The school can give valuable information about the child's reactions in school, his ability to co-operate with a group, his willingness to assume responsibility, ability to stick to a task, all indications of his probable success in life, and therefore traits to be noted by the social worker as well as the teacher. A knowledge of the child's satisfactory behavior or success in school may often be used in making his family realize their own share in his deficiencies and their responsibility for providing better home surroundings.

Our schools have at hand the means for early detection of maladjustments which will lead to serious handicaps unless corrected. They come to light through failure in lessons, irregular attendance, lack of co-operation of parents, conduct which points to bad mental habits or unwholesome interests, or through rumors of undesirable friendship or of unwise recreation, of overwork or illegal employment. All such cases should be passed on to someone specially fitted to deal with them.

The school can often give to social workers a knowledge of the weak points in the family's co-operation both with the school and the social agency, and sometimes strong points not seen in the home. To any social worker the principal's office presents an infinite number of social problems, some appearing directly, and others as the fringe of school problems.

What can the social workers do to help the school? If it is the business of the school to pass on to the next generation the heritage of the preceding, or that part which others leave untaught, then the school must know the lacks of the neighborhood, educational, recreational, moral, social. Some of these the social worker has opportunity to know better than the teacher. Conditions that are familiar to the social worker are often not understood by the teacher, and conferences on these will be helpful. Get the principal to attend case committee meetings, or other social groups. Social workers have a fund of constructive criticism for the schools based on observations of children and adults whom the school has failed to equip for life or whose symptoms the school failed to note. This is perhaps the special contribution that the social worker can make to education.

Be sure that the teachers know what your agency stands for, what your definite plan in a certain case is, and what you need in the way of co-operation. Frequently aims are misunderstood. There are still teachers, for example, who feel that they are doing a child a kindness by withholding significant information from his probation officer. Therefore, get acquainted with the child's teacher. It is not enough to have filed in the school office certain facts about his previous history. The teacher who sees him daily should have all the information which it is desirable to pass on, and the social worker must see to it that each succeeding teacher knows the facts.

I should like to recommend also that in planning for socially handicapped families, social agencies adopt for the family the plan yielding the greatest educational value for the children. To illustrate: real educational capital was made for the child out of a bad family situation by paying the money required by the family in the form of a weekly scholarship to an irresponsible girl of fourteen who hated school and thought she wished to go to work. The conditions stipulated were that she attend school regularly and keep a budget. Through this plan she was made a partner in the family situation, and her budget book served as the most effective arithmetic textbook she had ever used. Incidentally, she learned much about food values and purchasing. This plan, however, did not originate with the social agency, but with the visiting teacher.

One of the means adopted by some school systems for getting ahead of retardation and delinquency has been the extension of the school force to include a teacher who has had special training in social work. With the outlook of teacher and social worker, the visiting teacher stands ready to assist the school in solving the problems of those children who are unaccountably failing to grasp the opportunities the school affords, and the roots of whose difficulties extend beyond the school. She has been added to the system because of recognition of the fact that to educate the whole child the school must see the child as well as the pupil—must know something of the child's life during his eighteen hours a day outside of school, and must draw into fullest co-operation all the educative forces at work on his plastic nature in home, school, and neighborhood.

Reporting back to the teacher the conditions found is a very important part of the visiting teacher's task as well as working out with her a plan to meet newly discovered needs. The visiting teacher interprets to the school the child's environment, his special difficulties and needs. To the parents she makes clear the aims and puzzling requirements of the school and the needs of their children and thus wins their co-operation.

This work must not be misunderstood to apply only to the socially handicapped. In all our schools, especially wherever "the individual is overshadowed by the mass, there should always be someone whose function it is to study the individual child in the light of his social experience, to understand, therefore, his neighborhood and family background, his personal equipment and outlook on life." Such we believe to be the only safe foundation on which to begin to build an education.

The school is the logical place to detect symptoms of future inefficiency, whether they be departures from mental, social, or physical standards. If the next generation is to be efficient, we must step in before the trouble is set. To this end the work of the visiting teacher is directed, and her aim, so far as the school children are concerned, is the study of the individual child and the adjustment of disorganizing conditions in his home or school life, so that every child may be enabled to develop his potentialities.

B. FOR THE PREVENTION OF JUVENILE DELINQUENCY

Newton H. Hegel, Director, Attendance and Guidance, Board of Education, Minneapolis

I am to speak of the public school as an agency for the prevention of delinquency. Let me postulate four principles which you will agree are the inherent right of all humans in democracy worthy of the name: first, the right of every child to be well born; second, the right to be protected during infancy; third, the right to be ade-

ined for the activities of adult life; and finally, the right to emerge a full free, just state, offering an equality of opportunity to industry, intelligence, living. Now let us consider for a moment how nearly these rights obtain

Right to be well born.—The United States is fourteenth among the nations of the care of mothers. Twenty-three thousand of them die in a single year of rough lack of care. When we consider the 32,000 babes born out of wedlock unwelcome intruders into life; the 40,000 feeble-minded, in spite of our that of all conditions feeble-mindedness is one of the most certain to be the 140,000 born syphilitic in a year and condemned to nervous disorders—when we consider the great host of defectives which annually crowds morning of life, we realize how far we are from granting the first of these rights.

Right to be protected during infancy.—The United States is eleventh among the care of infancy. One out of every ten children die in the first year of life, not death itself which is the most disturbing consideration. It is the fact me causes that make for a high death-rate operate to make defectives and s. Furthermore, it appears that regardless of all other factors, the infant varies inversely with the father's income; and that means simply that, in that industry and parent love can do for the protection of children, in the last is the lack of means and, as far as the children are concerned, the unfair n of wealth that are responsible for child neglect. Again, one out of every ges results in a divorce. Disregarding the social implications back of this we need only mention here the disastrous effect the whole situation has on d protection of childhood. Would any one of us have the courage to say civilization offers to infancy in its large sense consistent protection?

Right to be trained for the activities of adult life.—The whole history of education gradual shift of control from the home to the school, from the parent to the the eyes of the state, the stupid, the unwilling, the lazy, and even the bad h in need of training as are the bright and the industrious.

Right to citizenship.—Just how far different is the civilization into which chil- ge as citizens from that which it should be to be a free, just, and fair civiliza- tainly too tremendous a problem for me to even attempt to analyze, and pendent childhood is upon it for its inspirations, its imitations, its ideals, and unities.

et us consider the meaning of delinquency and what part the denial of these al rights plays in its development. Reports of the Children's Bureau state birds of all delinquents come from homes no towns should tolerate. The is Visiting Teachers' Association, after considering their experiences care- be delinquency to poverty and to home conditions, and very little of it to al factor.

great wave of delinquency which followed the war, the schools evidenced d realization of the amount of responsibility for the moral direction of hich had already been shifted to them. They were inundated with criticism from all manner of organizations which conceived that safety, kindness to yalty, sex hygiene, thrift, and a dozen of other private and civic virtues better taught in the schools.

That the school is a powerful instrument in the molding of morality goes without saying. If we view for a moment the work of the school, we find that it aims to teach certain skills, such as reading, writing, and handwork. It is obvious that these skills should be intimately related to the skills required for carrying on the activities of adult life. Again the school aims to teach certain facts, such as are contained in history and science. It would be natural to suppose that these also should somehow be related to life, and yet when we come to pick out the facts which are essential and which are manifestly worth teaching, we run into difficulties immediately. Again the school aims to develop certain imponderable attributes such as aesthetic appreciation and ideals of behavior. Now it is clear that if only the facts to be taught could be determined upon, there would be no difficulty in teaching them.

If the particular skills that are worth while could be determined upon, there would be no serious difficulty in teaching them, but when it comes to the region of ideals, aesthetics, character, not only does the matter of selection become extremely difficult but so does the teaching itself. The school is forever trying to find out just what to do and how to do it; forever trying to organize for, and communicate to, the children the shifting values in human thought.

School hygiene departments have been in operation for a number of years—just long enough to uncover the tremendous need for corrective work, especially among children of congested districts. One need scarcely comment on the direct bearing this work has on the prevention of delinquency. Special classes of all kinds have followed as an outgrowth of the hygiene work. Of course, much of the special class activity has no particular bearing on delinquency; that which contributes the most toward its prevention is undoubtedly the work with subnormals. In the old days, pupils now classed as subnormals were understood to be dull, but were rather cruelly treated, as if they were in some way responsible for their own lack of wits. Retarded, discouraged, resentful of the insults heaped upon them, they frequently developed delinquent habits. This was all the more likely because of the narrow range of their own interests and the weaker resistance they could offer to evil suggestion. Subnormality being generally the product of heredity and unfavorable environment, it follows naturally that these dullards were furnished with plenty of evil suggestion.

The fact that character is largely a matter of habit, and that habits formed during the nineteen hours when a child is not in school are likely to be more powerful than those formed during the five hours in school, has directed a lot of attention to the need of supervised play and of all manner of club and recreation activities. The school is a natural community center, and should be given money to engage more fully in these human-saving activities. I think it safe to say that if the school could control a little better than half the waking time of children, it could sufficiently impress worthy habits upon them to carry through the rest of the time.

Another hopeful sign is the development of part-time classes, continuation schools, night schools and employment supervision by the school over juvenile workers. When these new responsibilities are fully realized, the gates of the school will never close upon any children, rich or poor, bright or dull. There will be no such thing as school leaving. In that system there will be a place for the handicapped of mind and of body, a place where the capacities of every child for useful and appreciative living will be given their fullest development. It is not yet; but it will come. Think what it will mean in the control of delinquency among older boys!

I shall be pardoned, I hope, for touching upon the work of a modern city attendance department as contributing very materially to the prevention of delinquency. Attendance officers in such a department are trained social workers. Every case is studied for causes and treatment. The officers co-operate closely with other organizations, not merely to secure attendance but to secure any number of other adjustments in the interest of the child.

The close co-operation between the Minneapolis Attendance Department and the probation office of the Juvenile Court has developed what we call a preliminary hearing. Since last September, children accused of truancy, incorrigibility, and other forms of delinquency have been brought first to Mr. Hush, chief probation officer for juveniles. The child, parent, and supervising attendance officer are present, and an effort is made to settle the case without court procedure and without court record. If there is further trouble, the case is then taken into Juvenile Court. From 77 per cent to 90 per cent of these cases, varying according to kind, have been saved court record this year by this procedure, which has the double advantage of waking parents up to the proximity of court action and of furnishing our attendance office with an instrument we feel a little freer to use than court action itself.

The most interesting and promising of all these movements toward socializing the schools, especially as they affect delinquency, has been that of the visiting teacher—the movement with which Miss Culbert has been identified and for which she has done so much. The visiting teacher is a real co-ordinator who brings to bear upon her cases all the social forces the community has to offer. She studies the home of the delinquent and his environment. Is there need, she finds help; is there trouble, she is a friend and advisor. Is there neglect, she makes responsibilities clear. Is there moral hazard, she finds some way to protect the child from its blighting influence. She understands how the lack of family pride makes for non-conformity. She seeks, by all means, to build up this spirit of individual and family respect which has been broken down by poverty, by illness, by filth, by rags and vermin, by neglect and crime. She understands that a child must be brought back from delinquency by a process as normal and as gradual as the one that brought about the delinquency. In the process of rehabilitation, she makes a thousand adjustments in the home, in the school, and in the environment. She is a teacher who develops not skills, such as reading, or facts, such as geography, but ideals of conduct and desires for righteous living.

Finally, I would say that delinquency will never be controlled completely until the advantages of conformity are as apparent and as immediate to delinquent children as those of non-conformity. Possibly that can never be until society is made over. As far as the schools are concerned, it certainly can never be until the teaching body has become socialized. With a genuine understanding of life and what is worth while in life, the teacher's everyday contact with children should be the wisest of all guidance toward life. This child should be received in the morning with an understanding of the home conditions he has temporarily left, and when at the close of the school day he turns his steps homeward, it should be with a consciousness that the teacher is a wise and sympathetic friend, who knows his problems and who really knows how to fit him to deal with them. That time also is not yet, but when it comes, youth as it leaves the gates of the school will look out upon life with the new courage of understanding and the new zeal of one adequately prepared.

SOME NEEDED READJUSTMENTS IN SPECIAL FIELDS OF CHILD WELFARE

A. THE EXTENSION OF NON-INSTITUTIONAL CARE OF CHILDREN WITH SERIOUSLY DEFECTIVE VISION

Mrs. Winifred Hathaway, Secretary, National Committee for the Prevention of Blindness, New York

The examining oculist of the New York City school system is authority for the statement that of one hundred thousand pupils in that city who fail to be promoted each year, fifty thousand have defective eyesight. According to his estimates, at least twenty-five thousand are left back, not because they lack brain power, but because they lack spectacles.

The annual per capita cost of educating a child in the public schools of New York is \$66.66. This includes instruction and books only, and is therefore exclusive of housing, lighting, and heating costs. It would seem as though the minimum of \$1,666,500.00 required to permit of 25,000 children remaining a second year in a grade would go a long way toward providing not only glasses where such are needed, but the services of a sufficient number of eye specialists to care for these children early enough that defects and diseases may be discovered before it is too late to correct or cure them. Yet, year after year, an abnormal number of children do repeat grades because the toll of educational brick is demanded without the necessary straw.

Until very recent years, for children suffering from defective vision there has been no educational opportunity. It is true that many such have entered and are still entering schools for the blind, but superintendents of such schools are the first to recognize the disadvantages of attempting to educate seeing children in institutes intended for the education of the blind. Foremost among these considerations is the psychological effect; the seeing child learns to think in terms of touch rather than of sight; his very presence in the school classifies him among the blind and thus lays emphasis upon his lack rather than his possession. He makes friends among his blind companions; in later life he associates with them and is ill at ease among the sighted. The training given to the blind child fails, when applied to the seeing children, to fit them for life-work.

The second disadvantage is more tangible. A child with any sight, no matter how defective it may be, will use it; hence he enhances the danger of losing even what he has by trying to read *Braille* with his eyes rather than with his fingers; this causes far greater strain than attempting to read ink print, because in *Braille* there is no contrast of light and shade.

The third disadvantage is that seeing children in a school for the blind are made eyes for their sightless companions; this reacts in nervous as well as eye strain.

Had the doors of institutes for the blind been shut to them, but two other avenues were open—one to be excluded from all educational advantages; to become the household drudge or a drag upon society; the other to continue to use the equipment of the regular grade at such risk to sight and health that all too often they finally joined the ranks of the blind.

Who are these children who until recently have fallen by the wayside for lack of opportunity? Children with one-tenth vision or less are considered blind for all

ical purposes and are legitimate candidates for schools for the blind. Children having 50 per cent vision or over are accounted able to use the ordinary school equipment, provided any eye trouble they may have is not progressive. Children between extremes, plus children with progressive eye troubles (progressive myopia, etc.), are considered to have a handicap of such seriousness that they need the advantages of special education. These classifications are, of course, made after everything has been done to bring the sight as near to normal as possible.

The ten years of experimentation have demonstrated beyond a doubt that sight-saving classes are a necessary part of every well-developed school system. Where a visual inspection of school children is adequate, approximately one child in every thousand of the school population needs the advantages of special education of this nature. Where medical school inspection is lacking or is inadequate, the proportion increases to approximately one child in every two hundred and fifty of the school population.

There are many avenues leading to the discovery of such children. The regular classroom teacher can be of inestimable assistance by carefully observing her pupils. Should a child squint, pucker his forehead, hold his book too close to or too far from his eyes, experience difficulty in seeing the blackboard, suffer from headaches, become easily fatigued, or in general fail to accomplish average work, the competent teacher will report him to the school nurse or doctor where such are available, or find other means of having his eyes examined. The final test must, of course, be made by an eye specialist; all too often the results of testing the eyes by means of a chart are considered sufficient; the chart is a good guide in many cases, but it does not show certain defects and diseases, and a child suffering from serious eye conditions may be quite able to read the letters at the required distance.

If, when everything in the way of refraction, fitting of glasses, etc., has been done, the child's eyes cannot be brought to 50 per cent normal vision, he becomes a candidate for a sight-saving class.

The oculist recommending him fills out a card stating the difficulty from which the child is suffering, the exact amount of eye work to be done, the time at which he is to return for re-examination or treatment, the correct light for his vision, etc., and adds the necessary caution to the teacher. But the finding of the children is the least part of the preparation; one does not have to go out into the highways and hedges, for they are close at hand. It is sometimes necessary to compel the parents to allow them to come in, but once convinced by actual results, refractory fathers and mothers soon become staunch adherents.

The preparation of the schoolroom must go hand in hand with other preliminaries so that it will be ready for the reception of the child. The selection is of great importance. Southern exposures are avoided because of the constantly changing light. The model sight-saving classroom faces northeast, thus giving the benefit of the morning sun to children who are often suffering from some general disability of which the eye trouble is a symptom, yet providing the steady north light for daily work. Windows reach almost to the ceiling, since the best light comes from above. Indirect artificial light of standard requirements is provided for dark days.

Translucent buff-colored shades, adjustable from the center of the window, prevent direct sunlight but do not interfere with ventilation. The walls of the room are light buff or gray with cream-colored ceiling. Everything is in dull finish, since

polished surfaces are responsible for reflected glare, most trying to any eyes but especially to sick ones. Movable adjustable seats may be so placed as to obtain the best light for the individual pupil, while adjustable desks make it possible to have the work at whatever angle of elevation the vision requires. The straining of back and eye muscle due to bending over a flat desk is thus obviated.

Special large-type books printed on light buff-colored paper with exactly the correct distance between letters, words, and lines make reading possible without eye strain. Arithmetic loses much of its terror and mystery when large figures on the blackboard are clearly seen; and for the first time in their lives many of these handicapped children are able to distinguish between an 8 and a 3, a 7 and a 9. Large sheets of buff-colored paper and very heavy lead pencils make writing practical. Children are encouraged to learn the touch system of typewriting as the chief medium of written expression, using it in the higher grades in connection with the dictaphone, thus reducing eye work to a minimum. Large outline maps simplify the geography lesson. The children put in the details as desired. There is no confusion from masses of material. Cut-out maps help the hand to work in correlation with the brain. Because concentration on close eye work, even for a short space of time, is a decided strain on the nervous system of the majority of these children, each twenty-minute period is followed by a change of occupation, rest, or recreation. Special emphasis is laid on vocational guidance, so that the work chosen in later life may not undo the classroom training. A hot lunch is good for all children, but especially so for those suffering from any handicap. Hot dishes are prepared either in the domestic science class or, where this is not available, in connection with their own special classroom.

The ultimate success of a sight-saving class depends upon the teacher and the co-operation which she receives. It is indeed no easy task to ensure this success. In the selection of a teacher certain fundamentals must be given careful consideration. Adequate scholastic preparation, essential as it is, by no means fulfills the requirements; in addition to her general training, a sight-saving-class teacher must specialize in this form of work. She must bring to it a personality that wins confidence, a sympathy that inspires, and an inexhaustible supply of patience. Tact and spirit of co-operation must be an integral part of her stock in trade. A knowledge of eye conditions is valuable but not necessary.

The best method of financing sight-saving classes would appear from experience to be by state appropriation. This enables small communities that cannot support individual classes to combine in establishing sight-saving centers. It also keeps equipment and teachers up to standard, since failure to comply with accepted requirements will naturally result in the withholding of the appropriation. Supervision is, of course, essential; it calls for pedagogic rather than medical experience, hence an educator versed in this special form of education should be chosen.

To revert to the idea of district-school methods is not in the program of the sight-saving class. To segregate in a single room under the influence of one teacher children of varying mental ages simply because they are handicapped by seriously defective vision would in large measure defeat the very object for which such classes are established, namely, to fit these children for life through conservation of sight and association with the normally sighted. The co-operative method of education is therefore followed. These boys and girls are registered in the regular grades, have their own seats, take part in oral recitations, gymnasium exercises, singing, games—

in fact in everything not requiring close use of the eyes. For intensive eye work they go to the special class where the mechanics of reading are taught from large-type books. Geography, history, arithmetic, spelling, and other lessons which the normally sighted child gets in part from books and in part from the blackboard are taken up by the special teacher in whatever way is best suited to the needs of the individual. Thus the handicapped child is able to compete rationally with the boys and girls of his own mental age in work and in play. He forms his friendships among them and enters upon his life-work with the positive rather than the negative viewpoint.

In a regular grade with forty or fifty children, numbers prohibit the individual attention required by the handicapped child. He is a drag on his companions and a problem to the teacher. Because he cannot see to do his work, he has no interest and often finds an outlet for his energy by becoming a mischief-maker. Under continual reproof and the too frequently applied epithet of stupidity he is apt to become at first shy and later sullen and morose. It is hardly to be wondered at that he seeks to evade his unhappy school experiences by playing truant; and truancy is the open doorway to the juvenile court. Many a child has stood before a juvenile court judge charged with some more or less serious offense whose initial failing is that he could not see the blackboard. In a sight-saving class his interest is sustained, truancy loses its charm, he is no longer a problem to the grade teacher, and instead of being a drag on his classmates he often stimulates them to effort by what he is able to accomplish in spite of his handicap. So far as his home life is concerned, he remains a part of the family. He attends school as do his normally sighted brothers and sisters.

Through the influence of the special class, he gradually and perhaps unconsciously begins to realize that his handicap is only in degree. For him the sun shines and the flowers bloom. The inheritance of mind and of spirit are his birthright and he goes forth with his head up to join the great company of those who, seeing the vision, behold that it is good.

A twenty-minute paper cannot hope to cover the many problems and interests of any specialized work. If it succeeds in demonstrating that non-institutional education for children with seriously defective vision is the rational method, its work is accomplished.

B. THE EXTENSION OF NON-INSTITUTIONAL CARE FOR CRIPPLED CHILDREN

Edith Reeves Solenberger, Philadelphia

The problem of the cripple is an obvious one and a hopeful one, as compared with the many avenues of social service which look forward for their solution to the happy days of generations far in the future.

The surgeon-in-chief of one of the great orthopedic hospitals in New York estimates that 90 per cent of all crippled children could be cured without mentionable deformity if they were brought to the hospital soon enough. Practically all of the 6,575 children in New York City who survived their attacks of infantile paralysis during the epidemic of 1916 have been saved from deformity.

We must never forget that the problem of the crippled child is at bottom a medical one. His first need is always for surgical and medical diagnosis and treatment. In

large cities, especially in New York, hospital provisions for operations and brief recuperation are fairly adequate. It is the follow-up work over a long period which needs extension everywhere. Convalescent hospitals are very few—New York has 1,278 operative beds for orthopedic cases, but there are only 273 convalescent beds near the city.

Even when entrance to a convalescent hospital for a long stay is obtainable, four questions should be considered for each child before he is sent to the institution: First, what is his physical condition? The degree to which he needs the care of surgeons and nurses is the vital point. The surgeon's decision must be final. Second, what kind of home has the child, and what kind of care will he receive there if he does not go to an institution? Third, what are the standards of the convalescent hospital to which the child may be sent? Fourth, what degree of supervision will the child have if he remains at home after his return from the operative hospital, as most crippled children do?

The much-needed physical supervision is usually given by visiting nurses. Sometimes they are part of the hospital's staff. In many cities some homes are reached by trained social service workers who are not nurses. The presence of a crippled child often creates a family problem and always intensifies any difficulty otherwise present in that family. The services of family case workers are often needed. Their visits must be supplemented by those of a visiting nurse if the adjustment of braces, minor surgical dressings, etc., are to be done in the home. If minor surgical work be all done at clinics, the visitor has less need of special medical knowledge. Where the services of both visiting nurses and social service workers are available a careful apportionment should be made in order to send nurses to homes where medical attention is to be given and social service workers to homes where the problem is primarily one of social adjustments with the giving of general advice as to health matters.

We are approaching a moot point, but two facts seem clear: first, the conditions and needs of each community should be considered before creating any new visiting service to the homes of cripples, and second, the number of different visitors sent to the home of any crippled child should be kept small. It will always be hard and usually impossible, however, to achieve the ideal of adequate help from one friendly visitor until there are a greater number of women who have a college degree (or an equivalent general education), a graduate nurse's diploma, and social service training.

One of the greatest advantages in keeping a crippled child at home instead of in a convalescent hospital is the fact that he may be able to go to school. Every child wants to be like other children. Any child who cannot go to school because he is physically crippled misses a great deal more than instruction. Many crippled children have grown up to be queer in an unnecessary degree because they have mingled so little with children of their own age. There is no tonic like the give-and-take of life in the schoolroom and on the playground.

Special classes for crippled children have been opened in the public schools of ten American cities. Any city board of education may usually be persuaded to provide teachers for crippled children on the ground that if they were not crippled they would have a right to instruction in the public schools and teachers would have to be furnished for them. Special seats, cots and blankets for rest periods, equipment for exercises and massage, and sometimes for surgical dressings, liberal provision for the teaching of handwork, free hot noon meals and milk at other hours, and finally the

most expensive item, free transportation, now usually by motor busses, are responsibilities taken over by the boards of education, in about the order named.

The average observer would expect to find the academic progress of crippled children much slower than that of others because of shorter sessions and liberal periods for rest and for handwork, as well as on account of their reduced vitality. But most of them do good work and a large proportion move from grade to grade as rapidly as other children. This fact is attributed by the teachers to two causes: first, the classes are small, not more than 20 children to each teacher, and each child receives more individual consideration than is possible in larger regular classes; second, the crippled children are often earnest students. Many of them are so limited in their interests by the fact that they cannot walk well or play running games that they concentrate their attention upon their school work with unusually keen interest. The hours spent in school are often the brightest in their restricted lives. They undertake school work with a zest which is largely due to an unconscious rejoicing that they are like other children because they can go to school.

The teacher of cripples has to deal with a far more complicated situation than the teacher in an ordinary class. Each of her pupils is likely to vary greatly from time to time in energy and capacity, according to his physical health. Furthermore, there is tremendously greater variation between the different pupils than between a similar number of ordinary children.

Some of the problems which must be solved in the teaching of a class of cripples are produced by the fact that both curable and incurable crippled children are included in the same class. A large proportion can be cured, or so far helped that in the course of time they will be able to re-enter regular classes in the public schools. These temporarily crippled children find in the special classes much needed opportunity to keep up with their school work. There are also some crippled children whose cure is impossible, or possible only after many years of treatment. They may be entirely free from disease, but some degree of deformity is permanent. They need a complete system of education in special classes. The fact that permanently crippled children have not usually been able to look forward to higher education is particularly unfortunate because their physical defects so often make them poor competitors in manual pursuits with young people of sound physique. If every crippled child with good mentality were trained for a career which made small demand upon his physical capacity but required considerable mental training, we should be making the greatest possible use of our handicapped citizens.

The majority of crippled children, like the majority of others, cannot look forward to higher education. The greatest service which it is possible for the schools to give is the provision of general education plus trade training for a manual occupation which can be pursued with the least possible risk of physical harm. The problem of trade training is bound to be an outstanding feature of future discussions concerning the education of crippled children, both because the development of industrial classes is the natural outgrowth of the excellent graded class work already established, and because the Great War brought before us the problem of the re-education and trade training of crippled soldiers.

The grade teachers of classes for cripples contribute a purely voluntary form of follow-up work, which informal and irregular as it is, probably reaches as many homes as the work of representatives of any other social agency. In all the cities, especially

in those not of the largest size, each teacher pays friendly visits to the homes of her pupils outside of school hours. She encourages parents to send the children to school regularly and increases the interest of the whole family in the crippled child's progress. It is surely desirable to make better use of these visits. After all, teachers are the most numerous social workers in America. They are all potential case workers. Could not afternoon or evening courses be offered by some of our training schools for social workers for the special purpose of increasing the usefulness of teachers as case workers in the homes where no extremely complicated social problems have arisen? Teachers are the natural link between home and school. Let us use them!

In New York, children too badly crippled to go to school even by motor bus have been taught in their homes by public-school teachers who spend one and one-half hours three times a week with each home-bound cripple. Volunteer teachers have given handwork instruction to the same children. A beginning in this work has also been made in Cleveland.

In conclusion, may I present three specific directions in which non-institutional work for crippled children needs immediate extension:

First, most work for cripples has been started in recognition of some particular need of individual children in a locality. This is a normal beginning, but the time is ripe for more comprehensive programs. The Association for the Crippled and Disabled, organized in Cleveland after the survey there, is the best example. It conducts the following specific activities: an orthopedic council, made up of surgeons; a social service department which does general social case work, including securing of medical diagnosis and treatment, transportation to hospitals and dispensaries, furnishing of braces, special shoes, and artificial limbs, and providing recreation and vacation opportunities; an employment department for the handicapped; a training school and sewing shop for crippled girls and women; a department for home industries, a committee for home physiotherapy, and committees to co-operate with institutions and with the public schools. Plans are under way for an orthopedic center to house a central brace shop, physiotherapy service, etc., and to serve as the point of contact of all organizations in the city dealing with the crippled.

Second, the extension of non-institutional care for cripples should include the application of the principles of psychoanalysis through the organization of special clinics for this purpose or the extension to cripples of the services of general psychological clinics. The psychoanalyst can give to crippled children the same sort of varied help needed by children not crippled, also the special aid sometimes required by little spirits as much twisted away from the normal as are their bodies, and thus add to their economic efficiency and their personal happiness. Also a lessened mental emphasis on specific deformities might well be attained through the guidance of an experienced psychologist.

Third, we have stated that the problem of the cripple can be solved, in the sense that the high skill of modern surgery and hospital care can cure most crippled children without deformity, if the work is begun early enough. But the final goal in the extension of work for cripples is the elimination of the causes of crippling.

C. A NEW INTERPRETATION OF THE TASK OF DAY NURSERIES

HOW LARGE A PART SHOULD THEY PLAY IN CHILDREN'S WORK?

Mrs. Mabel A. Gillam, Secretary, Chicago Association of Day Nurseries, Chicago

Day nurseries occupy a peculiarly important position in child welfare for three reasons: first, the complete supervision of the children accorded the nursery by the parents; second, the number of hours they spend at the nursery each day; third, the wide range of ages of the children cared for.

Organized originally to help working mothers by caring for their children, the day nursery started its career in the family group. It has big potentialities for family case work as well as for child welfare. But following the natural tendency to attack the task most obvious and at hand, the day-nursery movement took a child-welfare turn, and its task, as we see it today, is the adequate care of the children intrusted to it.

Adequacy presupposes certain prescribed boundaries within which you can "go the limit," so to speak. In the day nursery as a child-welfare agency these boundaries naturally fall into the matter of age. What age child shall the day nursery serve?

In looking over recent publications I find one doctor saying: "We should bend our energies to taking care of babies. It is difficult, almost impossible at the present, to find boarding-places for babies. It means work. It is not profitable. Few people, willing to take care of babies, can do it properly. It should be done with the assistance of a nurse, under the direction of a doctor."

Dr. Herbert Wilcox, Director of Children's Service at the Bellevue Hospital, New York, states: "Effective education in the pre-school child will make unnecessary much of the treatment needed by the average school child today and is therefore of double importance. The day nursery is the ideal place for such an effort to be made, because the children are there over a longer period of time."

Dr. Adalberta Guibord, Psychiatrist of the Church Home Society, Boston, and a member of the faculty of the Boston University School of Medicine, in her plea for day-nursery care for school children, declares that there is a very great need for what she terms the home-annex, where school children, whose homes for any reason fall short, can receive helpful home influences in the largest and finest sense of the word. She states that this definite social need must be met if the social well-being we desire for the nation is to be realized, and she feels that the day nursery is the proper agency to undertake the task.

Here we have the field pretty well mapped out—babies (though I doubt, if anyone would advise taking them under nine months old), children of pre-school age, and school children, all from the below-normal home.

Various authorities on child welfare and family case work will, no doubt, take issue with one or the other of these physicians as the recommendations cross their particular line of work. One may say that the babies are not born in car-load lots and cannot thrive that way; another, that the mother belongs in the home; and still another might advocate placing the children in an institution or boarding them out.

However sound or otherwise these objections may be, we do have large numbers of mothers turning to the day nursery to care for their children while they are at work. Necessity created the first day nursery and as long as our present social and economic conditions exist the charitable day nursery is an essential organization and it has

unrivalled opportunities for service—to the mother, to the community, to posterity, but chiefly to the child through whom most of the service to the others accrue.

The need for the mother to go to work, the injustice of being at the same time the mother and the support of the family, and other numerous phases of the problem of the wage-earning mothers are outside the scope of this paper. How best the day nursery can serve these mothers is a matter of vital importance. The answer is simple, isn't it? By doing the right thing by their children, making them real Americans, strong, kind, intelligent, resourceful—what not? Surely we have the right to expect this much for every potential citizen and to exact the proper developmental environment from every child-caring agency. Over and beyond this, every child of the wholly or semidependent class whose mother must help with the family budget should have equal opportunities with the more fortunate children to develop into desirable citizens.

Briefly stated these opportunities are health and education. Health analyzed means complete physical examination with a comprehensive health program. The health program comprises: all needed corrective medical attention, proper feeding, regular rest periods, training in regular habits and in the principles of fresh air and sanitation, and play, which is also an important phase of a real health program and furnishes a big field for mental and physical development. Play should be organized and under intelligent direction, but by no means neglected. Education embraces the opportunity for regular school attendance that the day nursery represents, and instruction in the nursery through precept and example of the fundamental principle of right living.

The first—health—is easily within reach of most child-caring agencies and particularly so with the day nursery where only well children, so called, are accepted. By well children is meant those free from actual diseases. Free from disease is about all that can be said for the children presented for day-nursery care. Of course, they are not in good condition. They suffered with the rest of the family in the crises that drove the mother to work. To bring these children up to normal, get them square with the world, and give them an even start, physically, is about the most worth-while task you can think of. It means a lot of work at first. It may even necessitate months of individual care and surgical corrective treatment, but the opportunity is there and should not be neglected. In many cases training in regular habits, correct feeding, sanitation, recreation, and rest will accomplish the desired results. The average child presented at the nursery is a nervous, high-strung youngster who does not know how to eat, sleep, or play properly. He is usually a coffee-drinker and has few if any correct habits. How could he have? The mother, even if she knew the principles of child-rearing (and usually she does not) has been far too busy trying to meet her economic problems to do the right thing for the children. To correct these early mistakes is a hard but many times worth-while task.

What the day nursery inculcates into the minds of these children becomes part of them. While helping them, through correct feeding, recreation, and regular habits, to become well and strong it is forming prejudices in favor of fresh air, cleanliness, and all other health principles.

Beginning with the year-old baby the day nursery can have a decided influence on the child's entire future. Although the work with children under two seems to be largely "keeping a care," as it were, it does possess wonderful developmental possibilities

in the matter of regular habits and food preferences. These are carried into the home through the mother who is usually most eager to learn why her baby is no longer skinny, pale, and cross. At first when she enters the child in the nursery, the mother is apt to tell the nurse: "Please not put my baby to sleep in the day, she no sleep at night, and baby she no likes milk," and to list other eccentricities of the year-old infant. She is more than pleased when all her shortcomings have been undone and her baby is a natural healthy youngster.

The pre-school child perhaps offers the most fertile ground for child-welfare effort. He is unhampered by school duties and at the eager stage where he urgently desires approbation. Principles attractively presented are readily accepted and made his own, either through understanding or through mimicry. This is also the proper period for dentistry, tonsilotomy, and other corrective treatments which prevent more serious conditions in later years. For example, although heart disease rarely appears until between the fifth and tenth year, its foundation is usually laid in the earlier period by constant absorption of toxin from infected tonsils and decayed teeth. So much for the infant and the child of pre-school age. Now what must or can the nursery do for the school child? Here indeed is another and perhaps a bigger task.

In the matter of food, corrective and preventive medical attention, the work with the school children differs from that with the pre-school child only in that the school child is older, with habits and prejudices formed. To undo these and develop the right ones while correcting the results of neglect of health principles is an essential and worthwhile but difficult task.

There is no distinct line of demarcation between these stages of childhood. The development from the toddler to the adolescent is so gradual that no definite health program can be outlined for any particular age. The school child, however, presents opportunities and responsibilities outside and beyond the general conception of child welfare as interpreted through a health program. In its rôle as substitute home, the day nursery should be responsible for regular school attendance and extend fullest co-operation to the teachers in getting the best results in school work departments. The before-school and the noon hours permit of little beyond the regular meal and preparation for school. The after-school period, however, affords an unusual opportunity for character development. The creative impulse, the spirit of adventure, and the "gang" instinct, present in every normal child, can be translated into constructive channels by intelligent direction.

In its rôle as friend and helper to a family in distress, the day nursery is in a position to secure prompt and complete acceptance of advice as to what is and what is not best for the child. It can have very appreciable effects on family standards where the children are concerned. It can justifiably discontinue care, if full and complete co-operation is refused.

Here, then, we have an organization with unrivaled opportunities for child welfare within its enrollment and the family. To make the most of these is the task of the day nursery as we see it today.

DIVISION II—DELINQUENTS AND CORRECTION

SOCIAL HYGIENE

A. THE NATURE OF THE INTERDEPENDENCE OF THE PHYSICIAN AND THE SOCIAL WORKER IN A SOUND SOCIAL HYGIENE PROGRAM

*William A. Evans, M.D., Chairman, Committee on Speakers, Health and Sanitation
Exposition, Chicago*

Society's machinery for the cure of those sick with venereal diseases consists of drugstore or counter prescribing, so-called patent medicines, private physicians including advertising doctors, family practitioners, specialists, dispensaries, venereal disease hospitals, general hospitals, and asylums or hospitals for the insane.

At some time or another far more than a majority of those having venereal infections get their treatment from the first two of these. Unfortunately, a very large proportion of those having gonorrhoea depend on counter prescribing for treatment during the earlier stages of the disease. The proportion with chancres and chancroids depending on this line of treatment during the infective stages where they take treatment at all is large.

The shortcomings of counter prescribing treatment and patent medicine treatment need not be elaborated. Of those who go to physicians for treatment the vast majority go to family physicians. Candor compels us to say that the treatment by the family physician, especially as regards the treatment of gonorrhoea, is not much better than that by counter prescribing and by patent medicines. The treatment by advertising specialists is neither scientific, thorough, nor honest in its attitude. As a rule treatment by specialists is too expensive for the type of people who contract venereal disease.

As our organizations now are, venereal disease hospitals are for women only and practically speaking for professional prostitutes only. The theory of their organization is that the infective prostitute will be compelled to ply her trade in order to live and that forcibly hospitalizing her is necessary for the good of society. Such hospitals receive a few women not of this class, but they constitute the exception. That this theory is correct cannot be denied. I cite some cases to show a parallel need for hospitalizing infective males.

There is no reason why general hospitals should not care for infective cases of venereal disease, but as matters now stand they care for gonorrhoeal rheumatisms, neuralgias, neuritis cases, pus tubes, and some other sequelae of venereal disease, including locomotor ataxia, spinal syphilis, and a few out of the ordinary cases of venereal disease. The insane asylums care for the late developments of cerebral syphilis. All in all the two most effective agents for the cure of venereal disease now operating are the specialists and the dispensaries. Both treat ambulatory cases in the

main. Both do considerable educating and social service. Both give up-to-date treatment. The limitation of the specialist is the infrequency with which he sees cases in the very earliest stages and the expensiveness of his services. The advantages of the good dispensary is the better developed social service, the greater flexibility of the charges for services, and the greater leeway for advertising compatible with the ethics of the profession.

In my opinion the outstanding need right now is for improvement in the treatment of gonococcal infections. The control of gonorrhoea is being held back by reason of this shortcoming in treatment. The responsibility for this situation is divided between the laboratory research men and the clinicians.

The machinery for social service theoretically is divisible into that for work with infected persons and that for the prevention of infection. The infected are or should be registered with the health department and also with some curative agency where their cure is not undertaken by the health department. Most cases of venereal disease, even in the infective stage, are not hospitalized, neither are they isolated nor quarantined in the home.

In a certain sense the social service visitor is a quarantine officer. In addition the social service visitor gathers information as to sources of infection, family relations of those infected, and other cases of infection in the home of the infected person and in the place where he is employed. He or she gives instruction as to the nature of the diseases, how contracted, how spread, how avoided. The opportunities for teaching morality and good citizenship are excellent. Educational and moral literature is distributed by the social worker to good advantage. An important part of his or her duty is to see that treatment is persisted in until a complete rather than a symptomatic cure has been effected. That rule of health departments now rather generally in vogue which requires that all persons who discontinue treatment prior to complete cure shall be reported to the authorities increases the usefulness and the importance of social service. A uniform interpretation of this ruling and a clearer definition of it would make the enforcement of the rule more effective and add still further to the advantages of social service.

The machinery for social service in the prevention of venereal disease consists of the church and other institutions for moral instruction, all recreational and wholesome play activities, the schools and other institutions of education, the departments of health and police, and the voluntary associations for the repression of prostitution and sex immorality and for the promotion of social hygiene. The social hygiene worker in this relation gives lectures, shows lantern slides and motion pictures, distributes educational matter, posts placards and warning cards, and teaches and admonishes by personal communication.

As medicine becomes less individual and more social the place of social service in the scheme of things becomes increasingly important. The high point in this need is reached in the treatment of venereal disease. The venereal diseases are forms of contagion. Contagion that is not hospitalized is doubly dangerous. Venereal disease is not cared for in hospitals. The fact that active treatment can make both acute syphilis and acute gonorrhoea non-infectious in a very short while, that the diseases are not self-limited, and do not tend to spontaneous recovery—all these considerations increase the importance of both medical care and social service in venereal disease.

Persons and organizations who will not render social service should not be allowed to give medical care to cases of venereal disease. Most of the after-effects of these diseases arise because treatment is stopped before cure is complete. Some of these cases consider themselves cured when their active symptoms disappear. Many of them have been led by doctors and druggists to believe this was true. Many have gotten their opinions from companions. Many of them become hopeless of cure and for that reason discontinue treatment. Whatever the reason, whenever treatment is discontinued, and often before this, sex relations are resumed. Therefore for the good of themselves as well as for the good of others we need above all things some machinery to keep cases of venereal disease under treatment until they are cured. This is social service.

So long as cases of venereal diseases in the infective stage are not all hospitalized there will be need of social service observers. Even though we were to forcibly hospitalize those who must make their living by sexual relations there would still remain a place for the social service observer in the control of the careless, the ignorant, and the lawless. It may not be feasible to hospitalize all, even all in the infective stages, for a long time.

Work with persons suffering from venereal disease leads into all sorts of questions of family life and relationships. These require social service work. In a well regulated social hygiene clinic every case is reported in conformity with the law, and a history is taken. This history shows the source of infection and the danger to others, wherever it is possible to get such information. The patient is furnished with literature relating to his disease in both its medical and its social aspects. By personal contact the various relations of his disease to himself and others is made plain to him. As tactfully as possible the social service worker visits the home or work place of the infected person where that seems advisable. He studies record sheets, investigates stories, and by all proper methods strives to learn who is breaking quarantine either wilfully or ignorantly.

As a rule health departments only require that physicians, dispensaries, and hospitals treating venereal disease report the cases by number or by name. So long as the case comes regularly for treatment and satisfies the physician that he is obeying such restrictions as the physician has established, the health department takes no action. If the patient breaks treatment or absents himself from the physician's office, the dispensary, or the hospital, that fact is to be reported to the health department, whereupon it will send out notices or inspectors or do other social service work as the circumstances indicate. This method of quarantine, known as "physician's responsibility" method, was in vogue as to scarlet fever, diphtheria, and other forms of contagion up to 1907 in some cities. It was found to be ineffective, because the social service work which the physicians were supposed to do under this law they did not do. In consequence, the plan was very generally abandoned. In all probability it will have to be abandoned also in the case of venereal diseases unless the awakening of the medical profession to its social obligations should be somewhat speedy. For a long time to come there will be need of social service workers to educate those who have wrong notions as to the seriousness of venereal diseases and their infectivity, to supplement the functions of hospitals, to bring about continuance of treatment until the possibility of relapse into activity or even until danger of organic lesions has passed, to provide some substitute for quarantine, to stimulate registration, to educate, and to promote educational and moral prophylaxis.

Chicago, I imagine, is about as well advanced as any American city in control of venereal diseases. As early as 1909 they began occasionally placarding houses of prostitution where venereal disease was known to exist and when it was possible to prove that infections had taken place. About that time they began forcible hospitalizing of infected prostitutes, to some small degree. In 1911 they had an official investigation and report on vice conditions. In 1912 the red light districts were abolished. They have the injunction and abatement acts. There is a society for the control of prostitution and one for the control of venereal diseases. The law officers are now interested in vice control. Health Commissioner Robertson has organized a bureau of social hygiene with dispensaries and a hospital. The state issues silver nitrate for use in the eyes of babies in the prevention of gonorrhoeal ophthalmia. The social hygiene society and other organizations have venereal disease dispensaries. There is a hospital in which infected prostitutes are kept until they cease to be infective. A great deal of educational work has been done. There has been no neglect either of educational or of moral prophylaxis.

And now having established that fact let me cite some cases as furnished me by Dr. Ben L. Reitman, who, as physician for treatment of venereal diseases at the Bridewell, as an official of the health department, as a member of the staff of the Illinois Social Hygiene League, as a practitioner of medicine, and as a practical sociologist, has an unparalleled opportunity to know the attitude of mind and the behavior of several large groups of people infected with venereal diseases.

Illustrating lack of self-control sufficient to establish the individual as a social or even anti-social:

George W., a sort of clean cut young man owning a grocery store. Married four months. Gonorrhoeal infection. Within ten days after his infection and while taking treatment, he said: "Doc, do you think I could infect my wife?" "Absolutely. Didn't I tell you to be careful not to stay with anybody?" "Well, I was in bed with my wife the other day, got heated up, and forgot all about it."

Dr. B., a physician with a venereal practice. After examining a girl he made a positive diagnosis by microscope of gonorrhoea. Was talking confidentially with the girl and before she left the office he had a contact with her. "But didn't you know you were taking a chance?" "Sure, but I got all worked up, so was willing to take a chance."

Illustrating ignorance sufficient to make the individual anti-social cases:

Alice, eighteen years old, kept house for her father who was a widower and a night engineer. Contracted syphilis and infected twelve young men in her neighborhood. "Alice, didn't you know you were sick?" "Yes, I knew it, but a girl told me that if I kept on staying with men I could just pass the infection right out of my system."

Illustrating indifference and lawlessness:

Babe, born in Tennessee, twenty-one years old, divided her earnings between a young sister and two pimps. Had an active gonorrhoeal infection. Was sent to the city hospital. While there she had contacts with an orderly, two internes, and a patient. "But, Babe, didn't these men know you were infective?" "Yes." "Didn't they object to staying with you?" "I should say not. I just gave them half a chance and they took it."

DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE

When in the course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another, and to assume among the powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the laws of God and Nature entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation.

We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness. — That to secure these rights, Governments are instituted among Men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed, — That whenever any Form of Government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the Right of the People to alter or to abolish it, and to institute new Government, laying its foundation on such principles and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their Safety and Happiness.

Prudence, indeed, will dictate that Governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes; and accordingly, the experience of the United States has been that the majority of the People have not yet been able to do this. But when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same Object, evinces a design to reduce them to absolute Tyranny, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such Government, and to provide new Guards for their future security. — Such has been the patient sufferance of these Colonies, that they have borne with our oppressions long enough. — Now it is time to part, and to stand on our own legs. — We, therefore, the Representatives of the United States of America, in General Congress assembled, do hereby declare that these United Colonies are, and of right ought to be, free and independent States; that they are absolved from all allegiance to the British Crown, and that all political connections with Great Britain are hereby totally dissolved. — That as the United Colonies by the Declaration of Independence have assumed the name and character of a Nation, so the United States of America, by the Declaration of Independence, have assumed the name and character of a Nation, and are now, and of right ought to be, a free and independent State, entitled to all the Rights and Powers of such State.

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Society of Sanitary and Moral Prophylaxis, to 1917, the movement was concerned more actively, though by no means exclusively, with medical, sanitary, and socio-legal remedial measures. The movement labored pre-eminently to check the spread of the venereal diseases and to eliminate their chief breeding ground, prostitution. Advocates of constructive sex education were of course not lacking, but repressive and remedial activities and interests bulked larger in the movement as such.

Our entrance into the world-war ushered in a second period marked by notable speeding-up of remedial activities and by a greatly increased emphasis on preventive and substitutional ones. The provision of facilities for wholesome recreation and co-recreation was undertaken on an unprecedented scale with the view of detrainning the unwholesome sex tendencies stimulated by mobilization.

The third period, the contemporary one, shows an increasing insistence on educational measures that aim to reach, guide, and mold the growing boy and girl, particularly the pre-adolescent child.

Without using the terms in too exclusive a sense, we may for convenience designate these three periods as the periods respectively of suppression, of substitution, and of sublimation.

Neither today nor in the past has the movement lost sight of the fact that sex conditions are to no small extent embedded in and aggravated by more general social conditions such as wages, hours of labor, industrial strain, housing, and so forth, but it has not as such felt itself in a position to take a conspicuous direct part in the practical readjustment of these conditions.

From this brief historical summary, we may formulate the present synthesized program of the social hygiene movement about as follows: While medical, sanitary, socio-legal, and recreational activities must not abate, and while the readjustment of social and economic conditions that aggravate the sex problem must be sympathetically viewed and so far as feasible actively hastened, the movement relies increasingly upon moral education as the cardinal solution of the sex problem.

By moral sex education is meant not mere sex instruction, not the mere imparting of sex information. Informative instruction is a fraction only and a small fraction at that of the whole educational process. Informative instruction alone will not carry far, and may indeed miscarry. Someone has said that when a new idea gains entrance into an unfurnished mind, it has the time of its life. So too may bald sex information that finds entrance into an unfledged character. Knowledge is not unimportant, but will-power is paramount. Sex education aims first of all to build up the affective and volitional life of the child and adolescent. It aims at such a capitalization of pre-adolescent and adolescent interests, trends, and impulses as will produce wholesome sex ideals, standards, attitudes, and conduct. To enter here into details of technique would carry us too far afield.¹ Two more general paths to the goal may, however, on account of their special importance, be mentioned in passing: first, the encouragement of absorbing and upbuilding types of play and the provision of ample facilities for leisure time activities in the young as a means of lowering the productive output of the proverbial devil's workshop; second, the nourishment and expansion of the chivalrous, protective, and altruistic impulses that grow from the

¹ For one of the best outlines of such technique, compare *Preliminary Synthesis and Integration of the Returns of the Sex Education Conference*, held in the spring of 1920, under the auspices of the International Committee of Young Men's Christian Associations. Publication No. 321 of the American Social Hygiene Association, 370 Seventh Avenue, New York City.

soil of the race-preservation instinct, and their reinforcement and spiritualization through high social, moral, and religious motivation and inspiration.

With a view to the concrete realization of the complex program which such an educational purpose demands, the following four steps appear to be of most immediate urgency. They are treated here in order of convenience rather than in order of importance.

The first step is the elaboration of a detailed technique for moral sex education. During the last century educational psychology simplified its task by confining its attention chiefly to the cognitive processes. More recently it has undertaken more intensive and systematic research into the affective and volitional processes. This change of tack gives promise that we shall soon have available a detailed technique of general moral training comparable to our detailed technique of intellectual training, a technique for training the child in kindness of speech, for instance, or in the sense of honor comparable, say, to our developed technique for teaching him geography or penmanship. In the sphere of sex education, we are already beginning to see the light. The general principles are pretty well worked out, as are also many detailed methods according therewith. Experience is being pooled. Experimental testing of methods is progressing apace. Already a considerable educational literature is at hand. One of the main agencies through which this technique is being elaborated and made easily accessible is the American Social Hygiene Association. Incidentally, need it be mentioned that social workers with their wide field experience and intimate contact with people and problems have much to contribute to the cause? We have plenty of general principles. What we need are concrete ways and means, the detailed ways and means which you have worked out, tried, and found not wanting. Send in your ideas and the fruits of your field experience to the Association. Education and social work have already been flirting and spooning with each other too long. It's time they got married.

The second step is the preparation of equipped and consecrated professional leadership. This means first of all the introduction of practical courses in sex sociology, psychology, and education into our professional schools—medical, theological, normal, and social. Barring emergency institutes and summer school courses, little has been done in this direction so far. One needs a burglar's kit to break into the already overcrowded curriculum. May we not urge, however, without intended flippancy the solution: Crowd out something less important. Nor should the course in character-training, including sex-training, be a tacked-on "fresh-air" course, particularly for those who intend to devote their lives to religious, educational, or social work. In its last analysis, the daily task of all three groups is a character-building one.

The third step is the awakening of a sane and abiding public interest that will be neither hysterical nor morbid. In the sex field, not all publicity is good publicity. Not without incurring grave peril can we advertise sex facts and conditions broadcast and indiscriminately. Sex is not a new kind of soap or a new brand of cigarette. The appeal to selected groups, particularly civic, welfare, fraternal, industrial, and religious, is probably the most efficient and least hazardous method. The small study club has promising possibilities and is splendidly adapted to the development of an enlightened and awakened lay leadership.

The fourth step, the most important of the four, is the stimulation and coaching of parents. Character-training whether in the field of sex or in any other field is

primarily a pre-adolescent problem. Indeed most educators would agree that character gets its dominant set in infancy and early childhood. Sex education is inextricably embedded in the whole of moral education. We shall here, however, keep in view moral education in the sex field only. Adolescent sex reactions are in the main determined by instinct-habit consolidations formed in pre-adolescent years. Sex education, therefore, is primarily a pre-adolescent, a pre-high-school problem, if not in fact a pre-school problem. The home is and must be the great educator.

It is true, of course, on the other hand, that a great number of parents are ignorant, incompetent, and unfit, while on the other hand, the school seems to give the readiest access by the shortest route to the largest number of children. However, even apart from the considerations advanced a moment ago, there are peculiar aspects of sex education which appear to make the school route to the child far less efficacious than the parental route.

So far as sex education, exclusive of sex instruction, is concerned, certainly the school should do a great deal towards building up the affective and volitional defences of sex, in stimulating the sex-corrective, chivalrous, protective, and altruistic tendencies, in providing wholesome outlets for the play impulses. But sex instruction proper is a horse of another color.

Our teachers are little better prepared as a body to give sex instruction than are our parents. That teachers can be reached and to a certain extent equipped more easily than can parents is plausible but not too evident. The task requires much training, tact, and personality which normal courses cannot impart. And gaucherie on the part of the teacher is attended with much more serious consequences than is maladroitness on the part of the parent. Moreover, the school deals chiefly with groups, and mixed groups at that. Segregation of sexes renders sex instruction undesirably conspicuous, and instruction even to segregated groups is open to many and grave objections. If our forebears went too far in the direction of prudishness and reticence, we too can go too far in the direction of speech. The sense of reserve in sex matters has had and has a profound social and moral protective value.

Again, the teacher in most of our schools cannot fairly or even legally do much in the way of utilizing the religious appeal. The parent can. And no one who knows the field of sex education at first hand can question the vital part religious inspiration and motivation can be made to play in upbuilding wholesome sex attitudes, ideals, and conduct.

In addition, the school, in the field we are discussing, cannot at its best be even 50 per cent efficient at our present rate of school mortality. About one-third of our American children leave school before reaching the seventh grade, about two-thirds before reaching the first year of high school, and about six-sevenths before completing the fourth year of high school.¹ But educators are now pretty generally agreed that little if anything can be or should be done in the way of direct sex instruction before adolescence or before the high-school period. In some of the elementary-school courses, such as nature study and hygiene, a certain amount of information can be safely and inconspicuously imparted in class, but not much. And for that matter, the high school itself has obvious limitations. We may recall too that so far as our data go, the average American boy, at least, gets his first sex enlightenment

¹ *Statistics of State School Systems, 1917-18*, pp. 30-32. Bulletin No. 11, 1920, Bureau of Education, U.S. Department of the Interior, Washington, 1920.

from miscellaneous sources, mostly unwholesome, about his tenth year. School instruction, therefore, even if and in so far as advisable and with all its hazards and inadequacies, comes too late and reaches a third to a seventh only of our adolescents.

Obviously the parents must be "campaigned" systematically, and social pressure applied to get the scamping ones to face their responsibility squarely. This for the above reasons, and for the following one, to mention no others.

If parental help and guidance in the field of sex are to be made adequately and practically available to the adolescent son or daughter, a relation of ready access and sympathetic confidence must have been established in earlier pre-adolescent years. More commonly the first crucial occasion for laying the foundation of such a relation is the very young child's ingenuous question, ordinarily put to the mother: "Where do babies come from?" If he is told that he must not ask about such tabooed things, or if he is laughed at, lied to, or rebuffed, he is more apt than not to learn then his first, often unforgettable, lesson in filial distrust and estrangement. Let the parents pursue this policy, and when adolescence dawns, when ingenuous questioning has given place to real temptation, the boy or girl is and generally remains sexually adrift, so far as parental influence is concerned. He or she has been trained by the most deadly efficient indirect pedagogy *not* to seek or profit by parental help, sympathy, guidance, and support in the most critical moral issue of the most critical moral period of his or her life.

The main key to the sex education problem is the parent, just as the main key to the whole social hygiene problem is the sex education of the child. Of the four next steps in the sex education program, the elaboration of technique, the provision of professional leadership, the awakening of public interest, and the stimulation of the parent, the last is in importance first. School and church must of course do their parts, but neither school nor church can undertake or adequately or successfully carry out, not only their own important task, but also what is primarily a parental task and responsibility. An organized campaign to reach the parents can make its approach along many avenues, one of the broadest and best paved of which is the one the social worker daily travels. Two other approaches are worthy of particular mention, parent-teachers' organizations, and church societies of fathers and mothers. These are singled out especially, because through them can be and are being bound together practically and co-operatively the three basic character-building social agencies that have to do with the child, namely, the church, the school, and the home.

C. THE SOCIAL WORKER IN A SOUND SOCIAL HYGIENE PROGRAM

Valeria H. Parker, M.D., Chairman, Social Hygiene Committee, League of Women Voters, New York

The social worker is primarily concerned with the adjustment of the individual and the family to the community environment. In this adjustment he cannot be successful if he ignores the importance of that program which looks toward the control and understanding of those forces upon which married love, parenthood, and individual development depend. The social hygiene program aims to protect these forces in the individual and to diminish the prevalence of illegitimacy, sexual promiscuity, and

venereal disease with their consequent destruction of individual happiness and social integrity. That a carefully planned and executed social hygiene program can be successful was clearly demonstrated during the World War, when the United States became the first nation in history to adopt a program of moral and physical protection of the men of the fighting forces and of large portions of the civilian population which made no compromise with vice. Not only was the physical deterioration due to immorality less in the United States Army and Navy than in any other of the nations engaged in the World War, but we find upon comparison of venereal disease statistics gathered at the beginning and end of the war that only one-sixth as many men became infected after entering the Army and Navy as were infected at the time of the first draft. In other words, it is six times as dangerous from a racial point of view for the young man growing up in the civilian community as in the Army or Navy under present methods of protection. Important as was the social hygiene program during the war period, it is even more important that such a program should be made permanent in time of peace and that the social worker, in whatever field of endeavor he may be functioning, should become an integral part of that program. A recent report of the United States Interdepartmental Social Hygiene Board states that the percentage of venereal disease cases contracted in houses of prostitution is rising steadily in the United States. Two and one-half years ago these cases numbered 23 per cent, while the present number is between 30 and 40 per cent. There is an interesting tendency toward the re-opening of the red light districts.

The American Plan, as it is called, contains five main features:

1. *Education.*—Every individual is entitled to a wholesome and constructive knowledge of the physiology of his bodily mechanism, the laws of hygiene which govern its proper functioning, as well as such an understanding of his psychological and emotional nature as will stimulate his co-operation in those regulations of conduct and in those conventions which protect the relationships between the sexes. Obscene vocabularies, sex misinformation, and stimulation along anti-social lines are not lacking in any community. Centers of wholesome education and decent sex vocabularies are to be found in few. The social worker who is alive to the need will find innumerable opportunities of stimulating sex education along constructive lines. In order to do this he must himself be free from those prejudices and inhibitions toward the normal facts of sex which are to be found in all classes of society.¹

National organizations of women are recognizing the need of organized effort in sex education. The National Women's Christian Temperance Union was the pioneer in work for the establishment of a single standard of morals. This organization has recently appropriated, from its jubilee fund of one million dollars, \$100,000 for the work of the Social Morality Department. Social hygiene departments have been established in the National Congress of Mothers' and Parent-Teacher Organizations and in the General Federation of Women's Clubs. The United States Public Health Service has appointed Dr. Rachelle Yarros to direct women's work in the Venereal Disease Division. Educational institutes on venereal disease control and social hygiene are to be offered, under her direction, to leaders of women's organizations in the states.

¹ Bibliography: Publications of the American Social Hygiene Association: *The Sex Factor in Human Life*, Galloway; *Toward Racial Health*, Norah March.

2. *Law enforcement.*—There is no limit to the influence which the social worker may have in stimulating the enforcement and impartial administration as to sex of those laws which purpose to protect sex integrity and family relations. He should co-operate with all agencies working for the establishment of those laws in states and communities where they are lacking or imperfect. The National League of Women Voters has adopted a well defined program for social hygiene legislation. No social worker can afford to be ignorant of the scientific and moral reasons proving the fallacy of a double standard of morals and the impossibility of protecting public safety by the segregation of vice.¹

3. *Medical measures.*—Necessary to the equipment of a social worker is a clear understanding of the prevalence, mode of transmission, racial significance and possibilities as to diagnosis and cure of the venereal diseases. The health agencies and public clinics should find staunch allies among the social workers, as there is no branch of social service in which the aid of these special health agencies may not be needed.

4. *Recreation.*—The need of wholesome recreational and athletic facilities under proper supervision is too generally recognized to be debatable. Desirable as the mental relaxation of wholesome amusement is for adults, for youth recreation is a necessary outlet for tremendous energies which may otherwise find destructive channels of expression. The successful social worker recognizes this as an elemental need and constantly seeks ways and means of meeting it. While we are decrying the relaxation in standards of conduct inducing the unwholesome stimulation of sex by certain types of commercialized amusements, we must not ignore the necessity of promoting amusements of a wholesome type which will supply good times for refreshment of mind and body to those who live in crowded quarters and are weighed down with the burdens of existence.

5. *Protective social measures.*—This phrase, coined during the war to describe those activities of the social hygiene program looking toward the prevention of sex delinquency, indicates a growing recognition of the fact that social study and case work are an integral part of the program. Under this head a valuable phase of social work has been developed—so valuable indeed that Congress has appropriated funds to carry on this part alone of the program in charge of the United States Interdepartmental Social Hygiene Board. The sum of \$225,000 has been appropriated for the continuance of this work, which consists in the investigation of conditions of immorality in or near military camps and naval bases, and their alleviation. It is significant that many of the most valuable workers in this federal department are found among those in social work—Miss Henrietta Additon, a social worker of university training, being Director of Women's Work. It is to be hoped that the continuance of this service will stimulate local communities to develop within themselves agencies to give the permanent protection needed. Among the many social agencies concerned in preventive work are the policewomen. The need of women as police officers and their value as an integral part of the Police Department has been so clearly demonstrated that the demand for such service far exceeds the supply of trained women. Indeed, there has as yet been established no training center, and standards of qualifications are still in process of development. Here again, we find the trained social worker of demonstrated value. The president of the International Policewomen's Association,

¹ Bibliography: *Prostitution in Europe*, Abraham Flexner; *A New Conscience and An Ancient Evil*, Jane Addams.

regularly commissioned lieutenant of the Metropolitan Police Department in Washington, D.C., is a trained social worker whose ability as an executive had been recognized before her appointment as director of the most highly developed women's bureau of any police department in the United States.

The diagnosis and care of mental defectives is an important phase of this program, as normal control of the sex instinct cannot be expected in this class, which is, nevertheless, capable of prolific and irresponsible parenthood.

Finally, I would plead that every member of this great conference become a conscious and direct worker in this phase of the social hygiene program. So long as he engages in any form of social service, however feeble his efforts may be, he cannot escape playing at least an unconscious part in the protection of society from the disastrous results of the misguidance and misunderstanding of those forces by which one generation of social problems follows another. Through the conscious and inspired direction of social agencies in the program indicated, the permanent protection of a fundamental phase of human welfare may be secured.

SPECIAL PROBLEMS IN THE TREATMENT OF JUVENILE DELINQUENTS

A. HOW TO STUDY A CASE OF DELINQUENCY

William Healy, M.D., Director, Judge Baker Foundation, Boston

I think that in the limited time at our disposal you will gain most by going over a single concrete case with me, and therefore I have selected such a one for our consideration.

Joseph A., eleven and a half years old, of Armenian parentage, came to us accompanied by the report that he had been arrested with a companion for shoplifting in department stores. They had taken five pairs of gloves in one place and some shoe polish in another. He had been in court three years previously for being one of several boys who broke into a grocery store and stole a cheese. The only report of delinquency in the interim was some truancy. His case had long before been filed because he had evidently done so well. But the court record, as in many other cases, did not represent by any means the total of Joseph's transgressions. It came out during our study of this case that he had been engaged occasionally in petty stealing ever since he was eight years old and that several times he had been out very late at night.

The ordinary investigation by the probation officer showed that this boy was the oldest of four children and came from very decent parents who were having an economic struggle and who lived in a very crowded quarter of the city. He was in the fourth grade, thus somewhat retarded, but caused no trouble in school except for very occasional truancy. This was practically all that we received by way of report; the situation earlier had been considered very mild because the boy reported so regularly on probation.

The boy came to us with his mother. She knew of his delinquencies, as they had been brought out in court, but stated that he had never been troublesome at home except for some nervousness and the fact that he was apparently influenced by his companions. The father, as she told about him, appeared to be a rather delicate

man who drank wine steadily and occasionally too much, but in other ways showed good standards. He had learned to read and write English, was interested in politics in a normal way, but he was not a very steady worker because his work was not always readily obtainable and he was not much of a "pusher." (This account of the characteristics of Joe's father was corroborated by social workers.)

From the standpoint of both explanation and prognosis there would seem to be nothing in Joe's heredity of significance for us. Our physical examination of Joe showed a boy of fairly good height and weight according to the standard norms for American children. His strength was quite fair; color good; he showed no sensory defect or nervous signs, except nail biting. His teeth, throat, and nose were in good condition. His posture was normal and expression quiet and pleasant. There was abundant evidence in a loud heart murmur of the injury to the valves by the disease process at the time of his chorea. The heart seemed slightly enlarged, but there were no signs whatever of lack of compensation; he was able to run and play much the same as other boys—and he had done so in spite of warning by the school physician. He complained himself of headaches and of feeling nervous, which was rather unusual since most boys tend to hide such physical ailments.

Some of his ailments might possibly be the cause of school dissatisfaction and ensuing truancy. With Joe no direct relationship whatever could be established between his delinquent tendencies and his heart disease.

Of course one could discuss his chorea and nervousness, his enuresis and nail-biting, as indicating some lack of good control which also found expression in his misconduct. But the proof of such instability as a cause could only be shown by observation under experimental social conditions. As we no longer believe that adenoids and tonsils, however important they may be in themselves, are directly responsible for misbehavior or school retardation, so any physical conditions in which the brain is not affected are never any direct cause of delinquency.

The family of five lived in two large, fairly sunny rooms for which they paid \$10.00 a month. Joe slept with his brother in the kitchen with the window open just a little. One could at once think of bad sleeping conditions as possibly responsible for Joe's headaches.

Joe's physical habits were a matter of inquiry. He drank very little tea or coffee, although he had a considerable liking for the latter. There had been very little smoking. His enuresis we have mentioned. His mother knew of no bad sex habits.

From the court report we learned that Joe at the time of his first appearance had been keeping poor company. From Joe himself we heard illuminating facts about his crowd. They were a group of boys of his own nationality and about his own age who had been going together for three years. They engaged regularly in petty stealing on the street and from stores as opportunity offered.

Of course Joe's school career was a matter of inquiry. He entered the kindergarten at four years. He lost a year's work on account of his attack of chorea and heart trouble. Now he was repeating fourth grade. His teacher reported that he had been troublesome occasionally during the previous year, but his conduct had been good recently. For some time, however, she had noted periods of distinct nervousness and some bad temper. Joe's mother said that she had been sent for occasionally on account of this.

We may come now to Joe's *mental life*, a matter, if we may judge by nearly every case, of the utmost importance. We begin with *personality traits*. Joe was reported by his mother quiet, obedient, somewhat irritable with the younger children, truthful, thoroughly honest at home, generous and affectionate. In our dealings with him, Joe made certain very definite impressions on us. He seemed a nice, quiet, friendly, frank lad, rather restless, somewhat frowning, distinctly impatient, very evidently not happy, or normally care-free for a boy of his age. We found him quite truthful. He was certainly hypochondriac, calling attention freely to his nervousness, nail-biting, headaches, and making much more of his heart trouble than it deserved or is common in a boy or girl with a similar ailment.

From the first the problem of *mental ability* was before us in this case because of school backwardness; from his being at least two years retarded we wondered if he were defective to any degree. On the Stanford Revision of the Binet scale he graded as having fairly good ability, his Intelligence Quotient was 97, well up in the average group. But his was an uneven performance; consideration of the separate results brought out interesting points for interpretation. He proved to have a very poor auditory memory span, curiously only attaining a level of six years in this; while his reactions to common-sense judgments gave him credit for a performance equal to fourteen years. He scored poorly on the vocabulary test, but this was undoubtedly due to poor opportunity—his mother spoke only in her native language and he had always lived amidst a foreign-speaking group.

That his common-sense judgment was very good was demonstrated also by his performance on a non-language test for apperceptive ability.

He showed no great skill with his hands, but we were particularly interested because of his earlier chorea to find that his motor control on special tests was quite normal, nor did we find any evidences of poor mental control. Joe demonstrated no particular aptitude for doing things with his hands in his work with our construction tests. He was, of course, too young to present any problem for vocational testing.

Given standard educational tests, he did rather better in both spelling and reading than the requirements of his school grade, but in arithmetic was not proportionately as good. Although at that time we did not have any good special tests for learning ability, it was fair to assume from his school record and the findings on the tests given that he was a slow learner.

We now see that Joe's school retardation was not due to mental defect but rather to a combination of time lost through his illness and to some special mental disabilities affecting particularly his learning capacity.

Out of all this examination, a matter of a couple of hours of skilful work, we gained a clear impression that Joe was thoroughly *well-balanced*.

Nor did Joe seem to present any problem in the *dynamics of mental life*, in the sense of involving matters of mental energy or functioning. He seemed, as we considered his mental makeup in detail, neither especially energetic nor, on the other hand, lethargic.

No feature of Joe's case, and this is true of many cases, presented points of more importance than those which we came to know of through making an inquiry into his *inner mental life*, or *mental content*, as it may be called—his ideation, thoughts, the material of his imagery. In the course of the two interviews given to Joe, we learned of many details of his mental experiences, attitudes, and interests. He was not fond of reading; he participated in no outdoor sports, perhaps entirely because he had

been warned against it by the doctor, although Joe stated that he ran up stairs whenever he chose. All these facts, while throwing only indirect light on causations, offered a very definite opportunity for constructive measures to be recommended.

Joe's interest had been mainly those of street life. In connection with this we learned of what proved to be the crux of the whole situation. He told us that when he was about eight years old he belonged to a little club of young boys that met in the cellar—they engaged in petty stealing, chiefly from street stands. Ever since that time he has known bad boys, some of them very bad. Nearly all stole, some stayed away from home occasionally at night, they played dice, and several of them had court records. But then these delinquencies were not to his mind, he made us understand clearly (nor, may I say to ours) their worst misconduct. They talked obscenely, showed him indecent pictures, and he was taught bad sex habits by them when eight years old. Nor was this all. Some of the group told him about their affairs with girls and that at least one attempted bad practices with him. This led to sex temptations which he maintained were associated with his nervousness. He said it was what made him bite his nails. His story about all this was told first to the psychologist and then later to me.

A great deal of ideation had been built up about these experiences, and while we obtained no evidences of the formation of definite repressions or of an out-and-out conflict, still this explained the hold of his companions on him.

With the foregoing facts before us we felt ourselves ready to make the summary of the positive points and the outlook and the chief recommendation. A standard scheme should be used which attempt logically to focus the salient points upon the potentialities and possible remedies. What the findings of positive import were have been given, and need not be repeated. On account of the leading part played by companionship and ideation centering about companionship affairs, it was felt that under present conditions the outlook was anything but favorable. If the family would move, their good moral standards might be utilizable in saving Joe from further misconduct. But if, like so many foreigners, they refuse to leave their local community, then Joe would better be placed through some agency. Although two of his companions had been sent away, some of them were still about there, and if the worst ones returned, as they probably would after a few months, it was likely that their old friendship would still prove inimical to Joe's welfare.

At home or placed out he badly needed the building up of new interests and ideas to replace the pernicious mental contact which was, as he stated, so recurrent that it had been his undoing. If his family moved to a new city environment much might be supplied through the activities of some settlement or other social center, but if an agency placed him, country life might be better because of the value of physical upbuilding and the opportunity for developing an entirely new set of interests. Some special tutoring, if this was at all feasible, might help him to advance in school work. If anybody could be found to do this, we would be glad to outline his particular needs and methods of meeting them. Advance in school might be thought of as a general stimulus to him.

We did not feel convinced that his sex habits, not severe, needed any special attention; they would probably be largely corrected by better ideation.

Concerning physical conditions, we recommended that a specialist pass judgment again on his heart. As a general social measure we urged that the little neighborhood gang be broken up.

I hope I have made clear several points: that a study of a human individual is important enough to be done well, that it must be undertaken in a definite spirit of thoroughness, that it should be a well-rounded study, that it requires training and several kinds of technical skill. It demands a special approach, a combination of a sound sympathy with a strong feeling for the practical issues of the situation.

Natural curiosity calls for a short statement of what was done for Joe and what were the results. Placed on probation, awaiting adjustments, his tonsils were removed by the order of a specialist. Before anything else was done he appeared in court again for shoplifting with companions, and then he discussed with the judge the causes of his own misdoings. He said that he could not get the ideas of misconduct out of his head, and he asked the judge to send him away to the boys' reform school. Then the services of an agency were again invoked with a request that they hurry the matter through. He was speedily placed in an ordinary wholesome country home in upper New England. The new environment and new interests very quickly brought about great changes. He conquered his enuresis, his nervous habits ceased almost entirely, even his nail-biting. His attitude of mind changed; his hypochondria gave way to a normal interest in games and in doing the chores on the farm; he acquired much better general standards, particularly those of cleanliness, and we were much amused because this foreign boy took on a good Vermont accent; he was absolutely honest in this home, and was much liked there and in the countryside. He was slow in school adjustment but tried hard. No abnormal sex interests developed there.

Part of this splendid result was undoubtedly due to the presence in the home of two other boys, one a little older, who was a sort of hero to this lad.

He came home after this placing and now for ten months has held his own in many ways. He is said to be thoroughly honest and to have given no trouble anywhere. We note, as might be expected, that unfortunately his acquired standards have been gradually deteriorating under the old conditions. Seen recently, we find that he is terribly homesick for the country and has grown to dislike narrow quarters at home and on the crowded city streets.

B. THE ELIMINATION OF THE REFORMATORY

Carrie Weaver Smith, Superintendent, State Training School for Girls, Gainesville, Texas

Probably the greatest hindrance to social progress is our blind worship of words. Just let an idea get incased in words, and it is apt to cease to functionate as an idea. Social platitudes are arid deserts. Often in speaking of pathological liars in institutions, we officials say, "So and So has told that story so many times she actually believes it," and so do we social workers. Somebody, seeing unsatisfactory social conditions, wants a remedy, honestly and earnestly thinks out a scheme, starts propaganda, gets a following, gets legislation, gets an institution, calls it by the name of the thing he fondly hopes it will accomplish, and then lapses back into satisfied self-assurance. It reminds me of the hen in "Jack the Giant Killer." Surely you remember the hen that the giant could place upon the table and command to lay, and lay it would indefinitely, until the giant went to sleep. A hen lays because it is a hen, regardless of everything else (in fairy stories). A school teaches because it is a school; a church saves because it is a church; a reformatory re-forms because it is a reformatory (also in fairy stories!).

The word reformatory is dangerous because it makes the public believe in something that cannot exist and gives a false sense of security. The word is silly; it is assuming the possibility of an accomplishment that is biologically and psychologically impossible. Given, for example, a young criminal (for want of a better name) who has indicated by his anti-social conduct that he is in need of all that reformation is assumed to mean; given a "model institution" (another word that we blindly revere), the young anti-social person is bathed, shaved, psychologized, vocationalized, niched—all at the sound of a bell, by a schedule that is unchangeable, immutable (also sacred word!); he is credited, or discredited; his response indicates his degree of reformation, and he is paroled, a re-formed man. And Society puts its fingers in its armholes, tilts its derby, and says, "Just look what I did!" A bath, a shave, psychological examination, vocational guidance, high school, machine shop, model institution, hocus pocus! out pops a new man—doing in eighteen months the job of the Creator, and doing it with damaged goods, whereas the Creator at least had new material. Of course it is silly. In the good old German colloquialism, "It is to laugh." If he is re-formable (to make use of common diction), he should not be sent to a reformatory. It is liable to ruin him. If he is not re-formable, it obviously isn't his fault if he doesn't reform. Therefore, our cue should be to remove all the things from the so-called reformatories that suggest blameworthiness, call them hospitals, and treat the patients accordingly. Selah!

Physically, the adult cannot be made over. Adenoids have deformed his respiratory anatomy. Endocrine imbalance has misshapen his body, slumped his muscles, and gotten his nervous system askew. Bad eating habits have played havoc with his digestion, etc.

Mentally, the brain stops growing at fourteen. After sixteen, native intelligence ceases to improve. The individual then illustrates Brand Whitlock's epigram, "You cannot tell a man anything unless he knows it already." So that after sixteen our work with the human mind is to develop, not form; to educate, not create. The emotions and instincts in evidence in a child of three may determine the conduct of the man of thirty. "The obliteration," says one of our nerve specialists, "of the once well established psycho-physical neuro-endocrine path is impossible, and these paths are established in early childhood." Dr. Pearce Bailey says: "If there is any one point at which intensive psychiatric and psychological study should begin, it is not difficult to be certain where that point is. It is in childhood and early adolescence." School children, not prison inmates, we may hope to reclaim. Dr. Healy, I remember, said, in an address made at the Cleveland conference years ago, "Inner mental experiences, as well as environmental happenings, in young childhood frequently determine the trend of whole careers." As a terrific example of the carelessness and indifference of officials, I am reading you the original of a letter which came into my possession, written by a child of eleven, who at the time of the writing was an inmate of a county jail. It is written on the sheriff's letterhead, as follows:

DEAR MOTHER AND DADDY:

How are you getting along this fine day? I have been here every since Friday. Mrs. T. brought me too jail til I got over with these sores. Our matron sure is good to us girls. She have to see if we are taken care of good. Mother you and Daddy come to see me. I am taking care of myself now. I washed my hair today. Mother I looked for you to go by here but I didn't see you. Mrs. M. gave me a piece of candy the night I came here. I will tell you what I have for breakfast. A big piece of bread and two pieces of bacon and a cup of coffee. And for dinner we have a cup of red beans and some meat and five

pieces of corn bread. Mother if you every mention red beans to me I will throw them at you. Mother I don't slept a least bit at night. Last night down stairs somebody was just screaming top of their voice, and I thought of home and just cried. I still go to Sunday School. Ther three girls in the room with me. One is Helen, the other is Fay (both adult prostitutes—C. W. S.). Well daddy you come to the jail to see me. I am on the third floor. I will close for this time. With love and world of kisses, your daughter M. P.S.: Bring me a box of Hershey's.

The letter is quoted verbatim; the date is April, 1921; the officials are men and women who have profited by two thousand years of supposed civilization, and yet have not learned. By our utter carelessness of the child, not only in this instance, but in thousands of others, we allow the adult to become warped beyond all recognition, then establish re-formatories, and say we will re-form him. Dr. Weidensall, in her Bedford studies, gives us little to hope for from the material sent to that institution, except as far as habit-making under constant supervision is concerned. In Massachusetts, in 1914, of 23,303 persons sentenced to correctional institutions, there were 13,437 recidivists. At Sing Sing, in a recent report out of 608 commitments, 406 were recidivists. "Give us reformable materials and we can reform," used to be an Elmira dictum. Are we to believe that less than half the material that comes to our reformatories is capable of being worked over into new men? Probably nearer the truth would be for us to realize that the other 50 per cent who come out of the reformatories better men and women would have been still better men and women if they had never been sent to an institution.

Psychic infection is a very real thing, and the walls of our jails, penitentiaries, and even our reformatories, are reeking with it. Wilde did not exaggerate when he said:

The foulest deeds, like poison weeds, grow well in prison air,
'Tis only what is good in man that dies and withers there.

A psychologist named Alexander Pope, many years ago, warned us about domesticating the monster Vice. The utter casualness of the repeated offender is aptly illustrated by a story of a Negro woman who was arrested periodically for drunkenness and disorderly conduct. She came to have her regular seat in the patrol wagon, and one day, when she was ushered into the wagon by a policeman, she found a Negro man sitting in her accustomed seat. "Move, niggah, dis mah seat!" she exclaimed, and then, as the patrol wagon rattled off to the city jail, she stuck her head out as far as she could and yelled to the driver, "Home, James." The story is too tragic and too true in its significance to be funny. Why is it? Would not a person's instinctive pride and self-respect alone tend to keep him out of prison? But stop, and tell me, what shred of self-respect can we hope to be left to the offender when he gets through the ordeal of our modern court procedure, when he has been the butt of the jokes and obscenities of the prosecuting attorney, has been the beneficiary of the lies and misrepresentations of the attorney for the plaintiff, and the free-for-all show for the gaping vultures that perch in our court rooms. A defense reaction, mingled with a certain natural bravado, immediately develops and temporarily saves the situation for the offender, but inevitably leaves him permanently scarred. Then, again, the offender often knows the character of the men who sit in judgment on him. Society and the court should learn that the offender was not born yesterday! Unfortunately, we do not choose the officials who have to do with criminals with any consistent discrimination. From the policeman on the beat to the judge in his black cap, pronouncing the death sentence, our system is one of hit-or-miss. Of course, we

might say in extenuation of our slipshod manifestations of irresponsibility for the welfare of offenders, that we cannot expect a modern, revolutionary idea like having college men for policemen and learned and upright men for judges to be adopted generally yet. Of course! Of course! By the way, there is a book, which is not one of the best sellers, called *The Republic of Plato*. Plato would choose a man, who presumes to judge his fellowmen, in childhood. He must be under observation all during his youth, that he may be "unpoluted with evil manners, good and beautiful, that he may judge soundly of what is just." The potential judge must be given definite trials as to his virtue, in childhood, youth, and manhood. If he comes out pure, then, and then only, is he to be given the task of judging his fellows, and he who presumes to touch in any way the destiny of the little child should approach his task with the sense of eternal responsibility.

We cannot eliminate the aftermath of the juvenile court, the reformatory, without first eliminating juvenile court. Elimination must mean substitution. What, therefore, can we substitute for the juvenile court? An educational council as part of our school system and not as part of our legal machinery. In constant session there should be, in every city, and available for consultation in any community, a group of trained men and women, armed with such legal authority as to make possible the disposition of children's cases, who would serve as the absolutely essential clearing house. To this council the school teacher, the school nurse, the parents, or the neighbors, could make informal appeal. By careful propaganda and educational methods, these people in turn must be trained to recognize the mental and spiritual danger signals, just as now they are trained to recognize measles and diphtheria. Delinquency, as a disease, is generally a gradual, insidious infection. To be handled properly, the diagnosis must be made early.

The clearing house is absolutely necessary. That is axiom one, if we would eliminate the reformatory. And the clearing house should not be an office for hurried consultation. Such clearing houses clear the docket, but frequently not the child's atmosphere. Not hurried consultation and diagnosis, but detailed and extended observation, is what we need for these cases who are early indicating anti-social conduct. Many of these children can return from the clearing house to their own homes, provided the home is kept under supervision. Snatching a child from its home is a lazy method, and often the substitute for the home is an institution where the standards of care are no improvement over the home from which the child was taken.

When will we indicate that we believe that the psychologists speak truth when they tell us that the love needs of the child are far more real than its food needs? One of the consummate promises of the ancient prophets to sinning Israel was, "As one whom his mother comforteth, so will I comfort you." I plead with you to leave the child in its mother's home, under supervision, under sympathetic advice with the parents (not to the parents), and under the influence and inspiration as to what can be accomplished in the improvement of the home. The child will act as a lever to the family standards. This will, however, necessitate a great increase in the number of our friendly visitors, directed by the educational council; it will necessitate adequate mothers' pensions; it will necessitate courts of domestic relations; it will necessitate day nurseries; and it will cost money.

From the clearing house then we must extend our supervision of the home to child-placing in other than their own home, when absolutely necessary; feeble-minded

colonies, when definitely indicated, although here it should be emphasized that many feeble-minded children, as shown by laboratory findings, can be kept outside of the institution, under supervision. Psychopathic hospitals are absolutely necessary, and to really functionate best, must treat the neurotic child rather than the psychopathic adult. And, finally, for certain cases, schools.

It is the combination of dependent child, the feeble-minded child, the psychopathic child, and the normal child that make our reformatory, so-called, the futile institutions that they are. Separate the classes, and you will automatically eliminate the reformatory. There is no relation whatever between the reformatory and the training school for juveniles, and given the really functioning clearing house in constant co-operation with the public school, together with supervised homes, child-placing in private homes, colonies for the feeble-minded, hospitals for the psychopathic, and real schools for the educable, and there will be practically no material for the adult reformatory.

Do not dare to say that this is an impractical ideal until it has been given a thorough trial.

Now, about the training school: First, keep it small. The number who may ride in an elevator is regulated by law, and yet so fearful are we of overhead expense that we crowd our training schools for juveniles until they absolutely cease to functionate. The big institution is doomed to fail. Children cannot be educated en masse. Even the best standard treatment of the group must give way to the concept of the individual.

Second, keep the institution a school, and a school only. Insist that the child be given a full public school day, and protest persistently against being a party to permitting a so-called state supported institution to prop itself on the labor of the child as a crutch. It tempts one to ask, in considering the training schools in America, "When is a school not a school?" and to answer, "When it is a school for delinquents" (so-called). Because the child has shown by her anti-social conduct how much she is in need of more education, she is put in a training school where she will get less. There should be the best in equipment and opportunity. A child from a good home may be able to "get by" in a makeshift school, but the child from a makeshift home must have the best. The housing should be in small cottages, of not more than ten girls to a cottage, under a woman possessed of the highest education, culture, and practical Christianity. If there must needs be a choice as to whether or not the housemother or the superintendent of the institution should have education, refinement, and culture, by all means pick the matron for these qualities in preference to the superintendent, as she has more to do with the molding of the children's lives than anyone else connected with the institution.

Each girl should have her own room and keep her possessions in her room—except what she has in the back yard! Seriously, I believe the greatest lack in our training schools is the back yard; the back yard, with arbors and shade trees and flowers—not too primly set—chickens and biddies, and a dog house, and an outdoor doll house, and a place to make playhouses out of old bricks and shingles. Oh, we need—how tragically we need—for our children who become wards of the state to leave the "e" off of our accepted method of treatment. We give them *humane* treatment, as we do our dogs and cats, the while they are yearning for *human* treatment. Eliminate the "e" from humane and you have helped to eliminate the reformatory. O. Henry's prayer that he might "bring to a child the heart of a child" is the greatest need we have today in our handling of children. But we grow up so, especially

institutional heads! What Methuselahs we are expected to be! Dignity must be constantly preserved to maintain discipline! If we could only substitute a flexible realization of the eternal fitness of things, and remember that, as Paul says, "There is a time for all things!" We should all approach this mightiest of human tasks in a spirit of humility. We should once and for all have done with hypocrisy. The best qualification for a worker in a school for juveniles is a good memory of her own childhood. We should have patience, and we should feel constantly the thrill of the job. We should remember that the task is a slow one; that in the words of Dr. Hart, "Five years is a short time in the life of a social worker." We should stick. The institutional head who simply looks upon the position as a stepping stone to one of "more prestige" or better recompense is a traitor to the cause of childhood. If, in the course of human events, one gets "let out," be ready to meet it, and with good grace depart. Pack up your material possessions as best you may, but pack with the utmost pains your ideals; label, "Handle with Care. This Side Up," and go forth joyfully to the next opportunity.

For, so the Ark be borne to Zion, who
Heeds how they perished, or were paid that bore it?
For, so the Shrine abide, what shame—what pride—
If we, the priests, were bound or crowned before it.

CERTAIN STEPS IN THE PREVENTION OF DELINQUENCY

A. ORGANIZATION AND ADMINISTRATION NEEDS IN THE TREATMENT OF DELINQUENTS

(Summary of Address)

O. F. Lewis, Secretary, American Prison Association, New York

1. The treatment of delinquency and crime should be a profession. The lawyer, the minister, the school teacher, are recognized as being of a profession. This means that there should be a group of standards in the profession of social worker, as related to the treatment of crime and law-breaking.
2. One of the important requirements is accountability. What we say and what we do should be checked up, even if only by ourselves. Our profession requires of us intellectual as well as legal and social honesty. Loose talk, remarks, and inferences not based upon fact or truth, easy, slipshod inferences, and the like should be excluded from our profession, and the person indulging in such unwarranted performance should be recognized as not representative of the profession.
3. We need to appreciate that we can contribute to the world's progress. This is the best that, consciously or unconsciously, the world places upon our work. There are any number of persons working in this field who are doing their work in a routine way, not daringly or with imagination. They serve, and they pass away in time. It is the pioneer, the daring, even the insurgent worker in this field who most makes for progress, provided his basic principles are sound. In proportion as we are conscious that we thus contribute to the world's progress shall we sense the necessity and the bigness of the field.
4. There should be civil service in the selection of wardens and superintendents of correctional institutions just as much as in the case of lesser officials. Only through

sound civil service—not civil service played as a political game, nor perverted by wretched or inadequate appointments to such important offices—shall we rid ourselves gradually of the blight of politics in connection with the operation of correctional institutions.

5. There should be relatively secure tenure of office. The lawyer knows that his field offers permanency, likewise the minister, the school teacher. But so long as the wardenship, and to a lesser degree the superintendency, of reformatories are of the in-again-out-again, off-again-on-again kind, there will be little inducement to high class persons to risk their success and the welfare of those dependent upon them on such unstable foundations.

6. There should be clinics in courts and in institutions. This has become so obvious as hardly to need even repetition today. The treatment of the criminal must be on the basis of adequate knowledge. Such information cannot be obtained without clinical help in many instances. And the clinical help should not be had only after the one dealt with has arrived at an institution. Indeed, the clinic ought to begin as early as the primary schoolroom.

7. As a corollary, all specialized treatment of the inmate should be on the basis of adequate knowledge of the individual to be treated. It is as unfair to treat an inmate predominantly on the basis of any one kind of specialized knowledge as it is to treat him in mass. For instance, to treat an inmate wholly on the basis of the findings of a physician or a psychologist is as bad as to treat him wholly on the findings of a "P.K." or a warden. What is essential in any institution is treatment on a basis of the joint findings of a qualified group of persons.

8. There should be an end to the existence of a number of different systems of correction within the same state. A State Department of Correction is essential. To continue the system of the county jail, the municipal institutions, reformatories under boards of managers, and prisons under still another body is to perpetuate many of the administrative evils that we seek to get away from. State departments of correction or of public welfare, centralizing control of correctional institutions under one board, should be developed.

9. All preventive and protective measures should be greatly advanced and increased in the communities. It should be better recognized that crime and law-breaking "start young" and often far remote from the vicinity of a correctional institution. The temptations of youth should be counteracted by equally attractive and pleasurable substitutes for the things that lead youth to delinquency. The organizations that foster healthy childhood and clean living among boys and girls should have large support. Young men and women should have sane and effective help before they are far on the road to crime and delinquency.

B. PROHIBITION AND CRIME

Professor John L. Gillin, Department of Sociology, University of Wisconsin, Madison

The speakers on the effect of prohibition at the Conference last year indicated that it was too early to be sure as to the effects of prohibition upon social problems. Dr. Elwood told us that alcoholic psychosis had decreased in the New York State Hospital since prohibition went into effect. The percentage of first admissions decreased from 8.6 per cent in 1917 to 4 per cent in 1919. Mr. Brown, of the Indiana

Board of State Charities, showed that between 1917 and 1919 the number of prisoners in all kinds of correctional institutions in Indiana had greatly diminished. At the time of last year's Conference the number of prisoners had never been so low in the county jails of Indiana. From 1917 to 1919 there was a reduction of 58 per cent in the jail population of that state and a decrease of 61 per cent in the commitments. The number of empty jails had almost doubled; the commitments to the Correctional Department of the Woman's Prison decreased 72 per cent from 1917 to 1919, while the repeaters sentenced to the State Farm decreased 70 per cent for the same period. Mr. Brown said that while the causes for the decrease may have been numerous, prohibition was the most potent.

Since that report was made to this Conference a year ago, other evidence has been found which seems to indicate that prohibition, even with the difficulty of permanent enforcement, seems to have had decided effect upon criminality. The study of the situation in Grand Rapids, Michigan, published by the *Survey* in November of last year, showed that during the first year of prohibition in Grand Rapids there was a reduction of 54 per cent in the court cases of that city, and of 45 per cent in the second year, making an average decrease of 49.8 per cent for the two years. It is a well known fact that the excessive use of alcohol is connected with certain crimes more directly than with others. Crimes of violence are more influenced than crimes of cunning. The crimes especially affected in Grand Rapids were assault, felonies, assault and battery, breach of the peace, desertion, habitual drunkenness, indecent liberties, disorderly conduct, intoxication and disorderly conduct, and vagrancy. The jail population decreased two-thirds. The total cases adjudged in police court between 1916-17 and 1919-20, decreased almost one-half, while the crime of intoxication was only a little more than one-fourth what it was in 1916 and 1917.

Further figures are now available for the state of Indiana. In 1920 the average daily number in the state prison was only 909 as compared with 1,209 in 1917. In the Reformatory the number had decreased from 1,276 in 1917 to 709 in 1920; in the Woman's Prison from 55 to 45. The number of women misdemeanants in the Correctional Department of the Woman's Prison had decreased from 111 to 37; the misdemeanants at the State Farm had decreased from 693 to 293. There was a slight decrease in the number in the Boys' School, and a slight increase in the number in the Girls' School for those years. The commitments to the State Farm dropped from 2,322 in 1916 to 993 in 1920; to the Correctional Department of the Woman's Prison from 342 to 91; the number sentenced to jails from 9,896 to 2,192.¹

A study reported in the *Survey* for May 14, made by Mrs. Tyson in Pennsylvania, shows a similar decrease in that state in spite of the fact that in western Pennsylvania large amounts of liquors have been obtained for "medicinal purposes." The number of non-support cases in Pittsburgh dropped from 1,055 in 1919 to 746 in 1920, and in another of the large cities of the state the number of reported cases of cruelty to children due to drink fell from 163 in 1919 to 14 in 1920. The jail population of the state was decreased by half during last year; the Industrial Reformatory for Older Boy Delinquents suffered a decline in its admissions from 731 in 1919 to 355 in 1920. The House of Correction in Philadelphia in 1920 had from 600 to 700 inmates as compared with 1,700 to 1,800 in pre-prohibition days. While other factors doubtless

¹ *Prison Sunday*, Board of State Charities of Indiana, Indianapolis, 1920, p. 12; *Thirty-first Annual Report*, Board of State Charities of Indiana, Indianapolis, 1921, p. 18.

account in some degree for these decreases, the study indicates the probability that even partial prohibition has had a decided effect.

In spite of the increase in arrests and commitments due to the enforcement of the prohibitory law which tends to increase the number of crimes and prisoners, in Ohio the Secretary of the Board of Charities writes me that he is convinced that prohibition has resulted thus far in a decrease of at least 20 per cent in petty and major offenses which were crimes prior to the enactment of the prohibition law. He reports that there was a very notable falling off of petty crime as reflected in the eight workhouses immediately after the enactment of prohibition when the population decreased 60 per cent. Since the so-called crime wave has been spreading over the country and the police have been more active in apprehending vagrants, and the courts in imposing sentences to workhouses, that decrease has not been maintained. Mr. George S. Wilson, secretary of the Board of Charities of the District of Columbia, writes me that the short experience of the district since national prohibition has gone into effect shows a very marked decrease in the number of petty offenders. The actual number of commitments and the daily average population have both shown great reductions, the daily average for the first nine months of the current fiscal year being approximately 193, with no marked increase at present, notwithstanding the unfavorable industrial conditions.

The District had a local prohibition law previous to the constitutional amendment. This went into effect in November, 1917. For several years previous to 1917 the population in the District workhouse averaged slightly over 600. In 1918 there was a decrease of 40 per cent over the previous year; in 1919 a slight increase over 1918, while in 1920 it reached the lowest point in its history, namely, 334. Mr. Wilson does not attribute this influence entirely to prohibition, but says that the first marked decrease came suddenly following the going into effect of the law for the District of Columbia in 1917.¹

In Illinois, in the three penal institutions of Joliet, Chester, and Pontiac, the number of inmates showed a decided increase from 1913 to 1917, then a decrease in 1918 and 1919, with another increase in 1920, attributed by the fiscal supervisor of the Department of Public Welfare to the return of paroled men to the institutions and the more rigid enforcement of the law in the cities where the newspapers have been devoting considerable space to the crime wave.

Some figures from Wisconsin have an interest in this connection. While the direct connection between prohibition and commitments to the correctional institutions of the state cannot be made, the facts are given here for what they are worth.

Since 1915 the commitments by the courts to the State Prison have been as follows:

1915.....	582	1918.....	399
1916.....	506	1919.....	314
1917.....	443	1920.....	269

The commitments to the State Reformatory show the following figures:

1913.....	179	1917.....	217
1914.....	172	1918.....	218
1915.....	275	1919.....	209
1916.....	224	1920.....	181

¹ Reports of the Board of Charities of the District of Columbia, 1918, 1919, 1920.

The movements in the jail populations are of even more interest. It is to the jails that most of the criminals who are influenced by excessive use of alcohol go. I have been permitted by the State Board of Control to secure from the records of commitments to jails figures for two years, the one 1914, which was probably a normal year, uninfluenced either by the war or by prohibition. The commitments to jails in that year were reported by the county sheriffs as 15,495, in 70 counties. According to the unpublished report of the Board of Control for 1920, in 62 counties there were 6,403. I took the figures from 13 of the counties in which the largest cities of the state are located for commitments, for drunkenness, and disorderly conduct in 1914. Such commitments numbered in that year 1,847. Of the same counties in 1920 six reported none, while the other seven reported but 89. There is a possibility, however, that the judges may have committed under some other name, such as vagrancy, some who would formerly have been committed as drunk and disorderly. Even making such allowances, however, the difference is striking. It is clear that the jails in 1920 were much less used to hold prisoners than in 1914. Whether prohibition accounts for the difference, of course, is still an open question. That it had some influence is less doubtful.

In the face of these facts it is not too much to say that there is a close negative correlation between the enactment of the prohibition law and the commitments to prison, reformatory, and jails.

C. THE TREATMENT OF WOMEN OFFENDERS IN THE MUNICIPAL COURT OF PHILADELPHIA

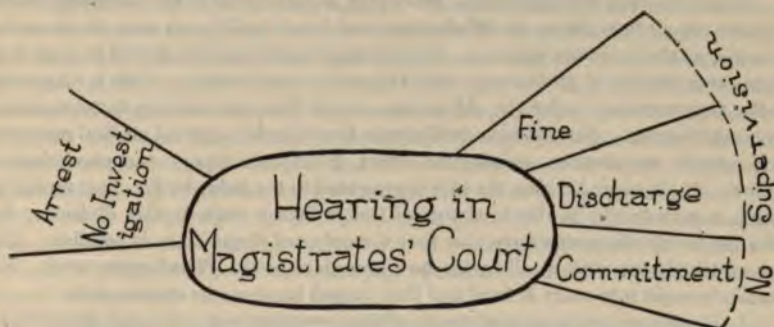
Leon Stern, Educational Supervisor Municipal Court, Philadelphia, Pa.

A clearer understanding of the treatment of women offenders in Philadelphia might be helped, I think, by first presenting the organization of the Municipal Court of Philadelphia as a whole, for it is in one of the divisions of the Municipal Court that women sex-offenders are tried. The Municipal Court is divided into five divisions: Domestic Relations, Juvenile, Civil, Criminal, and Misdemeanants'. It is in the Misdemeanants' Division that women arrested for sex offenses are tried. Each division except the Civil Division, has a probation staff. The Criminal Division and the Misdemeanants' Division probation staffs are divided into a men's division and a women's division. The attempt in this paper and in the slides illustrating the paper is to describe the work of the Women's Misdemeanants' social staff, probation, medical, etc.

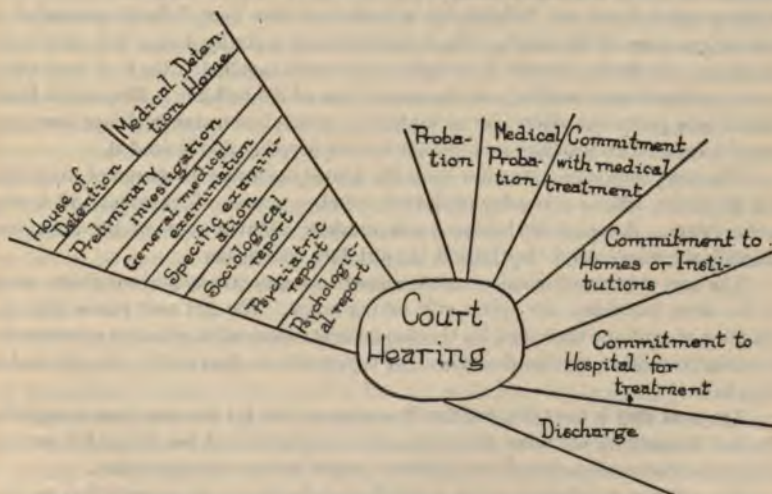
The Misdemeanants' Division of the Municipal Court of Philadelphia has a two-fold jurisdiction, first in the cases of all disorderly children between the ages of sixteen and twenty-one, and second in the cases of all persons arrested for disorderly street-walking. For facility of administration and also because certain fundamental distinctions must be made between the handling of the two sexes, the Misdemeanants' Division is subdivided into the boys' and men's department, and into the girls' and women's department. There is in charge of both departments an administrative chief, William M. Rouse; and a probation officer, Miss Bertha Freeman, is placed in direct charge of the women's division.

The diagrams shown here illustrate graphically the new misdemeanants' procedure as contrasted with the old misdemeanants' procedure. Under the old misdemeanants' procedure the hearings were not in a specialized court, but in Magistrates' Courts

Old Misdemeanants' Procedure



New Misdemeanants' Procedure



with lay judges. The diagram shows that there was an arrest, but no investigation followed the arrest. There was a hearing then in court, the girl being kept in jail until the time of her hearing. There was no one to present the case intelligently to the

"judge"; the courtroom was filled with loiterers, panderers, and tenderloin characters. Lawyers who made it their business to defend these girls were always present. One of three things might happen as the result of the trial; discharge, commitment, or fine. Most of the courts were simply fine mills. There was absolutely no supervision after trial. This system still holds in most jurisdictions throughout the country. Under the new system used in the Municipal Court of Philadelphia, a specialized court, the Misdemeanants' Division, handles all these cases. This court has exclusive jurisdiction in all cases of women and men arrested for disorderly street-walking.

Under the new misdemeanants' procedure, women arrested for disorderly street-walking are all brought to the Misdemeanants' Court building as soon as the arrest is made, as shown in the diagram. By referring to the diagram it will be seen that there are a number of preliminary steps before the court hearing. This is altogether unlike the procedure under the old system, where there was no step between arrest and court hearing. Now we have preliminary investigation, general medical examination, specific examination, sociological report, psychiatric report, and psychological report. At the court hearing, the case is presented to the judge by the court representative, a woman who is also in charge of the probation work in this division. By referring to the diagram we see also that a number of dispositions is possible. The fine system is not used at all in the new procedure in the Philadelphia court. No woman brought into court is fined and then turned loose on the streets again.

I. *Women and girls accused of street-walking or prostitution* in every case are brought in as arrest cases—either alone or with the man whom they were found soliciting. The arrests are usually made by a member of the so-called vice-squad. The girl arrested for street-walking is brought immediately to the Women's Misdemeanants' Building which is an old Philadelphia schoolhouse—the Vaux School, remodeled to suit the purposes of the court. She is not taken to a station-house first, nor is she placed in a cell room after she is brought to the court building. She is at once taken to the medical ward dormitory on the second floor of the building. Here she is interviewed by a probation officer, her social history entered on a standard face sheet and record forms. This provides material for further investigation if needed.

The next step is an interview with the house physician in charge of diagnosis. The physician who is a regular paid staff member secures all personal and family medical data. A typist sits behind a screen taking dictated notes of the interview, although she does not see the girl and the girl does not see her.

The next step is a physical examination as to the general physical condition, made by the same physician, the typist still taking notes. The girl now passes into the adjoining room to be examined by the skin (venereal) specialist, who first examines for glandular and other specific condition. A typist also unobserved by the girl makes notes here.

The next step is the taking of the Wassermann test for the detection of syphilis. The test is made by the same physician. An examination of the throat for gonorrhea patches (evidence of specific disease) follows, made by the same physician.

The girl is now referred to the gynecologist who makes an examination. The medical staff may report definitely as to the presence of either gonorrhea or syphilis. A gonorrhea smear is taken.

All the collected medical data after being written up, is sent to the medical record room, where it is on file but is not accessible to anyone except the medical staff.

For the next step, the girl or woman is sent to the psychiatrist who makes neuro- and psychiatric tests, which will reveal neurological conditions. The tests are such as pupillary reflex, knee jerk, Romberg test for evidences of central nervous disease, and other tests useful in uncovering bad habits such as the taking of narcotic drugs, etc.

The next examination is the psychometric, for measuring mental content, viz., which reveal feeble-mindedness or low mentality. The Binet Simon tests are the Healy form-board tests, etc. It is interesting to note that many of the arrested are not found to be feeble-minded. The feeble-minded girl has often been arrested at an earlier age, and for other delinquencies than those of street-walking. In all, the psychologists say that street-walking as a business requires a considerable degree of intelligence. These tests are done under the direction of the neuro-psychiatric division of the Medical Department of the Municipal Court. The neuro-psychiatric work with the women misdemeanants is so important that the staff divides equally between this division and the other divisions of the court. Although mental subnormality is more rare than we might think, there are emotional and nervous complexes that occur frequently and which make a routine psychiatric examination imperative. Some of the studies conducted by the neuro-psychiatric department are described by Judge Charles L. Brown in a paper presented at the National Conference on Social Work in New Orleans last year.

In another nearby room a finger-print is made of the girls who have been arrested for street-walking. These prints are classified and identified if the girl has been in prison before.

Not until a complete picture, social, mental, physical, and medical has been made, however, is the girl taken to court. This is all done, of course, either on the day of arrest or on the morning of the trial. The judge thus has all the data which will help him in making a decision of the case before him. The man who was arrested with the girl is brought before the bar at the same time. The court decision in the majority of cases will be: commitment to the House of Correction, with medical treatment when necessary; medical treatment for the non-ambulant cases at the Gyncecan Hospital—the hospital of the Municipal Court—with probation following arrest and release; probation, accompanied by attendance at the genito-urinary clinic for those ambulant cases in need of medical attention; discharge on probation for those having no medical condition; discharge as not guilty. Following this a conference of the probation and house staff makes plans in accordance with the judge's decision.

The Women's Misdemeanants' Building has a medical ward of fifty-seven beds where the girls are kept temporarily before trial, as has been indicated, or after trial until disposition is made. This ward is like an ordinary, very large hospital ward. The women and girls live here while confined in the building and take their meals here. Facilities for sewing, crocheting, reading, etc., are provided in the same rooms. All clothing of the girls and all bed linens, as well as other linens in the house, are sterilized in a large sterilizer. There is a kitchen in which the young girls arrested for incorrigibility only, help prepare the meals.

Of course the greatest discretion is used in making the various tests and examinations, which are voluntary with first offenders. All physicians, making examinations or assisting, are women.

II. *Girls arrested for incorrigibility and waywardness.*—The girls who are brought into court because of incorrigibility, i.e., the girls between sixteen and twenty-one years of age, coming under the "disorderly children" act, usually come to court because they are runaways from another city, or more usually, because their parents make complaint. With them as much of the procedure described as may be necessary is used. No finger-prints are taken. They are housed on the third floor and each girl has a separate room; there is also a small dormitory. These rooms are tastefully furnished and in them the girl may exercise her own individuality. They have an attractive dining-room to themselves. There is a recreation room or lounge in which the girls read, sew, and play games under supervision. The girls who come in give up their valuables and when discharged receive them again.

The cases of these girls are also, of course, brought before the judge for disposition. The dispositions may either be institutional commitment, probation, or discharge.

Sometimes these girls who also may have had sex experience, although not as street-walkers, may be infected. They are then either referred to the Gyneccean Hospital for treatment and subsequent probation, or for clinical treatment and probation.

III. The Gyneccean Hospital which is in another building has been turned over by the managers to the sole use of the court. It is devoted altogether to the treatment of specific disease of women and girls committed by the court to its care. The hospital has a capacity of seventy beds. The medical wards are attractive and cheerful. While here they receive the Arseno-Benzol treatment for specific disease administered by the court gynecologist. They have a separate dining-room and attractive china and dishes. They have reading classes conducted by interested individuals from outside. There is a recreation room for dances, games, etc.

IV. The medical building and laboratory of the court is used for medical examinations and to house the laboratory. In the laboratory all the test specimens, urine specimens, etc., are examined. Wassermanns are examined here. Gonorrhea smears are also examined here. In this building the court dentist sees patients. Both the incorrigible girls and the women arrested for street-walking are examined by him for dental care. No charge is made except for materials and when the women and girls cannot pay for materials, some way is provided by which they can get them free. To this building men arrested with women for disorderly street-walking are brought for examination. If the men are found to be infected, medical treatment is made a compulsory part of their probation. Girls or women who are released from the Gyneccean Hospital or from the medical ward from the Misdemeanants' Building, must take out-patient treatment at the State Genito-Urinary Dispensary, as long as the medical staff deems it needful. This is called medical probation.

The Medical Department has a nursing staff some of the members of which specialize in the social handling of patients with specific disease. It is their duty to follow up the patients to see that they take the prescribed treatment.

V. During the period of probation, the probationer is visited by her probation officer and reports regularly to her when required, at the Women's Misdemeanants' Building. When physical, medical, social, and moral rehabilitation has been effected then the probationer is discharged. The social and probationary treatment goes hand in hand with the medical and the scientific handling which have been present. Careful distinction is made between the work with the young incorrigible girl, and older girls and women arrested for disorderly conduct.

When analysis is made of all the steps that are taken in the handling of a girl in the Misdemeanants' Division, it will be seen that some thirty-nine to forty steps are necessary in every single case. That in itself shows the remarkable advance on the old method where the girl was brought in one door of the courtroom, and sent out the other door, without one iota of social treatment for the gravest of all social ills. The young incorrigible girls go through most of the medical and social treatment except that they are not finger-printed. One thing stands out above all things, and that is to treat the girl arrested for street-walking to make her safe to herself and the community it is essential that the probation officer handling the case treat it as a social problem, both before and after the court hearing. The probation officer must also remember that the problem is not a special one in which the court is interested, but that just as in other case-work problems, every social agency in the community must be called in for co-operation. It is also the duty of special social agencies to develop a technique of co-operation in cases of this kind. Too often the social agencies on the part of private agencies for handling this grave problem are inadequate, even in the largest cities. Even when there are private social agencies handling the cases of older girls, there are few or none who are willing to handle the cases of girls arrested for disorderly street-walking.

THE FUTURE OF THE CRIMINAL LAW

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This is a forecast, not a prophecy. If I take my cue from Tennyson and dip into the future as far as human eye can see, I shall try to keep my vision clear and undistorted by the rainbow hues of hope. I think I need not hesitate to say that the entire system of punitive law embodied in our penal codes is on the defensive. As old as organized society, rooted in primitive emotions, fortified by a traditional philosophy, this system has weathered many storms—the quietist doctrine of the Buddha, the philosophy of Plato, the gospel of love and renunciation of Jesus Christ, the humanitarianism of the nineteenth century. But these were external enemies, assailing it with counsels of perfection—invulnerable, indeed, and destined surely to ultimate triumph, but working slowly and ineffably through the imperceptible transformation of human nature.

So far these forces have only mitigated, have been powerless to transform, the system. The new enemy, before which I believe it is destined to succumb, is of its own household and is armed with the weapons of science.

Whatever other advantages may be claimed for it, no one today contends that the criminal law is making headway in the warfare against crime. So far is this from being the case that the community has settled down into a fatalistic attitude with respect to the relation of civilization to crime. As civilization increases, crime increases, and we shrug our shoulders and utter empty words about the imperfections of our criminal procedure, about the perversity of human nature, about the decay of respect for law and order, and stolidly pursue the old, discredited ways.

* The Educational Department of the Municipal Court of Philadelphia has a set of slides which show each of these steps. These slides were used to illustrate this paper when it was presented.

now make ready is directed at the nerve-center of the system; not at the principles by which it is governed.

Listen to the indictment drawn by Mr. Justice Holmes of the United States Supreme Court in his address at the dinner of the Harvard Law School in June, 1895:

An ideal system of law should draw its postulates and its legislative justification from the facts of life. It is now, we rely upon tradition, or vague sentiment, or the fact that we never thought of doing things as our only warrant for rules which we enforce with as much confidence as if they were revealed wisdom. Who here can give reasons of any different kind for believing that bad law does not do more harm than good?

And again, in an address delivered before the Boston University Law Association in January, 1897, the same eminent and fearless jurist says:

A body of law is more rational and more civilized when every rule it contains is referred definitely to an end which it subserves and when the grounds for desiring that end are ready to be stated in words. . . . For the rational study of the law the black-letter man of the present but the man of the future is the man of statistics and the master of economics. It is revolting to have no better reason for a rule of law than that so it was laid down in the time of the great men.

Far more fundamental questions still await a better answer than that we do as our fathers did. What have we better than a blind guess to show that the criminal law in its present form does more harm than good?

I do not stop to refer to the effect which it has had in degrading prisoners and in pushing them further into crime, or to the question whether crime and imprisonment do not fall more heavily on the criminal's wife and children than on himself. I have in mind more far-reaching questions.

Does punishment deter? Do we deal with criminals on proper principles? A modern continental criminologist plumes itself on the formula, first suggested it is said by Gall, to consider the criminal rather than the crime. The formula doesn't carry us very far, but it has at least started us toward an answer of my questions based on science for the first time.

To the same effect hear Dean Roscoe Pound in his address before the American Prison Association at Columbus last November. Commenting on the alternating extremes of severity and mildness that have characterized the legal attitude toward crime—excessive solicitude for the technical rights of the accused, followed by a sudden transition and unrest by "an orgy of drastic penal legislation"—he says:

Surely we are not bound to go on forever in the vicious circle of the past. We are not the native inhabitants of British India, holding that disease is an infliction of the gods, not only resisting sanitary precautions of their own accord but resenting the precautions to which the British Government compels them. To them an epidemic is a natural phenomenon as much to be left to itself as the plague of day and night. We have been treating criminal law in much the same fashion. In a time of peace and order other sort of teaching and study and research are liberally endowed, there are no endowments for study or research in the criminal law. We leave the practice of the criminal law to the love of a largely untrained and no longer necessarily learned profession. We leave the theory of

a scientific age the warfare against crime, like the warfare against disease, is based on exact knowledge and not on unverified assumptions, however ancient and revered. The interest of society in the suppression or, at least, the repression of crime demands a thorough scientific study of the nature and sources of criminality in order that appropriate preventive measures may be adopted and proper methods of treatment employed.

It is safe to say that in no other sphere of social control have we proceeded as ignorantly and yet as confidently as we have in the sphere of criminal legislation.

Our sanitary code is based on a body of scientific knowledge regarding the nature of infectious disease and the conditions which make for its spread. Upon what body of knowledge concerning the nature of crime and the conditions which cause it is based the community's penal law? We have thought it worth while to study the mental and social conditions that have made for the survival of the fittest in our international life, and we are striving to devise a solution in accordance with the conceptions to which that study has led. In the same way we are by patient investigation of causes seeking to find remedies for the inhuman and wasteful industrial system which is paralyzing our productive energies. But when it comes to this civil war which crime has for ages been waging against the very foundations of our social order, here and here alone we are content with assumptions—assumptions as to the nature of the criminal, assumptions as to the vicious and has justly earned the penalty imposed by law for his wrong doing; the second assumes that the punishment threatened or actually imposed will operate as a deterrent on him and on others as well, and the deterrent effect is in proportion to the severity of the penalty.

As these two aims both require punishment for their satisfaction there is no inconsistency between them but, on the contrary, they support one another. One the same penalty may satisfy both. But there is a further though illogical correspondence between them. Crimes which excite the greatest abhorrence, as murder and rape, are naturally visited with the heaviest penalties, and it is assumed that those committing or tempted to commit them require the more drastic penalties as a deterrent. The wicked the individual, the more insensitive he is to milder penalties. For purposes of prevention as well as of vindictive justice the punishment must be made to fit the crime. Our system of criminal law is, accordingly, primarily if not exclusively punitive in character. Punitive justice may, it is true, be tempered with mercy, and its merciful provisions or practices may be inspired by the hope or the desire to reform the offender, but the punitive feature is never wholly absent. Punishment is the aim as well as the consequence of commitment to a reformatory and punishment hangs like the sword of Damocles over the head of the offender who wins the reprieve of a suspended sentence.

These, then, are the foundations of our present criminal law system and if they are demonstrated to be false, the whole system will go with them. The beginnings of a new system have already been made in the study of the criminal, though falling far short of what is urgently required, constitute our modern science of criminology and point definitely to certain conclusions at variance with prevailing legal conceptions.

In the first place, the new psychology has finally disposed of Lombroso's mythical monster—the criminal man. In the light of the new knowledge of the complexities of the moral life of the individual it was hardly necessary for Dr. Goring to submit his elaborate and conclusive refutation of Lombroso's theory of the criminal as an atavistic

anthropological product born into an alien world and marked by visible signs of his unfitness to adapt himself to modern conditions of living. The later doctrine of the Italian school of criminologists that the criminal is invariably marked by mental traits which set him apart from the mass of humanity as a born criminal has also been proved untenable, presumptively by psychology, demonstratively by the cumulative results of sociological investigation. Psychology shows that men differ not in kind but in degree. A pupil of the late Professor William James tells a story of a visit made by James and a group of his students to an insane asylum. As they came away James remarked, "President Eliot might not like to admit that there is no sharp line between himself and the men we have just seen, but it is true." A visit to a penitentiary would have brought a similar declaration—like that attributed to the saintly Baxter when he saw a convict hauled to the place of execution on a hurdle: "Then, but for the grace of God, goes Richard Baxter." Unlike the poet, the criminal is not born but made. There are infinite degrees of moral as of intellectual capacity but whether the individual becomes a criminal or a useful member of society depends almost entirely on the circumstances that have determined the course of his life.

This general conclusion derived from psychological theory and from sociological study is corroborated and extended by knowledge based on concrete studies of the convict population of various penal institutions. Stated generally, these more specific conclusions may be summarized as follows:

1. That a large part of the criminal population, say from one-fourth to a third, is composed of persons congenitally feeble-minded to a degree calling for permanent guardianship or custodial care.
2. That another large element, running perhaps from 20 to 30 per cent of the whole number, is comprised of individuals who are insane or psychopathic to the point of irresponsibility.
3. That the greater part of them, probably not less than two-thirds of the whole, whether mentally normal or not, became delinquents in childhood or early adolescence as the result of neglect and improper guardianship.
4. That a majority of the adult inmates of our penal institutions, probably from two-thirds to three-fourths, are recidivists and that most of these have run the whole gamut from the so-called protectory or house of refuge up to the state prison.
5. That the discipline of these institutions has in most cases had the effect of degrading those committed to them and of plunging them further into vice and crime.
6. That the character of the criminal and his susceptibility to reformation cannot be determined by the nature of his offense nor even by the fact that he is a second (or more frequent) rather than a first offender.

These facts, which are generally accepted by penologists, do much to invalidate the legal assumptions of moral responsibility and of the deterrent or otherwise beneficial effects of punishment, and tend to undermine prevailing conceptions that find expression in accepted classifications of criminals. The conclusion to which they point is that the study and treatment of the wrongdoer is an individual and not a general or group problem.

Perhaps the most tenacious of the assumptions on which our system of punitive justice is based is that of the deterrent effect of hard legal penalties. This is the warrant for the retention in a humane civilization of capital punishment and the whipping post and is responsible for the "orgy of drastic penal legislation" which, as

Professor Pound says, manifests itself "in times of transition and unrest." To the same motive we must attribute the hostility with which humaner methods of prison discipline are often received. The way of the transgressor must be made hard enough to make it a life-long lesson to him. It is true he comes back again and again, but the remedy for that is to make the drastic experience longer and harder the next time or to add some refinement of cruelty like solitary confinement or the lash. There is a something almost heroic in the obduracy with which we cling to a settled conviction like this in the face of this equally obdurate fact of recidivism. The truth is that if it were not for the spell which this traditional belief in the deterrent effect of legal penalties has put upon us, few of us would be so weak as to do it reverence. If punishment were the inevitable or even the probable consequence of wrongdoing it would be another matter. But what power resides in a phantom terror which strikes one in ten or one in twenty of those at whom it is aimed? The answer is to be found in the statistics of recidivism which have been the despair of the orthodox penology whose knell we are sounding today, but which are, as Justice Holmes tells us, the working tools of "the man of the future."

It would be interesting, did time permit, to discuss in detail the bearings of the other facts—the data of the new penology—above enumerated, on the future of the criminal law. But it is fortunately unnecessary.

The new penological conceptions derived from them have already found a footing in the courts of criminal jurisdiction, beginning with certain specialized tribunals, such as the juvenile courts, the morals or women's courts, the family courts, and the like—and can be trusted to make their way until they have conquered the entire judicial system.

The intermediate stages of the process need not be traversed here. It may fairly be predicted that the social attitude which now finds expression in the best juvenile courts will ultimately govern in all courts exercising criminal jurisdiction and that similar methods will prevail. This will not necessarily involve an abandonment of the old descriptive labels. Crime will still be crime and the offender a criminal. What we may reasonably expect is that the accused will be "tried" on his life history and not solely on the charge which is the occasion of his arraignment, and that the disposition to be made of him will reflect not the horror excited by any particular act of wrongdoing but the judicial conception of the interest of society in his custody or rehabilitation. The concept of punishment will wither and that of treatment become more and more vigorous. There will still be "imprisonment," in many cases for life, but the duration of the confinement will be based on a continuous study of the offender during his confinement and on the resulting judgment as to his capacity to adjust himself to the conditions of a normal life in the community outside.

The statutory law of crime and criminal procedure will lag far behind these changes, only two alterations being essential to put the new system into effect, namely, (1) to enlarge the salutary power now vested in the courts of suspending sentence so as to include all classes of offenders, and (2) to make all sentences indeterminate, without minimum or maximum limit. For the perfect working of the system, however, it is essential that the court shall be furnished with abundant facilities for investigation and probationary oversight, and that specialized boards of parole or rehabilitation (one of whose members shall be a skilled penologist and one a psychiatrist) shall also be provided.

Ultimately we may expect that the law, finding no further use for the following provisions, will do away with them:

1. The constitutional provision against compelling an accused person to be a witness against himself.
2. The present classification of crimes as felonies and misdemeanors.
3. The various degrees of crime.
4. The distinction between first, second, and habitual offenders.

The obstacle to the speedy realization of this program is the resistance offered by the traditional attitude of the community toward the criminal, but it is believed that the facts on which the new science of criminology is based will, as they become more widely known, insensibly modify this attitude.

A STUDY OF THE MORALS COURT IN THREE LARGE CITIES

A. LEGAL ASPECTS

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For the social worker interested in the problems of delinquency and correction, the importance of the courts cannot be overlooked. Before the delinquent may receive his indeterminate sentence to the Industrial Farm, or before some other disposition such as probation may be made, he must first pass through the machinery of the courts. If the proper courts have not been created, or if they do not function properly, the rest of our elaborate social program relative to delinquency must fail, or be seriously hampered.

The present study is being made for the purpose of ascertaining the way in which prostitution and allied cases are being disposed of in the courts of some of our larger cities. The war emphasis on this subject has led to a rapid development of our enforcement machinery during the past four years, and it is during this period that many of our morals courts were established, and they are still in the process of developing.

CHICAGO

The first court studied was the Chicago Morals Court. This court is a branch of the Municipal Court, which was created by an act of the Illinois legislature in 1905, which act at the same time abolished the justices of the peace. Two other criminal courts of original criminal jurisdiction were retained, viz., the circuit and superior courts. Although this was not made the sole court of original jurisdiction, and although its powers were not plenary, the establishment of the Chicago Municipal Court marked a great step forward in American judicature.

Under the power to establish branch courts as possessed by the Municipal Court, the Morals Court was created in 1913. This is said to have been established at the request of the famous Chicago Vice Commission, which recommended such a court in order to put pressure on the city authorities and the state's attorney to compel them to enforce the laws and wipe out the segregated vice district in Chicago.

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Groups of offenders are brought before this court: first men who keep disorderly houses on questionable hotels and assignation houses, who are not professional violators; second, professional prostitutes, including disorderly houses and street-walkers; and third, men and women who keep disorderly houses and hotels, panders, and panderers, and the charges under which they may be booked are numerous, many of the offenses being duplicated by ordinance, a fine only being the penalty. Offenses are for the most part punishable by fine except female inmates who are panderers, and those charged under the fornication and adultery law. A situation exists where the male exploiter of the prostitute, viz., the male keeper of a disorderly house, is punishable merely by a fine of not more than \$200, while a female inmate is punishable by commitment to the House of Correction. A person who resorts to a house of prostitution for immoral purposes is punishable by a fine of not more than \$200. In all of these offenses, the defendant is eligible to bail. When the charge has been made under a state law, the case is prosecuted by the assistant state's attorney, or if the case is brought under a municipal ordinance, by the assistant city prosecutor. No court reporter is provided to take down testimony, and the absence of a finger-printing system prevents an accurate check-up of recidivists.

For several reasons, the Chicago Morals Court is more a specialized court in name than in fact. The frequent change of judges rarely permits the judge to become a specialist in this class of offenses. Again, a system resulting from a loosely worded law permits the filing of affidavits of prejudice apparently without limit, to the advantage of the experienced recidivist. One case is recorded in which an affidavit of prejudice was allowed against eighteen judges. Of these two evils, however, the frequent change of judge is the more serious, as it tends to disrupt the whole social side of the court.

The proportion electing to take jury trials is small. During six months in 1920, only 93 out of 2,114 demanded trial by jury, and of these only 5 were actually tried by a jury, the remainder electing to be tried by the judge after their cases reached the jury branch. The same proportion is maintained in other branches of the municipal court. Out of approximately 40,000 cases arraigned in the Municipal Court in one year, 4,847 elected to take a jury trial. After reaching the jury branch, however, only 248, or 4.2 per cent, were actually tried by jury, the remainder being tried by a judge.

The observer is struck particularly by the number of continuances in this court. In a study of cases of 100 women coming before the court, the cases of 11 were continued from 1 to 10 days; 24 from 11 to 20 days; 23 from 21 to 40 days; 19 from 41 to 60 days, and 23 from 2 months to 5 months or over. This practice is followed frequently where there is no request from counsel and where there is no need of securing other witnesses.

PHILADELPHIA

The organization of the Philadelphia Municipal Court differs in several particulars from that of the Chicago court. It is not so elastic as the Chicago court. Its branches are formed by act of legislature (which meets biennially) rather than by order of the court sitting *en banc*, as in the case of the Chicago court. Its Criminal Branch is concurrent in its jurisdiction with the Court of Quarter Sessions, the assign-

ment of such cases to the Municipal or Quarterly Sessions Court depending upon the district attorney. This system prevents specialization in cases which require by law a jury trial. No jury waiver system is provided by law, and therefore the only Morals Cases which may be tried before a court without a jury are those in which the law gives exclusive jurisdiction to the Misdemeanant's Branch, which will be discussed more in detail later.

The court is composed of nine judges elected for a period of ten years, and presided over by a president judge, who keeps the machinery of the court moving. The Municipal Court was created by act of legislature in 1913.

The Misdemeanant's Division, established by act of legislature in 1915, is the special court which hears morals cases. This court has exclusive jurisdiction of street-walkers and incorrigible and runaway children between the ages of sixteen and twenty-one years. Summary trials are also held of the patron of the street-walker who is charged with disorderly conduct. Arraignments are also held of keepers and inmates of disorderly houses, those charged with fornication and adultery, and male bawds, the latter class of offenders being bound over for trial by jury either in the Criminal Division, or the Court of Quarter Sessions. In spite of its limited jurisdiction, the Misdemeanants' Division is in reality more of a specialized court than the Chicago Morals Court. Of its probation department, detention home and hospital, its mental and physical examinations, its finger-printing and system of preliminary investigation Miss Topping will tell you in her paper.

The trials are rapid and summary. All proceedings are recorded by a court reporter. A prosecutor is not provided. A case upon appeal is not tried *de novo*, but is reviewed on the record for errors of fact or law. The possibilities for disposition are numerous and will be given in detail by Miss Topping.

The court is provided with a history sheet by the probation department, showing previous work record, court record, and mental and physical condition of each female defendant, to guide him in his disposition of the case. The system of finger-printing defendants provides an excellent check upon recidivists.

BOSTON

The Municipal Court of Boston is probably the oldest in the country and was created by the legislature in 1866, succeeding the Police Court of Boston. It is composed of nine justices including the chief justice, and the tenure of office is for life. The Municipal Court has original criminal jurisdiction of all misdemeanors, except conspiracies and libels, and of all felonies which are punishable by imprisonment in the state prison for not more than five years. The court has no jury branch, and because of the fact that all persons charged with a criminal offense are entitled to a jury trial under the Massachusetts Constitution, no system of jury waiver being authorized by law, the curious practice exists of permitting to everyone tried in the Municipal Court the right of an appeal automatically and unconditionally to the Superior Court, where trial may be had *de novo*—that is, an entirely new trial of the facts before a jury, without any reference whatsoever to the previous trial and disposition in the Municipal Court. Under such a system it is needless to say that the appeal is generally frivolous, solely for the purpose of delay, and that it results not infrequently in the miscarriage of justice. The overcrowded docket of the Superior Court frequently results in the dismissal or *nol pros* of appealed cases.

The branch hearing prostitution cases is known as the Second Session. This branch is not at the present time a specialized court. It hears cases ranging from driving an automobile while intoxicated, to selling decayed meat, and from walking the grass in the park, to street-walking or falsely registering in a hotel. The laws relating to prostitution and sex delinquency, called in Massachusetts offenses against chastity, are much more nearly adequate than in Illinois or Pennsylvania. The judge is given a wide latitude in disposition, a possibility of probation, commitment, fine being provided in practically every statute. Due to a new and untrained police force, resulting in few arrests, not many cases of prostitution were being tried at the time of this study. The trial *de novo* system above described makes the disposition of cases of old offenders or those represented by counsel very difficult for the judge. As a result, the usual disposition, regardless of the character of the defendant, or her past record, is to suspend sentence and place her on probation. This is done to forestall appeal. A case was observed of a female pickpocket with a previous record of 31 known arrests and several penitentiary sentences—she was given a suspended sentence and placed upon probation for a year and a half—surely a well-nigh hopeless case for the probation officer.

I believe that this study, brief as it has been, convinces us of the necessity of reform in our present judicature system. As social workers, we are convinced that we need specialized and socialized courts. For the court to do a constructive piece of work, it must have adequate jurisdiction and powers. Recommendations for reform in judicature and procedure are already being made by our bar associations. My recommendations for reform are those of a lawyer as well as a social worker. I would recommend the abolishment of all criminal courts of original jurisdiction in large cities and populous communities, except one court of general original criminal jurisdiction, permitting new judges to be provided as the increase in court business would require. Such a court would have an organization similar to the Chicago Municipal Court, with power vested in the judges to establish from time to time as many special courts as might be advisable, such as morals courts, family courts, etc. I would copy the Chicago jury waiver system modified to avoid some of the abuses observed in that court, so that persons entitled to a jury trial under the constitution would have that opportunity which, if not availed of, would result automatically in a trial before a judge without a jury—with the trial *de novo* abolished, giving the court final jurisdiction of the facts, frivolous appeals being thereby minimized, and with the right of appeal limited in the same way as now exists in the highest courts of original jurisdiction. I believe one branch should be given over to arraignments, with the grand jury abolished, except perhaps in the case of offenses involving political corruption. The judge upon arraignment could determine whether or not a crime had been committed. The district attorney could draw an information as a substitute for the grand jury indictment, with all the expense and delay of that system eliminated. Such a system is not novel—it has stood the test of time in the state of Washington.

In such a court we can establish as a branch such a specialized and socialized court as Miss Topping will tell you about—a laboratory or a clinic, if you will, rather than a court, for the diagnosis, treatment, and cure of delinquency.

B. SOCIAL ASPECTS

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Mr. Worthington has described the structure, jurisdiction, and legal procedure of the three courts under discussion. I shall now attempt to outline the progress of men and women arraigned in these courts from the moment of arrest until final disposition of their cases is made. In conclusion certain characteristic features of the respective courts will be presented.

CHICAGO

Arrest, bail, and detention.—Men arrested for sex offenses in Chicago are booked at the precinct police station where they are detained until the following morning unless they succeed in making bail. The women arrested are booked on an "open charge" at the police station and then transferred to one of the three detention houses provided for them and held overnight regardless of whether or not they can make bail. On the following morning the men are delivered into the custody of the court bailiff. The women are sent to the Iroquois Hospital for a physical examination, chiefly to determine whether they are suffering from a venereal disease. Blood specimens and smears, taken by a man physician, are sent to the laboratory of the City Health Department. The women are then turned over to the woman bailiff attached to the Morals Court.

Preliminary investigations.—While awaiting the call of their cases a preliminary investigation is attempted by one of the women court attendants, rarely the probation officer. This consists merely in taking the women's uncorroborated statements without the slightest verification, even of the address. With rare exceptions there is not so much as this scant preliminary investigation of the men. No routine mental examination of men or women is made.

Identification.—Finger-prints of men and women arraigned in this court are not taken, nor is there any central card file of names and aliases which might serve as a partial check on recidivists.

Trial.—Prosecution is conducted by a deputy city prosecutor where the offense is a violation of an ordinance, and by the deputy state's attorney where a state law has been violated.

No court reporter is provided to take a stenographic record of the testimony or proceedings.

Disposition of cases.—Our investigation, covering the first six months of 1930, showed over 2,000 dispositions of cases of sex offenders. Nine hundred and twenty-two, or approximately 43 per cent, of these were of women. In about 78 per cent of the cases of women and 73 per cent of men no conviction was secured, the case being nonsuited, *nolle prossed*, dismissed for want of jurisdiction of person, dismissed for want of prosecution, or discharged. The large percentage of non-conviction in the case of the women is modified when one bears in mind the fact that the discharged cases include those referred to Lawndale Hospital for treatment until rendered non-infectious. Thirteen per cent of the women and 23 per cent of the men were fined. Where the defendant is unable to pay, the system of working out fines prevails—at the rate of 50 cents a day for violation of an ordinance and \$1.50 a day for violation of a statute. About 7 per cent of the women and about 1 per cent of the men were placed on probation. Five women and nine men or less than one per cent in each

roup, were committed to an institution—to the House of Correction. Illinois has no state reformatory for women.

The court docket failed to indicate how many of the women "discharged" had been detained for treatment at Lawndale Hospital prior to discharge. An examination of the hospital record, however, showed that 272 women, or 40 per cent of those marked discharged, had received treatment there during the first six months of 1920.

Court Personnel.—The personnel of the Morals Court is comprised as follows:

1. Judge, selected from the thirty judges by the chief justice and assigned at regular intervals to this court.

2. Assistant state's attorney.

3. Assistant city prosecutor.

4. Two men and one woman clerk, appointed by the chief clerk of the Municipal Court. The men perform the usual duties of a court clerk. The woman deputy acts as secretary of the Social Service Department. She endeavors to keep a card record of each woman arraigned in the Morals Court. She exercises also a sort of supervision over certain girls assigned to her by the judge.

5. Two men and one woman bailiff, appointed by the Chief Bailiff of the Municipal Court.

6. A policewoman and a woman police-investigator, appointed by the chief of police.

7. A woman probation officer, assigned by the chief of the Adult Probation Department.

8. A woman physician and a man psychiatrist, appointed by the chief justice of the Municipal Court. The physician examines cases referred to her by the judge and treats hysteria or indisposition on the part of any woman detained in the court. A mental examination is given by the psychiatrist at the request of the judge. Routine physical or mental examinations are not made by these two officials.

9. A representative from the city Health Department, who reports to the court the results of the physical examination of women defendants.

It will be noted that the activities of these fifteen persons, exclusive of the presiding judge, are controlled by the heads of no less than seven distinct public departments.

Social Service Department.—In the fall of 1919 a Social Service Department was created in the Morals Court, under the control of the clerk of the Municipal Court, with a woman deputy serving as secretary. Her duties have been stated.

It seems not unlikely that this department may have been an outgrowth of a discussion of "Social Service" by Judge Fisher in his report on the Morals Court, especially in view of the fact that the establishment of such a department is one of his commendations. He writes in part as follows:

This court should have a unified social service department for all its special branches, sufficiently equipped to render all personal service desired by the courts, and competent to make proper records, compile and analyze them. These special courts furnish abundant material for study and the city ought to have the benefit of it.

The value of a department such as Judge Fisher has outlined can be readily perceived. But where, as is the case, a department created presumably for these press purposes is practically ignored, defendants being assigned by the court first to one worker and then to another—all responsible to different departments of the Municipal Court and all burdened by other duties—it is apparent that only confusion

Incorrigibles.—As already explained, special officers see girls. In Philadelphia it is the practice to keep these cases in cases of street-walkers, runaways, and incorrigibles placed in court are handled by special officers—four for street-walkers and incorrigibles.

BOSTON

Arrest, bail, and detention.—Men and women arrested against chastity may be released on bail at the local police station, the men are detained there, but the women are transferred to detention in the basement of the courthouse.

Preliminary investigation.—There at eight o'clock on the woman probation officer, after interviewing each girl, consults whether she has been brought in under that name before recognizes the girl and succeeds in learning her aliases, it is not of a finger-print system, to know whether or not she has had a probation officer then seeks to check up the girl's statements as can be corroborated within the short time before trial. Girls hurriedly interviewed on the morning of the trial, but little opportunity of their statements is afforded.

Physical and mental examination.—No routine physical or all men and women brought into court for offenses against chastity are referred by the judge or probation officer to the Medical no precise basis for the selection was apparent. Some cases are referred for examination.

Identification.—Finger-prints of this class of offenders are taken before or after conviction.

Trial.—Morals cases are heard exclusively in the second Criminal Court, all cases involving women are tried here as well as men the sex of the offender or the nature of the offense.

No prosecutor conducts the trial.

A man or woman convicted of a sex offense may be placed without a suspended sentence but always for a fixed period of two years.

Probation.—The Probation Department of the Municipal Court serves the three criminal sessions of that court and Relations.

Women may be extended one of two types of probation. Inside probation is applied to those girls who, in the judgment of the court need closer supervision than can be exercised by a single private institution, one Catholic and one Protestant, are used but the court cannot commit girls to these homes, but their agreement time (varying from one month to one year) within them is no probation. A girl placed upon inside probation cannot be released of the judge who sentences her.

Girls placed upon outside probation are assigned to the police district they reside. This officer, after studying their special

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aside exclusively for the Municipal Court; probation accompanied by attendance at the state venereal clinic for ambulatory cases in need of medical oversight; straight probation for those requiring no medical treatment; or discharge. Women are not released. Where a woman is bound over, her full social, medical, and mental history accompanies the court papers.

Special features of this court will now be described.

Misdemeanants Division on Twelfth and Wood streets.—The Morals Court in Philadelphia has made an important step toward specialization in the treatment of delinquents by housing under one roof nearly all of the departments serving the needs of this class.

Medical Department.—The Municipal Court of Philadelphia is served in all its branches by a large medical staff assisted by several nurses. When reported non-infectious the women are returned to court for trial. If in need of clinical treatment, the medical director of the hospital recommends that the girl be placed upon probation on condition that she report to the state dispensary for medical treatment. Last November a trained nurse with special experience in the court on cases of venereal diseases was assigned to follow up such probation cases.

Psychiatric Department.—With few exceptions, a preliminary routine mental test is made of all women brought to the Misdemeanants Division. This test consists of a fifteen to thirty minute interview with each girl conducted by one of the three psychiatrists assigned to the work. If any girl interviewed seems to require intensive study a psychiatrist other than the one selecting her is assigned to that task. A psychological test is given only upon request. As this department has been but recently created its chief function has been to diagnose, to make recommendations for commitment, and to prevent certain unsuitable types from being placed on probation. At the time of our study the department was making about four hundred mental examinations a month for the whole Municipal Court. Formerly about thirty examinations a month were made.

Probation Department.—The Municipal Court has a Probation Department serving all its branches. The chief probation officer and all his subordinates are appointed by the president judge.

In addition to its main functions of making a preliminary investigation of all cases of women brought to the court and of supervising such cases as may be placed upon probation, this department has certain special functions in regard to three groups, classified as "protection" cases, runaways, and incorrigibles.

Protection cases.—These comprise girls who may voluntarily seek the aid and protection of the Probation Department, of which they frequently learn through private agencies. Those girls are not brought into the courtroom at all, but their needs are looked into and served on a case-work basis.

Runaways.—Eight probation officers specialize in work with runaway or incorrigible girls. Two of these officers do the "inside" work, that is, they remain always in the court building, hearing the runaways' stories and, in the case of the out-of-town runaways, get in touch with the police and probation department in towns from which the girls come. The remaining six probation officers work with the Philadelphia girls who have run away from their homes in the city and in addition work with incorrigible girls.

Incorrigibles.—As already explained, special officers are assigned to incorrigible girls. In Philadelphia it is the practice to keep these cases out of court, if possible. Cases of street-walkers, runaways, and incorrigibles placed upon probation by the court are handled by special officers—four for street-walkers and six for runaways and incorrigibles.

BOSTON

Arrest, bail, and detention.—Men and women arrested in Boston for offenses against chastity may be released on bail at the local police station. If unable to make bail, the men are detained there, but the women are transferred to the so-called House of Detention in the basement of the courthouse.

Preliminary investigation.—There at eight o'clock on the following morning a woman probation officer, after interviewing each girl, consults the card catalogue to see whether she has been brought in under that name before. Unless the officer recognizes the girl and succeeds in learning her aliases, it is not possible, in the absence of a finger-print system, to know whether or not she has had a previous arrest. Another probation officer then seeks to check up the girl's statements by verifying such facts as can be corroborated within the short time before trial. Girls on bail are sometimes hurriedly interviewed on the morning of the trial, but little opportunity of verification of their statements is afforded.

Physical and mental examination.—No routine physical or mental examination of all men and women brought into court for offenses against chastity is made. Certain cases are referred by the judge or probation officer to the Medical Department although no precise basis for the selection was apparent. Some cases are selected by the Medical Director for examination.

Identification.—Finger-prints of this class of offenders are not taken either before or after conviction.

Trial.—Morals cases are heard exclusively in the second session of the Municipal Court, all cases involving women are tried here as well as many others regardless of the sex of the offender or the nature of the offense.

No prosecutor conducts the trial.

A man or woman convicted of a sex offense may be placed on probation with or without a suspended sentence but always for a fixed period of time not exceeding two years.

Probation.—The Probation Department of the Municipal Court of the city of Boston serves the three criminal sessions of that court and its Court of Domestic Relations.

Women may be extended one of two types of probation, "inside" or "outside." Inside probation is applied to those girls who, in the judgment of the probation officers, need closer supervision than can be exercised by a single probation officer. Two private institutions, one Catholic and one Protestant, are used for this purpose. The court cannot commit girls to these homes, but their agreement to spend a specified time (varying from one month to one year) within them is made a condition of their probation. A girl placed upon inside probation cannot be released without the consent of the judge who sentences her.

Girls placed upon outside probation are assigned to the probation officer in whose district they reside. This officer, after studying their special needs, seeks to adjust

their manner of living and to aid them in any way possible. She visits the probationers from time to time, but they are not permitted to call at the probation office until date of expiration of their term unless in need of special assistance.

Women probation officers are said to carry about 125 cases at one time. The men probation officers often carry as many as 200.

In considering for a moment the procedure of the three courts under discussion it will be recalled that two (Chicago and Philadelphia) make a routine medical examination, and of these only one (Philadelphia) a general medical examination. Only one (Philadelphia) gives a routine mental test. Two (Philadelphia and Boston) render genuine probation service. Only one (Philadelphia) can say with certainty in respect to each girl brought to it whether or not she has been there before.

Only one of the courts studied (Philadelphia) has the machinery for rendering complete service along the three lines mentioned: medical, mental, and social.

While many courts throughout the country dealing with sex offenders undoubtedly have medical, psychiatric, or social service departments and while many may have workers who are 100 per cent efficient, and while many may be able properly to limit the number of probationers assigned to a single officer, one may venture to question whether any court in the country can qualify in respect to *all* of these presumably desirable requirements. It is doubtful whether many communities could so convince their legislatures of the value of these facilities and standards as to secure appropriations that would make their realization possible. We are all discouraged by patchwork methods. What concrete step, then, can a community take in view of its financial limitations that will bring it nearer a solution of this tremendous problem?

Let every court dealing with this class of offenders treat qualitatively at least a small percentage of the number handled. In addition to the regular staff, select the finest trained probation officer who can be found and assign to her perhaps a dozen unselected cases. If the court has no medical department, let this probation officer's cases be examined by the most skilled and socially minded physician in the community; if no psychiatric department has been created, let her cases at least be tested at the best clinic in the community; give her every facility for studying the social history and needs of her charges, and let her confer not only with the doctor and the psychiatrist, but with a selected group of persons eminent in other fields—the sociologist, the minister, the lawyer. A small advisory community or district board might thus be formed. Let her visit her probationers constantly, carrying out the recommendations made on their behalf. Above all, no matter how great the volume of business transacted in the court, strictly limit her assignments to the number that can be thoroughly studied and supervised. Let no policy be determined in advance, but rather try everything that science and human ingenuity can devise to unravel these girls' difficulties and to restore them to the community. After two or three years have passed some successful methods for dealing with this group may have become apparent. Then will the court become in reality a laboratory for the prevention, treatment, and cure for delinquency.

DIVISION III—HEALTH

CO-OPERATION AND CO-ORDINATION IN HEALTH WORK

A. THE NATIONAL HEALTH COUNCIL—ORGANIZATION AND PROGRAM

Donald B. Armstrong, M.D., Acting Executive Officer, New York

The National Health Council was organized at a meeting in Washington, D.C., on December 20, 1920. This step, following immediately upon a survey made during the preceding summer to determine the feasibility and timeliness of such a venture, was in reality the outgrowth of many years of study into the problem of the co-ordination of the national voluntary health agencies. It followed many efforts to initiate such a movement. These previous attempts, in 1913, 1916, and 1918,—to mention the more important periods of activity, initiated by such agencies as the American Medical Association, the American Public Health Association, etc.—simply sowed the seed which is now, we hope, maturing into a concrete movement.

It was perfectly evident that in any effort to co-ordinate the programs and activities of the extra-governmental agencies, a simple start, with a moderately progressive policy was essential. Any such movement must preserve the autonomy and identity of the existing agencies. It must effect a marriage, so to speak, between the type of national voluntary agency with a great popular membership and backing on the one hand (such as the Red Cross), and an agency with a relatively small membership, but a highly trained professional staff of field workers on the other hand (such as the National Tuberculosis Association and others).

It was also felt that a small homogeneous group was essential, the original members being primarily interested in health, and that the membership should be composed of strictly voluntary agencies, except that adequate provision should be made for a very close and intimate advisory contact with official bodies.

With this theoretical background, the National Health Council has been initiated with the following membership: American Public Health Association, American Red Cross, American Social Hygiene Association, Conference of state and Provincial Health Authorities of North America, Council on Health and Public Instruction of the American Medical Association, National Child Health Council (representing indirectly at present its own constituency not otherwise a part of the Council, namely the American Child Hygiene Association, the Child Health Organization of America, and the National Child Labor Committee), National Committee for Mental Hygiene, National Organization for Public Health Nursing, National Tuberculosis Association. In addition there is, as a conference or advisory member, the United States Public Health Service.

Each agency is required, by the by-laws adopted by the Council, to appoint one representative and one alternate to serve on the Council. The by-laws also provide

hat "other national health organizations may hereafter be elected to membership by a two-thirds vote of the members."

In line with the idea of beginning on a modest scale, with those activities that promise to be of greatest experimental value in developing the point of view of co-ordinated action, the Council has approved and has in part initiated the following functions: an information bureau of special service to the members, a health legislative bureau on national and state legislation, a statistical bureau, the development of health educational material, periodic joint conferences, and the co-ordination of health activities.

In addition, the Council has given aid and support to the group representing those members with New York offices very actively engaged at present in the development of the common office arrangement and the joint national headquarters in the Penn Terminal Building in New York City.

The Council has established a headquarters office in Washington, D.C., where a legislative information service is being maintained for the members, and where the Council is working in close co-operation with governmental agencies on the problem of reorganization of federal health activities. In addition there has been established a co-operative office in New York in conjunction with the joint renting arrangement for the agencies with New York headquarters. In this New York office is being developed the Information Bureau, the Statistical Bureau, and other joint activities.

The co-operative renting arrangement in New York City constitutes the largest project now on the program of the Council. This movement has been made possible through the energetic work of the Common Service Committee, representing the New York members originally interested in the project, working under the chairmanship of Dr. William F. Snow, of the American Social Hygiene Association. This is a practical experiment in co-ordination, illustrating the purpose for which the National Health Council was created. Through this arrangement a number of national health agencies have secured adjoining quarters in the building adjacent to the Penn Rail Road Terminal. The agencies on the fifteenth floor of this building are as follows: American Social Hygiene Association, National Committee for Mental Hygiene, National Organization for Public Health Nursing (with the American Nurses' Association and the League for Nursing Education), National Tuberculosis Association.

On the sixteenth floor, with the office of the National Health Council and the Common Service Committee, are the headquarters of the following agencies: American Public Health Association, Bureau of Social Hygiene, Child Health Organization of America, Maternity Center Association, New York Community Service, New York Diet Kitchen Association. Others considering space on this floor are the American Society for the Control of Cancer (also under consideration for membership in the Council), the United States Public Health Service (Liaison office), etc.

While zealously preserving the autonomy of each participating agency, the Common Service Committee is planning to offer certain optional common services. The work of this committee is closely linked with the program of the National Health Council and will be housed in a common office with the Council. It is anticipated that experience may lead to a gradual assumption of many, if not all, of these services by the Council itself. The more important proposed activities of this Committee, to be offered to all National Health Council agencies in the building, are as follows: centralized telephone service; conference, exhibit, and projection room; joint library

service; stock rooms; shipping facilities; restroom; lunch service; messenger service; multigraphing and addressing; mailing service; leasing, subletting, etc.; purchasing facilities; publicity and publication service. In addition, some experimentation is planned in the partial pooling of the dictagraph, typing, stenographic, and other routine office facilities.

The National Health Council should serve as a valuable clearing house and co-ordinating center in many fields where common functions are performed. It aims to be an integrating force among independent autonomous agencies, rather than a merger of such agencies into one organization. It is attempting to follow sound lines of group organization, substituting organized purpose for scattered desire in health work. It aims at a unity and harmony of object, with variety and freedom of activity. Through the creation of a collective will, it seeks to express a synchronized health program.

B. THE NATIONAL CHILD HEALTH COUNCIL—A COUNCIL FOR CO-ORDINATING CHILD HEALTH ACTIVITIES

Courtenay Dinwiddie, Executive Secretary, National Child Health Council, Washington

All of us in the public health field want co-ordination; I believe most of us have wanted it sincerely for a long time. But when it has come to the point of taking the lead and bringing about co-ordination, too many have assumed the attitude of an advertisement by a certain wet wash laundry which came to a city where such things were unknown. The promoters, in order to attract attention, inserted an advertisement across the entire page of a local paper, which read: "The Wet Wash Laundry of Brownsville. Why kill your wife? Let the Wet Wash Laundry do the Dirty Work."

The National Children Health Council was organized because several national agencies engaged in health work for children felt there must be co-ordination in their own work. They knew that many suggestions and plans for co-ordination had been outlined but believed that the test of working together had not yet been made. Instead of conducting a widespread educational campaign which might bring together a large and perhaps heterogeneous group of agencies, they came together as a small and harmonious group, actually to plan and work together and to see whether from such practical experience other developments would not come. The organizations which thus came together early last year to form the National Child Health Council were the American Child Hygiene Association, the Child Health Organization of America, and the National Child Labor Committee—three whose work is distinctly for children—and the American Red Cross, the National Organization for Public Health Nursing and the National Tuberculosis Association, whose work bears largely upon the health of children.

The council is formed very simply by two delegates from each of these organizations, one an executive and the other a board member. This double representation has been thought most desirable in that the points of view of both the administrative staffs and the government boards of the organizations might contribute to the policies and decisions of the council.

Children Legislation an Early Problem.—One of the first things which came to the attention of the council was a request from the National Child Labor Committee which illustrated a problem that the council has attempted to study and to find a

solution for. The Child Labor Committee pointed out that in many states of the Union there were official or unofficial child welfare commissions or committees which were considering legislation of all sorts for children. Most of them were thinking primarily in terms of the dependent, defective or delinquent child. They were not thinking of the facilities which the state or locality should provide in order that the normal child might have a sound and healthful development. Some one had to take the lead in stating what legislation would most meet these neglected problems of health.

Service to "Children's Code Commissions."—This was in December and some of the official "children's code" or welfare commissions were to report in January. As an emergency measure the council organized a committee which included representatives of the following federal bureaus: the Public Health Service, the Children's Bureau, Bureau of Education, as well as others who had special knowledge or skill to contribute to the subject of health legislation for children. After several meetings, the committee submitted a report which outlined the general principles of legislation which would protect the health of the child, give the necessary authority and powers to local and state health officers, and so far as possible clear the way for the granting of the necessary funds for a comprehensive program for the health of children. This outline appeared to meet a real demand, as we found from the number of requests for it. It convinced us that the principle of establishing representative national advisory committees on various phases of the child-health problem, which had been suggested as one of the functions of the council, was sound.

Advisory Committees—School Health.—We found that we were receiving from all over the country requests to know whether this or that measure was a desirable part of a program for the health education of school children or requests for an outline of a complete program. The council has felt it its duty to answer these requests. Because it is organized as a co-ordinating body, the council does not consider itself a group of experts. It believes, however, that its machinery should be at the service not only of its member organizations but of all in the child-health field for collecting and studying and making available the best information and the most authoritative opinion on the subjects that contribute to healthful childhood, especially in so far as the results of actual experience are obtainable. The best way of accomplishing this has seemed to be through the formation of national advisory committees. In the case of the advisory committee on health education of school children, the council has appealed to those organizations consisting of professional groups with special knowledge of the subject, whether from the health or educational standpoint, to name delegates to such a committee. It has also appealed to the Bureau of Education, the Public Health Service, and the Children's Bureau to appoint representatives. In addition individuals of outstanding ability in the field of health education have been chosen to contribute to the formation of a well-balanced and authoritative committee. The advisory committee on foods and nutrition has been formed in a similar way and both committees are ready to bring active work. Other advisory committees will be formed as the occasion arises.

The Need for Taking Stock.—Many programs for the health of children, along specialized lines, have been invaluable in pioneering and experimentation. On the other hand, most of them have been carried far enough for it to be possible to judge what their contribution should be to a complete program. Also there is danger in carrying these programs to a too high degree of specialization.

the demonstration, the greatest contribution may be made to the community.

of Field Work.—In planning for co-ordination of field work we have to be dealing with one of the most difficult and at the same time one of the most important problems facing national organizations. I can say without exaggeration that the prevailing feeling is that we shall approach the whole question from the point of view of the community and of the state, rather than from the point of view of the national organization. Those who have had experience in public health work realize the difficulties that the state or local health authorities face in determining what organization can render the most service locally and under what conditions such service is most helpful. It is upon those representing the community that the responsibility falls sooner or later for adjusting the relationship between the state and those within.

Consideration has been given to the varying conditions in different communities. It is not practicable to attempt to develop a program, certainly one which had been developed experimentally, which would be applicable uniformly over the country. The varying conditions and varying types of organizations in different communities, which nominally have the same purpose, may really have different functions, according to the lines along which they have developed in the past. Therefore it seems to the council best not to work out a theoretical plan for the co-ordination of field work but to develop a practical one, step by step.

Practical Method.—The first step will probably follow the request of the council, with the concurrence of the state authorities, for a study of its own work in the child-health field. This would give an appropriate opportunity for a joint study of the work of the organizations in the child-health field. Such a study can show, (1) how far it is possible for one organization to represent the others in bringing their resources to the service of the community; (2) to what extent the various programs of the organizations can be fitted into a comprehensive and balanced program.

(3) what are the standards and methods as to which there is not agreement among the leaders in the child-health field, which need to be brought to the attention of the appropriate national advisory committees for consensus of authority, and for which there may be legitimate subjects of further experimentation.

The next logical step to take would be to lend a representative of one of the organizations of the council to one of the states for a period of from one to three months. Such a person, representing all of the organizations in the council, working closely with the state authorities, might make a test of how far the council's work had appeared to be sound in the joint community study, could bring to the attention of the state the resources of these organizations to the service of an

the council should throw much light on the best methods of avoiding duplication of effort or the influencing of local programs without adequate knowledge of the conditions in the state. From these steps there should develop methods of working out the co-ordination with the states, which shall not only make the best use of national resources but which shall contribute most toward the development of a state basis, which shall be built soundly and in accordance with the needs of the state itself.

Relation to Other National Organizations.—Among other things the Council has been very glad to take part, as a constituent member, in the affairs of the National Health Council. It has participated in the deliberations of the American Life Association on co-ordination in rural work. Its delegates have taken part in the National Conference of Social Agencies and its discussion of plans for co-ordination of national social agencies. Conferences have been held with representatives of the Child Welfare League of America with a view to co-operating with that organization.

These steps have been for the purpose of carrying out a settled policy of the Council not only to co-operate to the fullest extent with any existing organizations but to work so far as possible toward the simplification of national machinery and the reduction of its multiplication.

SOME ACTIVITIES OF THE AMERICAN RED CROSS IN RELATION TO HEALTH

A. THE SOCIAL SIGNIFICANCE OF HEALTH CENTERS

Philip S. Platt, Director, New Haven Health Center, New Haven

It is essential, I think, to clear the ground for a better understanding of what health centers may be, by briefly indicating a few of the more conspicuous types. It is a composite of these several types that we have chosen as the health center whose social significance we shall consider.

There is then the simplest type of health center which Dr. Peterson has recently described as "a single room where information on health is dispensed—information which aims to put the people of the community in touch with their health facilities—and where the community is organized to study and promote its health work. The worker may be paid or a volunteer, a lay person or a nurse.

If the person in charge is a nurse the activities of the health center are likely to become those of a nursing center. Health talks, classes on home hygiene, first aid and little mothers' clubs, may be held in the headquarters, and community and school nursing carried on outside.

Another development of this simple type of health center comes with the introduction of medical service on a small scale. This may take the form of disease prevention clinics, such as well-baby conferences, nutrition classes, weighing and measuring of children, or it may deal with sick people, particularly with venereal disease, tuberculosis, or possibly a general medical clinic or it may deal with both.

These three types comprise the great majority of the Red Cross health centers which in turn comprise about four hundred of the six hundred so-called health centers.

But there are many other types. There is the type in which the Red Cross takes but a minor part, but in which all the health and social agencies of a given district participate, sharing the headquarters and offering there a wide variety of services both social and health, thus carrying out the idea of a community center.

This form of co-ordinating center for health and other community agencies may be further developed by bringing about the definite participation of the people of the district, individually and as organized groups, in an administrative or advisory capacity.

A widely different type of health center is the decentralized health department or medical direction, carrying out many, if not all, of the official duties of the health department, but with emphasis on the medical and nursing sides.

Again in the general enthusiasm for calling all health activities health centers, must not be surprised at finding modern polyclinic dispensaries, municipal or state, calling themselves health centers. English authorities define a health center "an institution wherein are brought together various medical services, preventive and curative, so as to form one organization," a fully equipped hospital being included in this plan. Our own best example of this type is familiar through the New York State Health Center bill, once defeated and now in committee I believe, with its provisions for the creation, particularly in the rural districts, of centers where adequate medical treatment, hospital and dispensary facilities and nursing care, will be assured, with laboratory and other services for the assistance of the local physician, and all under medical direction.

What a leap there is from such a type to the health center that deals with so-called normal people, whose emphasis is upon the desirability and attainability of positive normal health—health which is measured in terms of being one's physical best—health which is defined as that state which makes possible the full development and mastery of one's self—the powers of one's physical body, mental processes, emotional force, and spiritual expression.

Let us take, for example, a composite health center organized and supported by both public and private health agencies, carrying on in a defined area from a local headquarters an intensive health conservation, disease prevention, and sickness treatment program. It is the co-ordinating agency of the district and is in the closest co-operative relationship with all the medical, nursing, social, educational, recreational, and community interests of the district. Either in an advisory or in an administrative capacity the people of the district participate in the work of the health center. Its executive would be a trained public health administrator, preferably a physician. Though such a health center may seem unduly ambitious, it presents, I believe, the sort of thing that health centers would at least like to become. We shall consider such a health center from the points of view of education, medical service nursing service, social service, volunteer service and co-operation.

I. EDUCATION

If by health education we mean merely bringing information about health to the attention of people, it must be conceded that the health center possesses exceptional opportunities for performing this service. But it is also in an excellent position to exert marked influence, more truly educational in character, upon individuals, social groups or classes, volunteer workers, the community at large, the local agencies, and even the medical profession. We turn our attention more closely to these several opportunities.

Individuals.—The contact with the individual may be either impersonal or personal. By impersonal I mean the contact which comes through those familiar educational media, the leaflet, pamphlet, poster, lantern slide, motion picture, models, exhibits, etc., a contact not to be dispensed with, however relatively small its true educational value. No organization should dare to assume the name health center that does not possess and use such health ammunition. But who does not know

that the greater service comes from personal contact. It is through the personal touch, whether of the physician or the nurse, the health center hostess or the least volunteers, that the individual most often receives the stimulus to action, the answer to his inquiring mind, and his impression of the health center. Specifically he should learn about the social, health, and other agencies of the city, and how to use them; he should receive the best advice on any question regarding the care of himself or his family or be told where such advice may be obtained; he should be converted into an enthusiastic supporter of the modern health movement.

Special groups.—In extending its health promoting influence to special groups and classes the health center finds favorable opportunities. To an attractive headquarters groups of children can be brought for many purposes, and health classes, nutrition classes, heart and lung classes, can be developed under medical direction. The headquarters offers facilities for the meetings of the local physicians, the local midwives, and the local advisory council, while the success of motion picture entertainments depends only on the repertoire of available health films.

Volunteers.—One of the fields of influence of the health center as an educational force is that largely untouched group of volunteers, actual or potential, whose need of what the health center can give to them is equal only to the need the health center has of them.

Community.—The community at large is also invariably in need of just the sort of well-planned health education that the health center can give and must give if it is to measure up to its possibilities. The general public must be reached and at least the ground prepared for an intelligent understanding of individual and public health. This can be done and in many health centers is done by mass meetings, popular talks, lectures, newspaper articles, health contests, parades, and exhibits.

Local agencies.—If the health center is really a well-administered, forward-looking organization it has many opportunities to exert a stimulating influence upon the other health and social agencies of the city. Many are the requests the health center executive will have to speak before the various local, state, and national agencies. His relations with the official and private agencies should be mutually co-operative, helpful, and stimulating.

Medical profession.—Movements of this character towards social medicine are likely to meet with misunderstanding or opposition from the more conservative group of the medical profession. It is upon the medical staff, in particular, that responsibility rests to win the co-operation and support of its medical colleagues.

As an educational force then, a health center which measures up to its opportunities exerts on individuals and groups a true health-promoting influence, invests with appropriate attractiveness the absorbing subject of personal and public health, overcomes ignorance and misconception, and molds public opinion along lines pregnant with social significance.

II. MEDICAL SERVICE

If we turn to consider the medical service that a health center may render a community we enter upon a highly diversified and somewhat controversial subject. The health center we have chosen for the subject of our discussion was described as possessing an intensive health conservation, disease prevention, sickness treatment program. It is not necessary to describe in detail what such a program would be. Let it be hoped that the policy of any health center will be to meet unfilled needs and

to duplicate existing services. Consequently the character of the medical services depend upon the local situation. If facilities for medical treatment of the sick local physicians, dispensaries, and hospitals are fairly ample, let the health center make itself a clearing house for these facilities but develop its own medical work along the lines of purely preventive work, such as prenatal, well-baby, preschool, nutritional, and dental clinics, and health examinations of well people. If on the other hand facilities for medical treatment are inadequate or lacking it would seem to be indicated that the health center should develop treatment clinics, but, let us hope, in the newer spirit of educational preventive medicine, avoiding the past mistakes of many dispensaries. The opportunity for trying out new types of medical service is admirably applied in the health center.

Whatever the scope of the medical services in our health center—and it is probable that certain official functions of the health department of the city may be added—it is perfectly obvious that the uses of these services are quite as social as they are individual. It is in fact social medicine in any broad sense of the word, and who will deny that its significance, though actually measured with such difficulty, is great! Let me here call attention to the fact that one of the important questions which may be decided by certain health centers is whether non-treatment medical services can be successfully carried on alone, or whether it is necessary that the medical services include the giving of treatment.

III. NURSING SERVICE

It seems hardly necessary to dwell upon the social use or the social significance of a well-organized nursing service in connection with a health center. It is hard to imagine a health center of the broader type, such as we are discussing, without its nursing service. And where the properly trained nurse is we may be sure to find an intelligence and a force which is ministering, through his physical distress, to man's broader social welfare. The generalized public health nurse, working intensively in a small district, comes in closer and more helpful social relations with its inhabitants as individuals and family groups than can any other person.

IV. SOCIAL SERVICE

Social service is as indispensable in any health center district as is medical service. The question is how shall it be carried on and by whom. There are in general two alternatives: either the health center may have trained social workers on its staff with or without an adequate budget for relief, or it may refer all indicated cases through the confidential exchange to the appropriate organization for investigation and action. In the former case the dependence on other existing agencies would none the less be frequent, and such dependence may indeed be very stimulating to the organization in question.

V. VOLUNTEERS

We have already spoken of the volunteer as excellent educational material. What of the volunteer as a worker? In no small measure the health center was chosen by the Red Cross as one of its peace-time activities because it afforded such ideal attraction for enlisting and keeping the interest of the Red Cross volunteer. But this influence may be for good or it may be for bad. If it means an enthusiastic but controlled group of women, learning through participation, however humble, to appre-

pertaining to diet, sanitation, overcrowding, etc. If we can inspire in the children of today ideals of certain minimum social standards they will in adult life insist on having those things for themselves and especially for their children. This is the goal of social service work, self-activity of the people in helping themselves to better social conditions.

Every school subject has its peculiar psychology. Health teaching has its informational side and its habit side. We try in all our schools to grade instruction so that it will be different and increasingly difficult in each grade. This is not possible so far as habits are concerned because children need to begin to practice all the fundamental habits in the kindergarten or first grade, and that training needs to continue through all the grades of the school. The center of all this training is to teach every boy and girl the thing he ought to be taught when he needs it. If this plan were followed from the kindergarten through the high school we would have a product in health at the end of the school period that we could be proud of. While the fundamental habits that are to be attacked will remain the same through all the grades, the information to be presented must be varied from grade to grade so as to grip the imagination and emotions of the child and give him further insight and appreciation.

The last four or five years have witnessed remarkable activity in health teaching. There is no field of teaching that has shown such initiative, inventiveness, and originality. At its best it has succeeded to a remarkable extent in enlisting the child's emotions and activities through the various methods of play. Let me illustrate the old and new method of teaching by concrete examples. Miss M. says: "Children, we are going to talk today about eating vegetables. Each of you may imagine that you are a vegetable and tell me a story about yourself." Mary gets up at the end of the class and says: "I am a great green head of lettuce. I live out under the blue sky. The rain falls upon me and keeps me clean. The sun shines and keeps me clean. Eat me and you will have a good complexion." John says: "I am a big red beet. I have roots that go down deep into the ground. In the ground there is iron. The iron goes into the beet. Eat me and you will be strong."

Miss O. says to her class: "We shall have a lesson on vegetables today. Please remember everything I say, for I shall ask you about it. First of all let us talk about lettuce. Lettuce is good because it helps to give you a good complexion. Beet contains iron and will help to make you strong."

The next day she says to Mary: "What can you say about the value of eating lettuce?" etc.

It is evident as to which lesson is interesting to children and gets them into the right attitude to begin to practice a habit.

It is my conviction that every class should be a health class. If health is made popular in every grade, made fashionable throughout the school, I believe we shall be able to train the vast majority of the children to be healthy. There will always be a number of cases, however, that will not yield to regular instruction. In such cases we need to have in our school systems special health classes (let us not call them nutrition clinics which distresses the lay mind) where more special and scientific methods may be used to get results. The special health class should not be at the beginning of this movement but at the end, but it should eventually be incorporated in probably every school system. It is just here that the organized social forces outside of the school may assist in establishing such classes. The test of any philan-

thropic organization is its ability to eliminate itself and make itself unnecessary. One of your opportunities is to demonstrate to the public the value of such a special health class until such time as the school is ready to incorporate it as its own.

B. WHAT STATE DIVISIONS OF CHILD HYGIENE ARE DOING TO PROMOTE CHILD HEALTH

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Indiana State Board of Health, Indianapolis*

Child hygiene divisions in the states have multiplied in the last three years. Two outstanding causes may be assigned for the growing interest in child health; first, the need of early correction of defects as shown by the somewhat astounding results of the draft examinations and, second, the nation-wide interest in child health aroused by the Children's Year program.

The number of states having divisions of child hygiene in 1918 was eight. By 1921 the number had increased to thirty-eight.

The majority of these divisions are under the supervision of state boards of health. Other agencies which have partial supervision and which furnish partial financial support are departments of education, the United States Public Health Service, state and national public health associations, the American Child Hygiene Association, the Public Health Nursing Association, pediatric societies, the Red Cross, the Federal Children's Bureau, and the Anti-tuberculosis Association. In many states community aid is given to projects initiated and fostered by state divisions of child hygiene.

In some states public health nursing is being developed as a division of the child hygiene bureau, in other states as an independent division.

A general purpose and plan of work is common to all states. Each seems to have adopted certain minimum standards of care for mothers and children, and each is trying to educate the general public and to secure the establishment of its standards in all the communities under its jurisdiction. The working plan of the older divisions especially that of New York state, is the basis of that of many other states. On the other hand, several states have developed original plans that are worthy of consideration. These will be commented on by subjects.

In several states the law forbids persons affected with communicable or hereditary disease to marry. Provision for the enforcement of such laws is for the most part inadequate. The protection of society generally against the parenthood of the unfit needs to be given serious and intelligent consideration. A predominance of degenerate and feeble-minded persons in any community is by no means desirable, yet, unless stringent measures are undertaken, will in some places be inevitable.

Special surveys in mental hygiene in each state might help to awaken interest in this most important subject. Connecticut, Colorado, New York, California, and Indiana are working along these lines. The value of family health standards was emphasized by the Kansas Child Hygiene Division under the direction of Doctor Florence Brown Sherbon. The expert examination and grading of entire families instead of individuals on a health basis, as undertaken at their 1920 state fair, should be of inestimable value to the entire state as an educational measure.

swing. It was begun by the Health Service and is now under the Department of Volunteer Service.

Another way in which the Red Cross Health Service helps the public health campaign is by its general publications of health information. I mention only five. The complete set of our publications is shown in our exhibit.

When the above program supporting the work of public health agencies had gotten well under way, the Health Service Committee, after detailed study of four different sections of New York, recommended to the Executive Committee that the chapter engage in actual administrative health work. This administrative health work is taking two forms:

1. The establishment of a Community Health Center to demonstrate the methods and the value of the co-ordination of all health and kindred activities in a defined local area including about 100,000 people. It is proposed to bring together into this health center for local administrative purposes, and so far as practicable for operating purposes, all the existing health and family welfare agencies doing work in the district. Arrangements have also been made to secure the establishment of such additional health activities in this selected district as will, with those now existing, constitute a fairly complete health program. The health center is controlled by a council, composed of representatives from each agency operating in the center, together with a certain number of representative citizens, preferably residents in the district, and a certain number of representatives of the Executive and Health Service committees of the New York County Chapter, American Red Cross.

2. Three Red Cross Child Health stations in sections of Manhattan where the need is greatest and where the chapter can secure the largest co-operation from some existing agency, such as a school or settlement, have been established. Each station conducts nutrition classes for undernourished children, dental hygiene, and dental clinics.

Finally, the Health Service is assisting the City Department of Health in three ways at the special request of Commissioner of Health Royal S. Copeland, M.D.:

First, the tabulation and analysis of statistics of mortality and morbidity from 1916 to 1920 inclusive for the 224 sanitary areas into which Manhattan is divided for purposes of the Department of Health and the United States Census. This work is being done by two clerks paid by the Red Cross, who are given a room at the Health Department. Their work is directed by a special committee of statisticians.

Second, the appropriation of a sum of money to assist the Health Department in making a demonstration in the immunization from diphtheria of approximately 52,000 public school children by the Schick Test. This has been carried on this spring with the personnel of the Health Department, the Red Cross supplying the salaries and receiving weekly reports on results. A very large number of consents have been secured from the parents of the children, and approximately 30 per cent of the children have been found to be susceptible to diphtheria, so that the local chapter of the Red Cross may feel that it has made by this demonstration more than 15,000 children in New York City, who were found susceptible to it, immune from contracting diphtheria.

Third, the opening of five dental hygiene clinics in public schools in Manhattan to demonstrate to the Board of Estimate that there should be a dental hygiene clinic in every school in New York City.

This work on vital and sickness statistics, this demonstration of the Schick Test to determine the susceptibility of children to diphtheria, and the placing of dental hygiene clinics in certain public schools were all arranged for in the budget of the Health Department. At the last moment the appropriations for these objects were struck out by the Board of Estimate; the Health Commissioner turned to the Red Cross for assistance. National Headquarters gave us special permission to do some of this work, and the Junior Red Cross also gave us funds for two of the dental hygiene clinics. The results, both in the work and in cementing cordial relations with the Health Department, have been most gratifying.

To sum up, the promotion of health activities in New York County as well as co-operation with the existing health agencies are the absorbing interests of our Red Cross Health Service and give this work its peculiar fascination. The New York Nutrition Council is an example of our interest in the promotion of health activities. This Council, representing now nearly ninety agencies in and near New York City, was formed last fall, and has held twelve meetings with attendance of from fifty to three hundred people, and has greatly stimulated and standardized methods in this most popular subject of malnutrition among children. Our chapter largely assisted the formation of this new informal Council and has printed its first publication, a valuable bibliography of nutritional subjects.

To illustrate once more our interest in co-operating with health agencies let me say just a word about a demonstration now being carried on to give a health program to preschool age children in New York. At the suggestion of Dr. Ira S. Wile, the Departments of Education and Health, Teachers College, and the American Red Cross are uniting in making a demonstration group of one thousand children physically ready to enter school in September. During June in eight selected public schools these preschool-age youngsters, about one hundred and twenty-five in each school, are being examined by the Department of Health physician; after examination they receive mental tests from psychologists from Teachers College; they have their teeth cleaned by the Red Cross dental hygienists; and it is the job of the Red Cross nurse to see that the necessary follow-up work is done this summer for the removal of physical defects. While in less highly organized communities it is quite proper and indeed necessary for the American Red Cross to embark itself on health activities, it seems to me that in the very highly developed communities, such as the largest cities, the plan above outlined is the most profitable kind of Red Cross Health Service.

It will be seen that the entire health program of the New York County Chapter, American Red Cross, then is one of co-operation; that no health activities are undertaken alone; that no health service is provided without securing the co-operation of some other organizations, much of this service being undertaken at the special request of other health agencies. To supplement and not supplant the public and private health activities of the city is the motto of this new Red Cross service.

C. THE PUBLIC HEALTH NURSING PROGRAM OF THE AMERICAN RED CROSS

Elizabeth G. Fox, Director, Public Health Nursing, A. R. C., Washington

I want to tell you about the Public Health Nursing Service of your Red Cross, what we are, what we are doing, and our hope for future accomplishment.

ing the nature and plan of the work. The films, "The Sin of Omission," "The Priceless Gift of Health," "Our Children," and "Mouth Hygiene" are used. We also have lantern slides which may be loaned under certain conditions. The following day the children who have been registered by the survey committee and often others are given complete physical examinations. Talks with the parents are productive of much good. Often children are referred from schools for special advice. Three schedules are made for each child, one for the county nurses or follow-up organization, one for the parent, and one for the state. The state schedule asks concerning prenatal care and baby feeding, hours of sleep and work of parents, and sleep of child, etc. Vision and hearing tests are given to children of five or over, and developmental tests to the preschool child. An attempt is being made to standardize certain tests.

As a result of these campaigns, many children are taken to consult oculists and dentists. Some are having tonsils and adenoids removed, or being given orthopedic treatment or treatment for nervous or tuberculous and other conditions. Health stations and baby clinics are being organized. Milk lunches are given, etc., but in every case the work is carried on by the parents, the local doctors and nurses, and the local committees and is receiving at least partial municipal support. Some time during the campaign, at the beginning if possible, a special meeting of the county medical and dental societies is called to discuss the plans and schedules.

National Baby Week is being observed in many states. In addition to a baby week in Indiana, we propose to keep the subject of Child health before the people all the year round. The plan has the approval of Governor McCray, the State Board of Health, the State Superintendent of Public Instruction, the State Federation of Clubs, and many other organizations. It asks simply that ten minutes of the first meeting each month be devoted to a discussion of the subject assigned to the month in its relation to child health. As this includes organizations of every description, business, religious, educational, municipal, social, it is extensive in its application.

The county health nursing unit needs to be developed. This is done successfully in South Carolina, West Virginia, North Carolina, Wisconsin, and Arizona. Waste of effort by nurses because of lack of backing of full time health officers is reported as a hindrance to work in some states. Organizations devoted to child welfare which consider child hygiene division merely as an adjunct to their organization have hindered in several states. It has been suggested that all voluntary child health agencies in the state should consult with the state child hygiene division in making their working plans, that duplication may be avoided. If this were done, some one agency could be made responsible for each phase of the work. It is also suggested that the state division be the unit to be consulted before any federal activities be instituted.

Every county or district should have a complete health unit in co-operation with other community activities, the former to be under supervision of the state health authorities with the privilege of developing most needed activities first. In this way much duplication may be avoided.

The chief need is better organized child hygiene divisions in state health departments having county or district units. To these departments all questions relating to child health should be referred.

Uniform standards of growth and nutrition should be adopted. The so-called "poorly nourished" child seems to exist in as many varieties as there are persons weighing and measuring. A comparison of relative heights and weights is desirable.

not only as individuals and families but also as groups and as a community as a whole. This community work is being done in various ways, such as the development of Little Mothers' clubs, classes in home hygiene and care of the sick, health leagues and other classes and clubs, baby weeks, exhibits at county fairs, health parades and other public group activities. Undertakings of this kind tend to establish in the counties and the community as a whole a popular understanding of the need for health and for the development of public health nursing.

We find that our nurses must be not only technicians in public health nursing, but organizers and leaders as well. They must not work alone as highly trained specialists, but must learn to work with and make use of the untrained people of their communities. The organization of the people around the nurse's work is one of her most important duties. These problems of organization are new ones for the majority of our nurses, in the solving of which they need much guidance. We are trying to provide this guidance through maintaining a strong staff of supervising nurses, through group conferences originated and convened by the Red Cross or by the State Bureau of Public Health Nursing, through long distance guidance from our division offices, and through the assistance of the National Organization for Public Health Nursing, which is one of our staunchest friends and supporters.

We are not looking forward to much expansion of our work during the coming year. Our service is already a large one and needs all of our attention to strengthen and improve it. We feel keenly our responsibility for the soundness of every service we have created. We want each one of our services to be in flourishing condition, a distinct asset to the community, well understood and believed in by the people of the community before it is turned over to the public authorities. Eventually the great majority of the services started by the Red Cross will become public services maintained by the local or state government. It is our duty to see that these services are strong and vigorous and of high standard when they are turned over to public control.

We are very much interested in the progress our states are making toward the public assumption of responsibility for the maintenance and direction of public health nursing. A goodly number of our states now have bureaus or divisions of public health nursing in the State Department of Health, with which we are closely working and in which we strongly believe. We are also glad to see that public officials are becoming more broad-minded in their understanding of public health nursing as a public function and are beginning to see the propriety and importance of including in a state program nursing care and the social aspects of public health nursing as well as the narrowly preventive aspects such as the control of communicable diseases. The day is not far distant and has already come in some localities when public health nursing conducted by public authorities will be as broad and as comprehensive as is that now being carried on under private control.

One interesting problem which we find ourselves raising is that of the personnel needed in our counties in order to accomplish the essential social tasks. In many counties we need a public health nurse, a home demonstration agent, a nutrition apportionment worker, and possibly a recreation specialist as the needs of the community require to meet the most pressing social needs. Our county tax budgets are usually quite small and it is difficult to maintain all these workers. Which ones shall we maintain? Shall we maintain one or three? Are we to look forward to further specialization of the public health

Similar care has been extended to children with such diseases as infantile paralytic, persistent skin conditions, chorea, heart disease, and with psychiatric conditions including study and mental hygiene. This supplementary social service and the making of available community resources for hospital patients is possible because there is within the hospital staff, correlating with the medical service, someone who can see not only the need but also the possibilities of articulating the hospital service with social agencies outside.

The greatly extended use of public health nurses—visiting, tuberculosis, baby hygiene, school and industrial nurses—is also thus made possible. On the principle that every effort should be made not to overlap and duplicate the community resources, so service departments have arranged in several instances to have series of lectures and courses for the public health nurses connected with boards of health, the schools, and visiting nursing associations on such subjects as diseases of the eye and ear and their treatment, tuberculosis in its varied manifestations, and problems of nutrition and diet. Many of the best public health nurses have not had much experience in their hospital training in the care of patients who frequent dispensaries. It seems to me more fitting, instead of developing in each dispensary special visiting nurses, that the hospital social worker should enlist the interest of the hospital and its staff of physicians, who are only too ready to give such medical lectures to the public health nurses of the community who are ready to serve hospital patients, and can do so very well if they are given some additional knowledge of special diseases.

Aside from making possible more effective medical treatment, the hospital social worker sees rapidly extended opportunities for preventive health work among children. The examination of the children in families where the original patient had a diagnosis of tuberculosis or syphilis has brought many children under treatment before serious symptoms have been manifest. The deaf or blind child whom no medical service can help present a very real problem of education. Sometimes no suitable resources exist for such education. The hospital then becomes an important center for getting facts concerning the extent of this lack, and in several instances accumulated evidence presented by hospital social workers to boards of education has been very enlightening. The physically handicapped child needing vocational guidance and training again offers an opportunity to the hospital social worker. It is not the hospital's function to provide the necessary training, but should it not be one of the most effective means of arousing the interest of the public to the necessity of educational and vocational opportunities for children who may otherwise become not only dependent, but what is worse, sources of moral delinquency as well?

Within the past few years we have seen a tendency toward group treatment of dispensary patients who have chronic disease and whose treatment necessitates the co-operation of both the patient and his family. Among children, these groups include patients with heart disease, infantile paralysis, scoliosis, tuberculosis, rachitis, eczema, and malnutrition. Social service has been an important element in the development and maintenance of this group treatment and in studying with the physician the social factors involved. The trained social worker makes available to the physician the technical data from the social side which he has heretofore been able only to surmise.

The value of the hospital social worker lies, I believe, in the uniqueness of her contribution, and the future value must rest upon the more skillful development on the social side. While medical-social work is in part a merging of two skilled services, the value lies in their not being identical.

The sphere of medical service is almost its relatedness. That the social aspect of medicine is emerging at the present time is well recognized. The power and the will to see ahead. The education will surely include at least interpretation of the disease and the health legislation that necessarily hear that one of the stumbling-blocks of medical and sometimes the definite opposition of medical schools, has given practically no consideration of this should remember that heretofore the training aspects of the subject. It will be of interest to this Pediatric Society in 1920 presented an outline of "Didactic Pediatrics" which was recommended for incorporation in schools. This action on the part of socially minded physicians giving clinical experience to medical students, the hospital part in teaching medical students by case work method the and social work. The extension of this kind of practical demonstration related as it is to his direct contact with the patients, cannot fail student who is getting his first vivid lessons in preparation for the future.

While we are rejoicing at the improvement in medical education that we are much more concerned with better training for a professional obligation to keep it abreast of the best thought and worked out methods and principles that are represented in the various worker for children. Thus the socially minded physician and skilled worker may together study the problem of childhood as they see it in the dispensary, seek to discover why so many children need to enter our institutions, work out better methods of medical-social treatment, make full use of community resources, and add something to the progress of preventive medicine.

GOVERNMENT DEPARTMENTS IN THEIR RELATION TO HEALTH

A. THE UNITED STATES PUBLIC HEALTH SERVICE

C. C. Pierce, Assistant Surgeon General in Charge of Division of Venereal Diseases, United States Public Health Service, Washington

Until 1879 the Marine Hospital Service exercised practically all of the federal health functions. In 1902 an act was passed changing the name of the Marine Hospital Service to Public Health and Marine Hospital Service, this act again expanding the public health functions of the Service. It seems clear from this that Congress intended to make the Public Health Service the principal federal health agency, but Congress has, however, created other boards and bureaus to perform certain health functions. A review of the laws relating to federal health departments will show that several bureaus and divisions in several executive departments have been authorized by Congress to perform limited health functions in certain specific fields. Since all of these functions are also authorized for the Public Health Service, there is an over-

in the functions of those bureaus and divisions and the Public Health Service. The amount of effort and duplication of work are not yet serious, for the bureaus are not in their functions by their appropriations, so that they seldom cover the same ground. Furthermore, they often co-operate with each other by agreement or detail of personnel from one bureau to another. Obviously the several branches of public health are so intimately related that separate bureaus cannot work to the best advantage. The relationship between federal health activities and the state and local health agencies is so direct and essential for success that the Public Health Service has practiced a partnership with state and local health agencies for the development of a public health agency which does not lose sight of the American principle of local government. In making this partnership effective the Public Health Service extends the extension of federal aid to state and local health agencies to a limited extent on account of the federal responsibility in the prevention of national and interstate spread of disease. This extension of federal aid to states is justified by the fact that the prevention of disease is peculiar in that disease germs do not regard political boundaries, and one state or community with high standards of administration cannot protect itself against another state or community with a substandard of health administration. In order, therefore, to bring about an economical and efficient organization for the prevention of disease a unified health service should be maintained by the federal, state, and local government health agencies.

Under existing authority of law the health functions of the Public Health Service are described under the following heads: protection of the United States from the introduction of disease from without; prevention of the interstate spread of disease, suppression of epidemics; co-operation with state and local boards of health in matters; investigation of diseases of man; supervision and control of biologic materials; public health education and dissemination of health information.

Protection of the United States from the introduction of disease from without.—The Public Health Service has acted as a national quarantine agency since 1878, and the procedure was made more uniform in 1893. The Public Health Service operates every quarantine station in the United States and its insular possessions. The object of the quarantine service is to prevent the United States from the quarantine diseases, small pox, typhus fever, cholera, leprosy, and bubonic plague.

Medical inspection of immigrants.—In addition to the work of protecting the United States from the diseases noted above, all immigrants are subject to medical examination by officers of the United States Public Health Service. Those found to be afflicted with a loathsome or dangerous contagious disease or from insanity, epilepsy, or imbecility are certified to the immigration authorities as having such diseases and their deportation is mandatory under the law.

Under the operation of the quarantine service at the maritime ports of the United States the Public Health Service also maintains a quarantine service along the Mexican coast, especially directed against the introduction of typhus fever and smallpox. Furthermore, of course, all incoming travel is subject to inspection to prevent the introduction of other quarantinable diseases.

PREVENTION OF INTERSTATE SPREAD OF DISEASE

The quarantine law of 1893 which includes all communicable diseases provides that the Public Health Service shall co-operate with and aid state and municipal

tion Work: The importance of this subject has not been fully expressed up to the present time. For this reason the Public Health Appropriation of only \$50,000 during the past fiscal year to expend in sanitation; yet with this sum work was carried on in 33 counties, for health purposes in these counties of about \$230,000 was secured. The whole effort of the Service along these lines has been to create a sense of local health responsibility and to encourage the citizens to maintain for this purpose adequate local health organizations.

Through co-operation with state boards of health, local communal health boards, the United States Public Health Service has been able to make investigations in malaria, malaria surveys at the local health officers, and proposing to malarious communities programs of control. The expenses of carrying out these programs is met by local contributions made by the International Health Board, the plan is worked out and the expert supervision necessary to its proper execution is provided by the Public Health Service.

Co-operation with state health officers.—Under the act of 1902 the Surgeon General convenes an annual conference of the state and territorial officers. At this conference health administration and other matters are discussed.

Prevention of the diseases of man.—Under the act of August 14, 1912, the Service is empowered "to study and investigate the diseases of man and to prevent the propagation and spread thereof." The extent, therefore, of the Public Health Service may carry on this work is limited only to the extent provided for by Congress. The present urge for economy has prevented the Service from expending sums commensurate with the extent of the field. An outstanding achievement has been the development of what promises to be the successful method of control of leprosy at least when the disease is not too far advanced. This latter work is being carried on at the Leprosy Investigation Station of the Service at Hawaii. The work of the Public Health Service is done at various stations in the Hygienic Laboratory in Washington.

Regulation of biologic products.—Under the Act of July 1, 1902, the manufacturers of States who produce for shipment in interstate traffic any virus, toxin, anti-toxin, or analogous product applicable to the prevention of disease of man do so under licenses issued by the Secretary of the Treasury. The products have been inspected by officers of the Public Health Service in accordance with the regulations promulgated by the Secretary of the Treasury, and their products have been found to conform to the standards laid down by the Public Health Service for purity and for potency also, where such a standard is applicable. In addition to this all foreign firms who desire to import their products to the United States must first obtain a license from the Secretary of the Treasury which is issued to them on the same terms and under the same kind of conditions as the case of manufacturers in this country. Unless these conditions are complied with, the products of their products cannot be admitted into this country.

Dissemination of health information and public health education.—The scientific information is disseminated by the bulletins prepared by the Hygienic Laboratory and the

The sphere of medical service is almost as complex as life itself, if we see it in all its relatedness. That the social aspect of medicine is one of the most important that is emerging at the present time is well recognized by those of the profession who have the power and the will to see ahead. The education of the physician of the future will surely include at least interpretation of the social causes and complications of disease and the health legislation that necessarily concerns the physician. We often hear that one of the stumbling-blocks of public health movements is the indifference and sometimes the definite opposition of medical men. Those of us who are impatient of this should remember that heretofore the training of physicians, even in our good medical schools, has given practically no consideration to the public health and social aspects of the subject. It will be of interest to this group to know that the American Pediatric Society in 1920 presented an outline of "Didactic Instruction in Preventive Pediatrics" which was recommended for incorporation in the curriculum of all medical schools. This action on the part of socially minded physicians indicates the tendency of the times. In a few centers where social service departments are a part of hospitals giving clinical experience to medical students, the hospital social workers have taken part in teaching medical students by case work method the interrelations of medical and social work. The extension of this kind of practical demonstration and teaching, related as it is to his direct contact with the patients, cannot fail to impress the young student who is getting his first vivid lessons in preparation for his profession.

While we are rejoicing at the improvement in medical education, we must be sure that we are much more concerned with better training for the hospital social worker. Those hospital social workers who are privileged to work with children should feel it a professional obligation to keep it abreast of the best thought and most carefully worked out methods and principles that are represented in the various phases of social work for children. Thus the socially minded physician and skilled medical-social worker may together study the problem of childhood as they see it in the hospital and dispensary, seek to discover why so many children need to enter our medical institutions, work out better methods of medical-social treatment, make fuller use of the community resources, and add something to the progress of preventive medicine.

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- throughout the world where this disease is prevalent, of the value of in preventing beriberi.
- Y.*—Under the Act of March 3, 1905, the Public Health Service in investigation has developed a method of treatment which promises to cure a disease generations has been regarded as incurable.
- Treatment of syphilis.*—Arsphenamine (salvarsan 606) is the most effective remedy for treatment of syphilis. Unfortunately its administration has been accompanied by sudden death. The causes of sudden death from the administration of arsphenamine (five and six million doses given annually in the United States) investigated by the Public Health Service, and precautions formulated to make administration of this drug safe.
- Diphtheria.*—The preparation and preservation of the standard diphtheria antitoxin. This was an extremely difficult task, owing to a number of considerations necessary to specify here. The task was successfully carried out by the Public Health Service.
- Anaphylaxis.*—Officers of the Public Health Service first studied the phenomenon known to scientists as anaphylaxis or hypersensitiveness, which has been found to be the most important part in the whole question of susceptibility and immunity to disease.
- Typhus fever.*—The transmission of typhus fever by lice has been investigated by the Public Health Service, and work of other investigators fully confirmed. The discovery of typhus fever to the so-called Brill's disease epidemic in New York City was attributed by the Service.
- Ground squirrel and plague.*—That the California ground squirrel could act as a natural host of plague was discovered by the Public Health Service. Had it not been for this discovery, it would have been impossible to control plague on the Pacific Coast.
- Disinfection.*—The Public Health Service developed the cyanide method of disinfection by which vessels and buildings may be rapidly and effectively rid of rodents and vermin.
- Measles.*—The Public Health Service made the important discovery that measles is highly contagious during the first few days, and placed health officers in the possession of knowledge to handle intelligently measles cases.
- Rocky Mountain spotted fever.*—A method of controlling this fever by sheep-dipping methods was described and developed by the Public Health Service.
- Stream pollution.*—The Public Health Service first studied and pointed out the important sources of pollution of the waters of the Great Lakes and of the Missouri River, and made recommendations that are being rapidly adopted for the control of stream pollution. These have resulted in enormous reduction in typhoid fever and other water borne diseases in these areas.
- Cholera.*—The Service demonstrated the rôle played by cholera carriers in the spread of cholera in the Philippine Islands.
- Trachoma.*—The Service has developed most effective methods for the cure of trachoma, a chronic disease of the eyes which has blinded many thousands, and has been regarded by some as incurable.
- Venereal diseases.*—The Public Health Service has given great impetus to measures for controlling venereal diseases. Under its leadership every state in the Union has

organized a special division in the state health department for the control of these diseases.

Hookworm.—The identification of the American species of hookworm as a cause of widespread anaemia was first accomplished by an officer of the Service, and has resulted in a notable diminution in the prevalence of this disease.

Milk.—Studies made by the Service of the relation of milk to public health have resulted in widespread measures for the improvement of milk supplies with corresponding reduction of diseases caused by polluted milk. The milk bulletin issued by the Public Health Service has been adopted as a textbook in universities throughout the United States.

ORGANIZATION OF STATE HEALTH DEPARTMENTS

The Public Health Service has steadily fostered and aided the organization of state health departments. Through the work of the Public Health Service and through the detail of officers it has contributed directly to the organization and development of state health departments in at least ten states, and has given aid and assistance to developing divisions of health departments in other states.

B. THE FEDERAL CHILDREN'S BUREAU

Anna E. Rude, M.D., Director, Hygiene Division, Federal Children's Bureau, Washington

Modern conditions, the result of social progress, may be considered entirely responsible for the present field of preventive medicine, the object of which is healthful community life. Formerly the doctor's task was that of curing the ills of the individual; now he is required to be able to serve the whole community by preventing illness. The creation of a hygienic conscience in the individuals of a community is the prime factor in assuring the success of preventive work.

The health activities of the Federal Children's Bureau have aimed to assist in the creation and molding of this hygienic conscience.

Those of you who are familiar with the history of the Bureau know that the first work undertaken by it was an investigation of infant mortality, that subject being the first specified by its organic act in an imposing list of mandatory duties, namely: investigation of "infant mortality, the birth rate, orphanage, juvenile courts, desertion, dangerous occupations, accidents, and diseases of children, employment [and] legislation affecting children in the several States and Territories." This original inquiry—infant mortality—was necessarily restricted to a consideration of social, industrial, and civic factors contributing to the welfare of the child in the home and community, since no medical officer had been provided in the Bureau's staff.

It was during the second year of the Bureau's existence that the Hygiene Division with a physician as director was established, the work of the previous year, having clearly pointed out the interlocking of the social and medical fields and the advisability of expert direction and co-operation in each field if comprehensive investigation and research were to be attained. To draw an absolute line of demarcation between the two fields was found to be impossible.

The series of nine urban infant mortality studies which followed has demonstrated the social and economic problems involved in the high death rate of infancy and also

demonstrated that the problems of no two communities are identical, so that any remedial efforts require individual consideration governed by local conditions. The Children's Bureau early recognized that infant mortality rates in rural areas were favorable than had generally been taken for granted, and consequently required special investigation; the need for practical remedial measures was found to be even greater in rural than in urban communities since many of the larger cities were already taking measures for the prevention of infant mortality.

Analyses of the causative factors in the high infant death rate found in these investigations readily showed the interdependence of maternal and infant welfare, that the rural studies were concerned with conditions affecting both maternity and infancy. These rural investigations have been popularized by children's health conferences, held in connection with them, and thousands of children have been given physical examinations by physicians, and individual mothers have been given advice to the care of their children. Such studies have been made in nine different states—North Carolina, Virginia, South Carolina, Georgia, Mississippi, Kansas, Wisconsin, Montana, and Wyoming—thus revealing local conditions in areas differing widely in remoteness and civic and social development.

More recently the Children's Health Conferences have been conducted largely in remote areas by means of a motorized health center. Thousands of children have been examined in out-of-the-way places, and the popularity and success of this type of educational propaganda may be measured by the long list of applications on file from state boards of health for this type of service.

The educational value of simple but authoritative literature on the care of mothers and children seems little questioned in this country, though its entire absence in England's child welfare movement is very noticeable and has led to our being termed "good advertisers." This method of reaching large numbers of people is, to say the least, practical and economical in our country of vast distances and inaccessible localities. Public demand was responsible for the Children's Bureau's early adoption of this method. Before the Children's Bureau had formally opened its doors or had begun specific investigations, letters of personal inquiry from mothers regarding the care of themselves and their children determined the need and nature of the Bureau's early publications, namely, *Prenatal Care*, *Infant Care*, and *Child Care*. Many hundreds of thousands of copies of these bulletins have been distributed and are assigned to present in simple text for the use of individual mothers the latest available information on matters of hygiene and home care of young children.

As a direct corollary to the infant mortality studies, a research study of maternal mortality based on figures of the United States Census Bureau was made by Dr. Grace Meigs Crowder. This original contribution has been largely quoted and, besides directing attention to the fact that maternal mortality was not decreasing in the United States, has undoubtedly assisted in the present unparalleled interest in the protection of maternity.

The more recent literature relative to matters of hygiene have been bulletins on milk and malnutrition, leaflets on Children's health centers and public health nurses, popular dodgers on child care and a bulletin on breast feeding. This last bulletin typifies the co-ordination which is necessary and possible in all phases of preventive medicine so largely educational in character. The Child Welfare Committee of the Pediatric Section of the American Medical Association, feeling that

breast feeding was possibly the single factor most needing stress in preventive pediatrics, suggested that a breast feeding campaign be undertaken by the Children's Bureau. The bulletin, written by a staff physician, is intended for circularizing the entire medical and nursing professions, while a less technical presentation of the subject will be prepared for the laity.

The object of the Bureau's campaigns and propaganda has been to create or increase interest in preventive pediatrics in every home in the United States, but particularly in those homes where government reports never have been read.

Birth Registration.—*An Aid in Protecting the Lives and Rights of Children; Necessity of Extending the Registration Area*, was the first bulletin issued by the Bureau and was used in a birth registration campaign in co-operation with the Census Bureau, the Federation of Women's Clubs, the Mothers' Congress and Association of Collegiate Alumnae, and other women's organizations. In the Baby weeks of 1916 and 1917 and the weighing and measuring tests of 1918 the Bureau has co-operated with state and city health departments and with many millions of women represented by the General Federation of Women's Clubs and the State Councils of Defense. That all child welfare movements received great impetus from these popular methods cannot be questioned. This is particularly true of the Children's Year campaign, which interested millions and helped to awaken the public as to the need for better care and a sense of its responsibility for the welfare of the children. Permanent results are now to be seen in an increased number of centers for prenatal and infant care, more public health nurses, and more state and municipal child hygiene divisions.

A child hygiene division of a federal bureau which has no power to impose authority has unique opportunities for service in the child welfare field and falls far short of its possibilities if its co-operation with governmental or voluntary child welfare or nursing agencies fails to be stimulating.

Such co-operation has been attempted by the detailing, upon request, of expert physicians or public health nurses to assist in the development or reorganization of child health activities in many places; by direct correspondence, not only with organizations, but with individual mothers regarding the general hygienic care of themselves and their children; and by serving as a clearing house on child hygiene activities, especially through quarterly news letters to state child hygiene divisions. In fact, this field of general usefulness seems limited only by very meager appropriations and a small staff.

While responsible for initiating and conducting studies pertaining to hygiene, perhaps the most important function of the Hygiene Division of the Children's Bureau is its relation and service in an advisory capacity to other divisions of the Bureau in all matters pertaining to health, and its co-operation with other divisions in conducting investigations concerning such subjects as dangerous and injurious occupations, social factors responsible for high infant mortality, and the studies involving health among all classes of children. Let me here emphasize again the educational and popularizing value of health conference conducted in co-operation with various divisions of investigations. This educational propaganda in no way minimizes the scientific research.

The Industrial Division of the Children's Bureau, while primarily in industrial conditions affecting child welfare, has always recognized that standards are necessary in order to protect the health of adolescent children.

At this end an advisory committee composed of prominent physicians who have practical experience in issuing certificates permitting children to work was organized at the close of the Washington Child Welfare Conference in 1919. These physicians have contributed their expert advice in formulating minimum physical requirements for children entering industry.

The work of the Social Service Division, which is concerned with children in need of special care—the dependent, defective, and delinquent—necessarily touches upon problems of physical and mental health. There have always been many points of contact between this division and the Hygiene Division, and joint studies by the two divisions are contemplated.

It is not the intention in this brief résumé of the health activities of the Children's Bureau to stress unduly the health side of the Bureau's work. The aim has been to state the advantage of all possible and necessary co-operation between medical and social fields.

Preventive medicine affords a common meeting ground for the medical and social sciences, both aiming at effective education. It presents a field so vast that the contribution of each is necessary in the co-ordination of scientific methods and the popularization of their practical results, thus making for individual and community hygiene and efficient service.

CERTAIN ELEMENTS IN A HEALTH PROGRAM FOR CHILDREN

THE PLACE OF NUTRITION IN BRINGING THE UNDERNOURISHED CHILD UP TO NORMAL

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In the fields of medicine, economics, and government, the child has received attention much later than the adult. Within recent years a great deal of attention has been given by various agencies to child welfare, and there is considerable difference of opinion as to the relative importance of the several lines of procedure whose aims are to improve the physical condition of children. Prominent among these are the school clinic, the dental clinic, the open air class with rest periods; the school lunch; provision for regular weighing and measuring, especially with the dispensing of lunches; nutrition classes; instruction regarding correct posture, etc.

These agencies all have laudable aims and ambitions, and we may look forward to each of them holding its place for years to come. In many instances two or more of these are working together with good results, and this is as it should be, for the problems of improving the prospects of our children growing up stronger and capable of living happy and efficient lives is a many-sided one. It behooves us to restrain our enthusiasm for our own special lines of interest, and to grant that no one has a monopoly on this great work.

I have repeatedly come into contact with medical men who take the view that the one really worth-while agency for the improvement of the health of school children is the clinic. They point to the remarkable improvement of children who are in bad

physical condition, after having their tonsils or adenoids removed. Malnutrition, they say, is generally the secondary result of handicap of some kind which the clinic can remove. They believe that if sufficient food is available, the choice of articles which enter into the diet is a matter of relatively slight importance. We believe that this view can survive only in the minds of those whose knowledge of modern research in nutrition is archaic.

On the other hand among our visitors are not a few who feel that almost the antithesis of this view is really the sound one. They have been occupied in teaching boys and girls of school age what to eat and how much to rest, and, without any surgical treatment, numerous children under their observations have resumed growth, and have developed a health appearance, even though harboring large tonsils, or carrying other handicaps to health. These workers remark upon the extent to which a properly nourished child can tolerate poisoning through infected tonsils or abscessed teeth, and still maintain its normal rate of growth. There is much evidence that this is true, but this fact does not serve as an argument against the clinic.

There are many cases of children showing all signs of malnutrition who have had at least a diet sufficiently good to have enabled others in the family to grow in an apparently normal manner. Such cases can only be accounted for on the basis that there is some other factor which is primarily responsible for their poor condition. In most cases the children of this group have been injured by one or more of the contagious diseases of childhood and have not been able to overcome their handicap. There seems much reason to believe that throat and nose infections are in most instances the sequel to such injury in infancy or early childhood. Where a pathological condition has definitely developed the rational thing to do is to introduce surgical treatment where it has a prospect of success. Only those who take a narrow view of the subject would be inclined to deduce from such evidence that attention to diet is a matter of relatively little importance in such cases.

Everyone now accepts the view that there are fundamental similarities in the physiological processes of man and the lower animals. Almost all that we know about human physiology is based upon deductions from experimental results obtained with animals. In a comparable degree we have derived our knowledge of the principles of nutrition. There are several diseases of man which are directly caused by specific faults in the diet. These can be produced experimentally in animals, and their nature and causes are well understood. Animals require the same foodstuffs for their maintenance and growth as does the human species. We have in recent years gained a most remarkable amount of knowledge of the extent and manner in which a properly selected diet can promote health. Few are familiar with the results of these studies, for the reason that they are new, and that they have appeared in numerous scientific papers, which it was not easy to study with sufficient care to master their contents. It is just as absurd for anyone, whatever his technical attainments in another field, to pretend to form an independent judgment as to the bearing of food selection on health, as it is for one who has no detailed knowledge in any field to assume to be an expert comparable to an expert in that field.

* In our laboratory in the last few years we have studied the problem of nutrition with an animal colony, in which we have duplicated human experience as to diet, in so far as the human diets in various parts of the world represent widely different systems. Our studies have included much work

Space will not permit more than a few passing remarks on the subject of our discussion here, but a certain feature of the problem looms up larger and larger as our experience becomes more extensive, that is, that irrespective of the agency which operates to improve the physical condition of our children, the work which is being done with the child of school age is essentially a salvaging operation. We may remove a focus of infection, free it from difficult breathing, repair its teeth, or teach it personal hygiene, but we are at best but repairing, for temporary service and temporary relief, a damaged human being. By the time a child has reached school age it is already past the time when anything but fundamental in establishing a vigorous constitution can be done. We can add many years to its life in many cases, and increase comfort and happiness, and make it a more useful citizen, and this reward is sufficient to warrant all the effort which we can expend upon it. The extent to which we shall meet with success will depend in great measure on inherited vitality.

The opportune time to attain the maximum benefits of proper nutrition is in prenatal life and early infancy, and more effort should be directed toward education of mothers concerning the benefits to be derived by their children as the results of right living on their part. Before the teeth are erupted their enamel is already formed. If it fails to form a satisfactory union in the places where it meets as it extends away from the primary centers of enamel formation on the cusps, no amount of care and scrubbing will serve to preserve the tooth. The time when the teeth are forming is a critical one in the life of the child, and the secret of preventive dentistry lies here, in proper diet of the mother during this period. This goes far back of the school clinic and of the age at which other agencies are attempting to reach the child and teach him health habits. Once the teeth are formed they cannot be improved in any marked degree, but we are in possession of information which would gradually bring us back to the condition of satisfactory dentition enjoyed by our ancestors.

In conclusion, therefore, we would call attention again to the types of diets which succeed in the nutrition of man and of animals. They are the strictly carnivorous type, in which practically all parts of the animal are eaten; the type so common in parts of the Orient, viz., that in which the leafy vegetables, such as spinach, cabbage, lettuce, turnip tops, beet tops, and other leaves, find a prominent place in the diet; and lastly the diet such as we use in America, containing liberal amounts of milk and other dairy products. The trouble is we do not consume enough of the *protective foods*, milk and the leafy vegetables. These are so constituted as to correct the faults in a cereal, legume seed, tuber, and meat diet such as is so common in our country today. The sooner we carry this information to every child in the land and send him home with this message to his mother, the sooner will we have started on the right road toward better health and better physical development.

B. WHERE SHOULD NUTRITION SERVICE NEXT BE CENTERED, IN THE SCHOOL OR IN THE CHILD'S OWN FAMILY?

Mrs. Ira Couch Wood, Director, Elizabeth McCormick Memorial Fund, Chicago

Under ideal conditions every child should be so protected by intelligent home care, or by enlightened community interest, that he is physically prepared to begin his school career at six years of age. This would mean preliminary education in

health habits, and removal of all physical defects, and food habits so well established that he could stand the strain of school life.

The ideal is so far from realization that there is almost nothing done at the present time for the preschool-age child. The task of educating the parents is a colossal one, and there is neither enough money nor enough machinery to undertake this task at public expense.

Infant welfare stations and child health centers are growing, but are still inadequate to meet the need of the children in the preschool-age period. Extension of child health centers and the creation of new machinery to meet this need would take such a length of time and amount of money as to be impractical at the present time, and moreover public opinion is not yet educated to the point of providing adequate community support for medical and health service.

Therefore, we are forced to use the piece of machinery at hand which is best adapted to an educational purpose; that is, the schools. On them most children must depend for the correction of physical defects which are hampering their progress and for the training in health and food habits essential to their well-being. We have, moreover, already made a beginning of health work in many cities and towns through the medical inspection department of the schools which often provide physicians and nurses for the service of the children.

From the new point of view of training in health habits as a fundamental in all education, it will be necessary, however, to extend and broaden this medical inspection service, and to so educate the physicians and the nurses now engaged in school inspection that they will see in their offices something more than the prevention of contagion, and will realize that what will be demanded of them in the near future is nothing less than a complete program of health for every child. In this enlarging vision of health service in the schools, a more definite co-ordination must also be worked out between the teaching staff, the physical education department, the home economics department, and the medical inspection department, so that all these forces may work harmoniously together to lay the firm foundations of health for every school child. To secure the practice of this enlarged conception of health education in its vital relation to the schools, it will be necessary to present the program adequately at all normal schools, colleges, medical and nursing schools, and departments of home economics and physical education, so that young men and women in their most impressionable student period may have the instruction which will prepare them to act as leaders in the new health crusade.

General propaganda of all kinds and through all mediums must also be carried on vigorously so that the public at large may require of its representatives on boards of education such a conviction of the value of health education as will lead them to demand the carrying forward of this program for the benefit of all children in the school systems. Any procedure adopted by the school board spreads of course to all of the school officers, so that the conversion of people at the head of the school systems to the new point of view in health education would eventually carry with it all of the active forces of the schools.

The definite advantages of having health education carried on in the schools

First, the schools are supported by taxation, making them intrinsic service of all the people as distinguished from any philanthropic service fine. (The fact that up to the present time health teaching has been

carried on by private associations of different kinds and so has borne for many the taint of charity, has been a distinct handicap to its spread.) The schools, moreover, have the confidence of all the people and in most families the word of the school is law. Therefore, much time and waste of effort are eliminated if we secure the schools as the medium for health education and training.

Second, it is a great advantage to have health education an integral part of the regular curriculum in the schools, rather than have it super-imposed by special teachers from the outside. The child then recognizes health in its proper relation to his other activities. Up to the present time, of course, health has been the last consideration of even those schools where it has been included at all—academic standing always being the prime consideration. Many educators, however, are now realizing that if schools training is primarily a preparation for life, then training in health and food habits must be given first recognition in the school curriculum as the basis of any successful and efficient career. Many are, moreover, convinced that a perfectly well child is a much more teachable child than the half sick, physically handicapped, undernourished, and consequently apathetic and dull child.

Third, another advantage is the possibility of using the forces already in the schools as a means of health education; that is, the medical inspection department, the physical education service, the domestic science department, the open-air school-room and the school luncheon, all of which may be made to contribute to the child's health program.

Fourth, with very little adjustment, it is also possible to introduce the health angle into almost every study; to connect sources of food supply with geography; quantities of foods, caloric value, etc., a part of mathematics in all grades; to make health posters part of the art work; to make gains in weight and an improvement in health and food habits a definite test of the practical value of the lessons in hygiene, physiology, biology, etc.; to use the physical education department as a means of securing the corrective exercises, posture changes, and the rest and relaxation needed, as well as the gymnastics now provided; and to so order the school luncheon that it is a source of education in food values and in the choice of correct and well balanced meals. All of the methods, moreover, in the use of dramatization, stories, and graphic presentation that have made teaching of other subjects so successful can be very naturally brought to bear on the promotion of health lessons throughout the schools.

Fifth, another advantage is the fact that most schools form a natural community center where the parent-teacher associations or meetings of citizens generally may be made the means of interesting the public in this new point of view towards health.

All this work in the schools may be done with very little extra expense to the school system, if educators and the public once feel the vital necessity for including health education in the curriculum.

Knowing, as we do now, that at least one-third of our school children are seriously underweight and that many more are suffering to some extent from physical defects, from bad food and health habits, there can be no question that our problem is a very large one. It may, however, be divided into two sections: first, the need for health education and actual training in health and food habits for every normal child; and second, the intensive special treatment which must be given to all of the children who are physically handicapped in any degree, or who are so much underweight that they need special care and instruction to bring them up to normal.

er the first section, general health education, I think the best work has perhaps e in the public schools of Kansas City under the direction of Dr. Fred M. f the Physical Education Department, and Miss Maud A. Brown, director ie. This health service has included the weighing and measuring of every 7 schools and their classification into three groups, as follows: those children rage weight for height and over; those children 1 to 10 per cent underweight it; those more than 10 per cent underweight for height. (Our experience go would lead us to suggest that the second group be made to include only o are from 1 to 7 per cent underweight and the third group include all those it or more underweight, since the child who is 7 per cent underweight, if not re speedily, will join the 10 per cent group.)

Kansas City schools have adopted a clever device of giving individual tags to the children who are average weight and above, to those in the second blue tag, and to these the third, or seriously underweight group, a red tag. ls the groups to be easily distinguished and points immediately to the children in need of special care. The teachers were interested in the plan and ted warmly: 83 out of 87 schools instituted a milk service for which the paid, with very few exceptions; all kinds of games and posters were used in otion of health; and the teachers, under Miss Brown's guidance, found a l ways to make the subject of health interesting. As a result of this work entage of underweight in the schools was very definitely lowered. The were also given instruction in food values, and the noon lunches were used ste this study. Miss Brown spent a week in one school after the other, giv- sive lessons in food values and health habits to each grade, using a number genious divices to carry the lessons graphically to the children.

er the second section, the children needing intensive care, we should find sas City classification very convenient to start with, because all children 7 or more underweight for height, or the "red" card group, should if possible d in nutrition classes. The nutrition, or health, class, developed according ethods of Dr. William R. P. Emerson, of Boston, has, I believe, been the me so far devised for bringing the underweight child up to normal health t. The work is based on the five reasons for malnutrition, which, according nerson, are: physical defects, lack of home control, over-fatigue, insufficient improper food habits, and a faulty health habits.

nutrition class forms the best method of bringing the parents in touch with land uniting the forces which may best be co-ordinated for the child's benefit; he home, the school, the physician, the nurse, and the child's own interest. rience with nutrition classes in Chicago has shown us that it is possible to he children very keenly in their own health program; that with a proper xamination for every child and provisions for proper food and rest, and with of the parents, it is possible to get children well in their own homes in a ively short space of time, without a very great amount of machinery or re expense. It has been shown that the school makes the very best center utrition work, because the parents come to regard it as an integral part of l program, and the health class takes its place in the child's mind in the ationship with all his other lessons and is at least of equal value with them.

It is an old story that children will not voluntarily accept the anti-tuberculous program as it is. They do the normal up-to-weight children are, either in the home or in school. Special modifications of both must be made for their benefit. The children become impatient for the time of tuberculosis and other diseases to which they fall prey very readily. They love the group that is away from examinations and are those who go through the handi-capped and physical school. If this group is definitely taken care of, however, and all children given education in health habits and it will be every reason to believe that the next generation will go far in resistance to disease and will develop such greater efficiency in the time of life.

C. THE MODERN HEALTH CRUSADE AND THE MOVEMENT

Charles M. De Forest, *Modern Health Crusade Executive, National Association, New York City*

No health agencies could more cordially welcome a systematic and systematic than the anti-tuberculous associations. Tuberculosis is to clean all malnourished children as "pre-tuberculous." Just as associations have learned for open-air schools, with rest periods and promoting weighing and measuring and nutrition classes and clinics.

Tuberculosis campaigners wish to multiply the means of prevention for adults, but that is not the strategy on which they ultimately expressed the other day by a Montana reporter: "If you want to thing across, you must catch the kids." The Modern Health Crusade the National Tuberculosis Association is a drag net for catching the kids.

In the last four years more than six million Crusaders have been recruited, to become squire, knights, and knights banneret through the reality the Crusade is a system of teaching health by the actual process. It has been adopted by thousands of schools because it does not state truths but secures action and imparts habits.

The Crusaders' feats are real ordeals. They do week after week chores that are abominated by the average boy or girl. The charms of hood motivate the Crusader to faithful performance of the chores of admonishing would.

The weakness of health instruction in the past and under many is that it lacks motivation to action and to continued action. Physiologists believe that "the truth shall make you free," but most of the the necessary corollary, "Yes, but only if you act on it."

Faulty as is our knowledge of health laws, it is enough to lengthen if we apply it. The great lack is will to apply. The problem of

¹Lantern slides were shown of nutrition classes and work under Dr. Emerson in Elizabeth McCormick Memorial Fund in Chicago, under the Tuberculosis Association and other cities where similar work is being conducted.

a medical research. Children do not need more knowledge of calories and What they need is a rule of thumb, the formula boiled down from the of scientists, and an everlasting will to apply.

interesting and valuable stunts such as clowns and knighting ceremonies introduced. They supply children with the interest that must precede the

And these stunts get action—for a while. But without follow-up, stunts ral.

uch overlooked law of habit formation requires continuity of action. The n is good health habits, and there is no short cut to habit. There must be

The central fact in the Modern Health Crusade is not its stunts but the of hygienic duties day after day for 15 or 30 weeks, and in many schools year. The Crusade creates and sustains interest so that will keeps function- etition leads to habit.

urpose of this paper is not an exposition of the Modern Health Crusade. ard you may secure the manual from the National Tuberculosis Asso- New York, or from any of the 48 state associations. The purpose is to certain principles important both to the specialized nutritionist and to the al worker in child health.

roblem of health is twofold: both to escape the causes of disease and to rength for life's work, and to resist those causes of disease which are not There are so many of these causes and so many factors on which strength at the problem is like that of a besieged city. Watch must be maintained ry form of attack, and the defense must be strong at every point. He who long and strong should remember Babylon, thick-walled but entered e bed of a deflected river.

o wonder that most men overlook some approach of the enemy, or weak walls, for so much medical advice stresses one factor to the apparent scorn Following one line of advice, our attention is so given to avoiding infectious hat our neglected resistance is sure to break down under degenerative not from the germs that get by us. One popular book full of practical diet and digestion gives the impression that, with these right, infectious be ignored; in fact, considered friends. A set of health rules for children, ublished, omits washing hands before meals, keeping infectious things out th, good posture, and other essentials.

is danger lest nutrition workers let their teachings be one-sided. It is r most gratifying to see nutrition authorities emphasize the need of all- lth training. Bad posture blocks good digestion. Both rest and exercise by the malnourished. "Vigorous outdoor exercise" is advocated in one phlets of the Child Health Organization.

one believes that the health campaign for children can rest with building to normal, his attention should be called to Kobrak's investigations seem- ating that the incidence of scarlet fever is less among undernourished As for overfed children, there is evidence that they are more prone to have nsils, lumpy glands, adenoids, and catarrh than those who are lighter in

not cited to contend that children's weight had better be less than normal. nce of some other diseases, notably tuberculosis, is greater among the

underweight. The nutrition propaganda of Emerson is directed both against overweight and underweight, and emphasizes the need of removing various physical defects. The citation is made to illustrate the necessity of attention to many health factors, and not to a regimen limited to securing normal weight.

The health rules inculcated by the Modern Health Crusade include not only food, air, exercise, rest, and posture, but exclusion of infection, cleanliness, healthful thinking, and co-operation for public health. Observe how nearly complete a code for child health is presented by the Crusade chores and explanatory notes. It should be remembered that every Crusader makes a mark of at least 75 per cent in the performance of chores repeated week after week. The following are from the record or score card for intermediate grades.

1. I washed my hands before each meal today.

NOTE: You should wash your hands before handling any food prepared for eating. Soap should be used.

2. I washed my face, ears, and neck, and I cleaned my fingernails.
3. I kept fingers, pencils, and everything likely to be unclean or injurious out of my mouth and nose.
Keep from your mouth anything bitten or placed in mouth by another person, and any cup, spoon, etc., used, since washing, by another person. Wash all raw, unpeeled fruits before eating.

4. I brushed my teeth thoroughly after breakfast and after the evening meal.
Brush teeth up and down, both the front and back surfaces. Brush the biting surfaces. Brush after every meal, if possible, and rinse. (It is wise to use dental floss daily.)

5. I took ten or more slow, deep breaths of fresh air. I protected others if I spit, coughed, or sneezed.
If you cough or sneeze, turn aside and cover mouth and nose with handkerchief.
6. I played outdoors or with windows open more than thirty minutes. I tried hard to sit and stand straight.

The play required for this chore should give general muscular exercise. If you are as much as one-twelfth underweight, you should rest quietly at least thirty minutes in the daytime, and not play hard. Stand "tall." Lying down, be "long." Leaning forward, bend at the hips, not at the waist.

7. I was in bed ten hours or more last night, and kept my windows open.
Boys and girls thirteen to sixteen years of age may perform this chore by nine hours in bed, but ten hours is better. Those under ten years should sleep eleven hours at least.
8. I drank four glasses of water, drinking some before each meal, and drank no tea, coffee, nor any injurious drinks.

You may count drinking any time after one meal as "before" the next, except that the "before breakfast" must be in the morning, preferably at getting-up time. Have four or more times.

9. I tried to eat slowly and only wholesome food including milk, vegetables, fruit. I went to bed at regular time.

You should drink—slowly—two glasses of unskimmed milk daily. Eat oatmeal or whole cereals, coarse breads, and vegetables like onions, turnips, and spinach. Chew food thoroughly.

10. I tried hard to keep neat; to be cheerful, straightforward, and clean-minded; and to be helpful to others.
11. I took a full bath on each day of the week that is checked.
Bathe with warm water, washcloth, and soap. Finish with cold water. Boys should wash their hair once a week; girls, at least once a month.

Every Crusade chore record carries blanks for record of weight. The record is for comparison with normal weight for his height. Through Table the Crusade strongly motivates both undernourished children to attain normal weight, and to take complete physically, with remedial treatment.

Is it any wonder that the Modern Health Crusade has proved malnutrition? For the average child, gain in weight and strength index of his progress in the Crusade, no less than his ac-

One of the more striking testimonials, from an Illinois county tuberculosis association: "In the schools where we have weighed the children, those doing the chores gained weight, while those who did not do the chores lost weight in instances. In one school Crusaders gained from three to five pounds, whereas Crusaders lost from one to three pounds in the same period."

"Coffee and tea are very injurious," runs a New Jersey school composition. "I know by experience. If you drink tea or coffee for supper, you will be awful all night. Now that I am a Crusader, I drink nothing but pure water and tea. A tribute to the efficiency of the Crusade is found in letters from coffee drinkers in some localities, inquiring why the beverage is banned for children."

Pennsylvania county tuberculosis association reports a number of foreigners who bought cows to give their children milk, as a direct result of the Crusade.

Modern Health Crusade is promoting nutrition in every state in the union, and several foreign countries. This does not mean for a minute, however, that school nutrition work outside the Crusade is not needed. If one-third of the 100 American children of school age are malnourished, legions of them should be brought to nutrition classes and clinics. One need not be a pessimist, however, to think that it will be impossible to establish enough nutrition clinics and classes. In times of curtailed expenditure, we must depend to a large extent on methods of nutrition that cost but little and that reach homes on a wholesale scale.

Modern Health Crusade is such a method. The work, conducted by school nurses, averages in cost from five to ten cents per child for thirty weeks' intensive good health habits. To a large degree the home work of the Crusade links the school and reaches parents and others of non-school age. Thus the Crusade broadcasts nutritional teaching from the school and wins community support through nutrition classes and school lunches.

DIVISION IV—PUBLIC AGENCIES AND INSTITUTIONS

CAN PRISONS BE MADE SELF-SUPPORTING AND INMATES BE PAID ADEQUATE WAGES AT THE SAME TIME?

W. Richmond Smith, Government Service Agency, New York City

The subject upon which I have been asked to talk to you is the "Maintenance of Prisons and the Methods of Remuneration for Prisoners," and more particularly to discuss the question "Can Prisons Be Made Self-supporting and Inmates Be Paid Adequate Wages at the Same Time?" I assume the subject infers that the money necessary to pay both maintenance and wages should come from the operation of productive industries in the prisons. In that case there will perhaps be a clearer understanding of the subject if it is restated in the words: "Can Prison Industries Be So Conducted As to Make the Prisons in Which They Are Located Self-supporting and at the Same Time Pay Adequate Wages to the Inmates?"

This is primarily a business problem. The only way in which we can accurately estimate what can be accomplished with prison labor is by approximating the fundamental conditions under which free labor is successfully producing. No industry manned with free labor could exist unless it paid wages large enough to enable the workmen to maintain themselves and their dependents. Wages are a prime element in the cost of production. Expenditures for labor, material, and overhead are always a first charge against the gross revenue from the sale of the product. Out of wages the workman maintains himself and his dependents; out of overhead the management of the industry pays the salaries of the non-producing executive and administrative staffs and the cost of plant maintenance. At present more than at any other time in the history of American industry the good-will of labor is essential to profitable industrial production. The good-will of labor cannot be had by any industry that does not pay adequate wages.

Prison industries are manned by labor that is not free. The entire possible force is composed of those found guilty of breaking laws enacted for the protection of the public. They have been punished by loss of freedom and the rights of citizenship. It is true that in the days of black slavery certain kinds of profitable industrial production were secured from unfree labor without its good-will. In these cases the incentive to produce was replaced by a gentle persuader in the form of a stock whip and a whipping post. The question is, in this day, can the unfree labor of prisoners be made to turn out profitable industrial production without the incentive of fair treatment and adequate wages? Some of the facts upon which to base an intelligent opinion can be had from a brief summary of what has been accomplished in that direction in this country.

The different methods of employing the labor of prisoners can be roughly divided into two groups—one under which the state does not control, and the other under which the state does control, the labor of the prisoner. In the first group there are

two methods, known as the Lease System and the Contract System. In the states where these two methods are used not all the prisoners are employed under them. The evident desire for change is shown by experiments made with other methods. In the states referred to, however, these two methods predominate in the employment of prison labor.

Under the Lease System, the use of which predominates only in the state of Alabama, the prisoners are handed over to contractors under lease to work in the coal mines and turpentine forests. They are under the custody of the contractor, who houses and feeds them. The wages they receive are totally inadequate for the work they are compelled to do. The return to the state under this method is about \$1,000,000 a year, in addition to the amount required for the maintenance of the prison institutions. The only thing that can be said of the Lease System is that the \$1,000,000 return to the state is taken out of the hides of the prisoners.

Under the Contract System, the use of which predominates in the state of Maryland, the labor of the prisoners is disposed of under contract, but their actual custody remains with the state. The industrial plants are located in buildings under control of the state, but the wages are paid by the contractors, who are also supposed to pay a sum equivalent to that which otherwise would have to be appropriated by the legislature for the maintenance of the prisoners and the upkeep of the prison institutions. Wages paid prisoners under this method are inadequate, and the return to the state does not include the interest on the capital invested in the buildings in which the plants are located.

In the second group there are also two methods, known as the Public Account System and the State Use System. There are a number of the states in which the use of these two systems predominate where there is a considerable mixture of methods, due to the desire to try experiments in an effort to improve conditions and get better results.

Under the Public Account System, which predominates in Minnesota, the state owns and conducts the industrial plants in which the prisoners are employed. It also disposes of the product of the industries. The remuneration to prisoners varies from thirty cents a day for farm work to a dollar a day for certain kinds of shop work. But this remuneration can scarcely be called wages, because it has no direct relation to either the quality or quantity of work done. The cost of carrying on the industries is paid out of a capital rotation fund set up by the state, and the gross receipts from the sale of the product is paid into this fund. The so-called wages paid prisoners are more or less arbitrarily fixed and paid out of appropriations made by the legislature. The return to the state under this method includes the equivalent of what would otherwise have to be appropriated for the maintenance of the prisoners and the upkeep of the institutions in which they are housed. The appropriations for remuneration for prisoners are limited to an amount equal to the balance of the income from the industries. The product is disposed of in the open market below market prices in competition with the product of free labor. In 1920 the state claims to have cleared a profit of over \$400,000 from the industries, but none of this profit was used to increase the remuneration to prisoners.

Under the State Use System, which prevails in Ohio, the state not only owns and conducts the industries, but disposes of the product to meet the needs of the state

out so that effective production would be possible; that workmen be compelled to in a full day's work each day with no interruptions for shaves and baths; that business rules relating to shop conditions and work hours be enforced; and salaries be paid large enough to induce experienced men to accept positions as foremen. Special stress was laid upon the recommendation that the production of all shops be standardized and the number of lines manufactured reduced so as to secure a volume output of standardized commodities at a lower shop cost.

POSSIBLE MARKET AND INCREASE IN SALES NECESSARY TO PAY ADEQUATE WAGES

The recommendation of the experts who reported on the condition of the prison industries, that the payment of adequate wages was essential to increased production, forced the Committee to find out the possible market for prison-made commodities and estimate the increase in sales necessary to provide the money needed to pay adequate wages. Careful analysis of the budgets for the fiscal year 1920-21 of the state of New York, the city of New York, and the city of Buffalo alone disclosed a possible market for prison-made goods of over \$20,000,000 a year, all of which, under the law, those governments could be compelled to purchase from the prison industries provided the quantity and quality could be produced. The Committee realized, however, that the whole of this possible market would never be available. As the report states, that the whole of this possible market would never be available. As the schedules demonstrated, however, that, without adding to the lines of manufacture recommended in its report for the reorganized prison industries, a market of larger than would be required to keep every able-bodied and mentally capable inmate of the penal institutions of the state continuously employed at productive work. The report says:

The profitable operation of the industries depends upon the extent to which the immediately available market can be realized by the production of lines of commodities at least equal in quality to similar goods offered for sale in the open market. The creation of definite standards of kind and quality will greatly aid in enabling the industries to fully realize, in the quality and quantity of commodities turned out, the immediately available market for a maximum production.

How much of this possible market was needed for the wage plan recommended was the next question the Committee was forced to consider. To quote further from the report:

A gross average wage of \$3.00 a day to be paid 2,000 prisoners, 250 to be engaged on maintenance work and 1,750 on productive work, would require a production and marketing of commodities large enough to guarantee the sum of \$1,575,000 over the cost of raw materials and overhead charges. If the so-called profits must be at least \$1,575,000 to pay this wage, how much must the net sales be? In other words, how much of a market for net sales is necessary to provide a sum sufficiently large to make possible the wage provision? It is impossible to determine from any data in the Prison Department what will be necessary to pay the wages contemplated by the present plan. The reasons for this are: The prison industries are operated at present with varying degrees of efficiency. Substantially the system of manufacturing prison goods will have to be revolutionized from top to bottom. At first it seems that the payment of a proposed wage averaging \$3.00 a day would involve a most extraordinary increase in prison productivity. This would be true if the profits on net sales were no greater than now indicated by present operation of the industries. For example, taking present figures: sales for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1918, were \$1,256,476. The profit, as the word is used by the Prison Department, was \$235,663; this amount being evidently reached subtracting the sum of the cost of raw materials, \$716,227, and the overhead charges, \$304,584, from the net sales. Expressed in the terms of percentage this would mean that the value of raw materials constituted about 57 per cent of the net sales; the overhead charges constituted approximately 25 per cent of the net sales and the so-called profit was 18 per cent of the net sales. The so-called profits, of course, carried no deduction for the return paid to prisoners. On the basis of an 18 per cent profit on net sales the Prison Department

turn out and market \$8,750,000 worth of prison-made commodities to provide the \$1,575,000 needed to pay 2,000 prisoner workmen a wage averaging \$3.00 per day. This wage figure is more than 50 larger than the total net sales of the industries at the present time, and over six and a half times than the so-called profit of the industries for the year 1919.

The Committee is not discouraged by any such figures. In the first place the market for \$8,750,000 of prison-made commodities clearly exists. No failure of the industries to realize this quantity of production can be used as an argument against the State Use System, for the potential market is there as the state of New York is concerned.

THE PRESENT AND PROPOSED WAGE PLANS

The remuneration now paid to prisoners in the state of New York is governed by the following section of the Prison Law:

Every prisoner may, in the discretion of the managing authority of said institution, receive compensation from the earnings of the institution in which he is confined, which compensation to be graded by the managing authority for the time the prisoner may work, but in no case shall the compensation allowed to convicts exceed in amount 10 per centum of the earnings of the institution in which they are confined; provided, however, that any compensation in excess of one and one-half cents per day shall be upon an amount of work or labor performed by him at his option in excess of a given amount fixed to perform for the benefit of the State, or political subdivision thereof, and in such case his compensation may, in the discretion of such managing authority, be a sum equal to the value of the additional labor so performed or to the value of the product or portion thereof produced by such additional labor, except that his total compensation shall not in any case exceed the amount of twenty cents a

Referring to this section of the law, the report says:

This section is obviously unworkable. There are two checks on the prisoners' wage. One is statutorily 10 per cent of the amount of the earning of all the industries in his prison, and the other is restrictive. The warden of a prison can make the task what he pleases and allow additional compensation in excess of one and a half cents a day. In other words the prisoner's own effort in his own shop or factory will not directly provide him with a wage. His wage depends upon the results from all the industries in the institution, some of which may be efficient and some not. There is also an additional tagging check. The law provides that anything more than one and a half cents a day shall be only for work in overtime. The difficulty of keeping records of extra work in overtime on such a basis is insurmountable. There has been no attempt by the prison authorities to do so. The result is that the prisoner does not receive even 10 per cent of the earnings of his own prison. Instead of the wage payment being an incentive to work, it is the cause of one of the deep seated grievances of the prisoner against the prison and the prison management. As the prisoner figures it—and he does not always figure it as the law phrases it—it results in varying forms of underpayment of which he is always the victim. For example, every prisoner in Sing Sing, Auburn, Clinton, and Great Meadow received 10 per cent of the earnings of all the industries in those prisons, it would have amounted last year to about two cents a day for all the prisoners. If, on the other hand for example, the prisoner workmen in the shoe shop at Sing Sing received and divided among themselves 10 per cent of the earnings of their particular shop last year, the prisoner's wage would have amounted last year to about thirty cents a working day. It costs the state now an average of eighty-nine cents a day to guard, care for, and feed a prisoner. This is on the basis of an undistributed population where the mentally and physically capable and incapable are grouped together in the same prison. Classification would mean the segregation of the incompetent in special institutions. If at present each able-bodied and mentally capable prisoner was charged with a proportion of the cost of maintenance of those who cannot produce or perform labor, to be deducted from the largest wage he possibly be paid under existing law, he would find himself in debt to the state sixty-nine cents a day. The Committee, after considering the prison industries as a whole, believes that the money-producing industries can be made to pay an adequate wage to the mentally and physically normal prisoner for his labor, provide for the entire sum now expended by the State for guarding, supervising, and feeding those prisoners, as well as provide the money needed to pay wages to the prisoners now engaged in the maintenance of work necessary for the upkeep of the prisons, such as laundry, cleaning, repairs and the preparation and distribution of food. The Committee does not advocate the payment of any wage which does not represent money actually earned in the industrial shops, upon construction work, or in the production of products.

out so that effective production would be possible; that workmen be compelled to put in a full day's work each day with no interruptions for shaves and baths; that strict business rules relating to shop conditions and work hours be enforced; and that salaries be paid large enough to induce experienced men to accept positions as shop foremen. Special stress was laid upon the recommendation that the production of all shops be standardized and the number of lines manufactured reduced so as to secure a volume output of standardized commodities at a lower shop cost.

POSSIBLE MARKET AND INCREASE IN SALES NECESSARY TO PAY ADEQUATE WAGES

The recommendation of the experts who reported on the condition of the shop industries, that the payment of adequate wages was essential to increased production, forced the Committee to find out the possible market for prison-made commodities and estimate the increase in sales necessary to provide the money needed to pay the adequate wages. Careful analysis of the budgets for the fiscal year 1929-31 of the state of New York, the city of New York, and the city of Buffalo alone disclosed a possible market for prison-made goods of over \$20,000,000 a year, all of which, under the law, those governments could be compelled to purchase from the prison industries, provided the quantity and quality could be produced. The Committee realized, the report states, that the whole of this possible market would never be available. A study of the schedules demonstrated, however, that, without adding to the lines of manufacture recommended in its report for the reorganized prison industries, a market existed larger than would be required to keep every able-bodied and mentally capable inmate of the penal institutions of the state continuously employed at productive work. The report says:

The profitable operation of the industries depends upon the extent to which the immediately possible market can be realized by the production of lines of commodities at least equal in quality to similar lines offered for sale in the open market. The creation of definite standards of kind and quality will assist greatly in enabling the industries to fully realize, in the quality and quantity of commodities turned out, the immediately available market for a maximum production.

How much of this possible market was needed for the wage plan recommended, was the next question the Committee was forced to consider. To quote further from the report:

A given average wage of \$5.00 a day to be paid a 1000 prisoners, who to be engaged in maintenance and 1,000 in productive work, would require a production and marketing of commodities large enough to guarantee the sum of \$5,000,000 over the cost of raw materials and overhead charges. If the so-called net profits must be at least \$5,000,000 to pay this wage, how much must the net sales be? In other words, how much of a market for net sales is necessary to provide a sum sufficiently large to make possible a bid wage provision? It is impossible to determine from any data in the Prison Department what net sales will be necessary to pay the wages contemplated by the present plan. The reasons for this are obvious. The prison industries are operated at present with varying degrees of efficiency. Substantially the entire system of manufacturing prison goods will have to be reorganized from top to bottom. At best it would seem that the payment of a proposed wage averaging \$5.00 a day would involve a most extraordinary increase in prison productivity. This would be true if the present net sales were as great as those now indicated by present operation of the industries. For example, taking present figures: sales for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1928, were \$1,461,456. The goods, as the work is run by the Prison Department, working 1000 men, this amount being of fairly standard quality and the sum of the cost of raw materials, \$1,000,000, and the overhead charges, \$460,000, leave the net sales. Reorganized in the terms of your scheme, this would mean that the value of raw materials constituted about 67 per cent of the net sales for that year; the overhead charges constituted approximately 32 per cent of the net sales and the so-called net profit was 40 per cent of the net sales. The so-called goods, of course, called for labor from the prisoners, then paid in prison. On the basis of an 80 per cent profit on net sales the Prison Department would

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would have to turn out and market \$6,100,000 worth of prison-made commodities to provide the \$1,150,000 required to pay 4,000 prisoners a minimum wage averaging \$4.50 per day. That does mean to give this \$1,150,000 more than the total net sales of the industries at the present time, and over 50 and a half times greater than the net sales of the industries for the year 1929.

The committee is not discouraged by any such figures. In the first place the market for \$6,100,000 worth of prison-made commodities clearly exists. The failure of the industries to produce that quantity of production can be used as an argument against the state's own system, for the potential market is there to the state of New York is concerned.

THE PRESENT AND PROPOSED WAGE PLANS

The remuneration now paid to prisoners in the state of New York is governed by the following section of the Prison Law:

Every prisoner may, in the discretion of the managing authority of said institution, receive remuneration from the earnings of the institution in which he is confined, which remuneration to be fixed by such managing authority for the time the prisoner may work, but in no case shall the remuneration allowed to such convict exceed in amount to one centum of the earnings of the institution in which these are confined; provided, however, that any compensation in excess of one and one-half cents per day shall be based upon an amount of work or labor performed by him at his option in excess of a stated number of hours for him to perform for the length of the state, or public subscription therefor, and in such case his compensation may, in the discretion of such managing authority, be a sum equal to the value of the additional work or labor so performed or to the value of the product of further labor produced by such additional work or labor, except that his total compensation shall not in any case exceed the amount of twenty cents a day.

Referring to this section of the law, the report says:

This section is obviously unworkable. There are two checks on the prisoners' wage. One is statutory, namely to pay out of the amount of the earnings of all the industries in the institution, and the other is administrative. The warden of a prison can make the task what he pleases and add additional compensation in excess of one and a half cents a day. In other words the prisoner's own work in his own shop of industry will not directly provide him with a wage. His wage depends upon the results from all the industries in the institution, some of which may be efficient and some not. There is also an additional discouraging check. The law provides that anything more than one and a half cents a day shall be only the extra work in addition. The difficulty of getting records of extra work in addition on such a basis is obvious. There has been no attempt by the prison authorities to do so. The result is that the prisoners today does not receive even to one cent of the earnings of his own prison. Instead of the wage required being an incentive to work, it is the cause of one of the deep seated grievances of the prisoners against the state and the prison management. As the prisoners figure it—and he does not always figure it as the badly phrased law requires—it results in varying forms of underemployment of which he is always the victim. If, for example, every prisoner in Sing Sing, Auburn, Ithaca, and Westchester received to one cent of the earnings of all the industries in those prisons, it would have amounted last year to about 100 cents a day for all the prisoners. If, on the other hand, for example, the prisoners suffered in the same shop of Sing Sing prison received and divided among themselves to one cent of the earnings of their particular shop, each prisoner's wage would have amounted last year to about thirty cents a working day. If such the state now an average of thirty cents a day to guard, care for, and feed a prisoner. This is on the basis of an undistributed population where the mentally and physically capable and industrious are grouped in the same prison. Classification would mean the separation of the incompetent to special institutions that, if so placed each able-bodied and mentally capable prisoner was charged with a proportion of the cost of maintenance of those who cannot produce or perform labor, to be deducted from the largest wage he could possibly be paid under existing law, he would find himself to date in the state state does costs a day.

The committee, after considering the prison industries as a whole, believes that the money from the industries can be made to pay an adequate wage to the mentally and physically normal inmates for the work, provide for the entire sum now expended by the state for guarding, supporting, and feeding these prisoners, as well as provide the money needed to pay wages to the prisoners now engaged in the industry whose work necessary for the support of the prison: food, clothing, housing, fuel, and the transportation and distribution of food. The committee does not advocate the payment of the wage which they are entitled to receive actually earned to the industrial shops, upon institution work, or to the production of these products.

It is simply the question of centralization of power in the hands of the state. For whether we conceive of the state's duty as the actual carrying on of welfare work or as limited to the superintending of such work when carried on by private and local public bodies, we come to the one end—in either case the power of the state is increased.

The state is power, and when we turn to it we call that power into action. By invoking its authority we acknowledge its authority. But granting all this, the question ever haunts us: How far shall this go on? However desirable the exercise of state power may be, and there is no doubt as to its desirability, there is a limit to this development. The law of diminishing returns applies to the administrative field as well as to the economic field; for, if in carrying on the business of improving social conditions we invest too heavily in collective power and too meagerly in individual initiative, we shall not enjoy as great a return as would accrue from a better balanced mixture of the two. There is a point in this approach toward centralization of power up to which under modern conditions it would be wise to go and beyond which it would be disastrous to go.

The point is the meeting-place of individual independence on the one hand and of collective control on the other—that ground, as I conceive of it, where the one will remain free to invent, to initiate, to experiment, to demonstrate; and where the other will supplement such activities with a view to covering the field completely, will exercise its powers of restraint to do away with abuses and duplication of effort, and foster the working together of all for the common weal.

The private agency is the stimulating element of social work—the state is the staying element. The one is the outlet for individual energy—the other is the preserver of poise. It is the province of the individual, of the private agency, and of the local community to perform; of the state to keep the balance true.

The greatest social service the state can render is to prevent anti-social conditions. Curiously enough, it is in the welfare field, considering welfare work in its narrow sense of dealing with the handicapped, that the state has signally failed to do preventive work—its service has been curative in the treatment of delinquents, defectives, and dependents—while in other fields it has been trying hard to prevent the evils that beset us: in public health work, to prevent disease; in public education, to prevent ignorance; in public labor control, to prevent exploitation. We shall not get far along the way toward social well-being until the state, the local community, and the private agency join hands in this field also, not merely to relieve the poor, to reform the criminal, and to train the feeble-minded, but to thwart the evils of poverty, crime, and unsoundness of mind.

It is the purpose of social work to encourage local effort, and the aim of the state should be identical. There is a happy medium between the excesses of unrestrained individual zeal and the withering influence of paternalism. It is to be found, in my opinion, in that adjustment between individual and collective forces which preserves the originality, initiative, spontaneity, enthusiasm, enterprise, and experimental value of the former, and limits the functions of the latter to supervision, restraint, preventive activities, and so much of standardization as will promote orderly progress without chilling the ardor that achieves. State monopoly of social service would be as bad as private monopoly of necessities. The local agency and the state should each be free to attend the school of experience and to learn from its own successes and failures, but each should help the other.

The tendency for a long time has been toward centralization of power, in the belief that with increased power in its hands the central government would be able to accomplish more than the local community with its limited power, and that, moreover, responsibility would be confined to a few and those few could more easily be held to account for their stewardship than can a great number of officials and agencies among whom the people's power is scattered. And so we have observed the gradual development of this tendency for decades past.

It is a commonplace that business, politics, our domestic arrangements, and other concerns have been undergoing this change. There has been a steady expansion of state power and a corresponding contraction in the freedom of local and private agencies in the field of social service as well as in other branches of human endeavor. But this change has not affected all kinds of social work uniformly—it has attacked some parts much more successfully than others, with the result that taken all together they present a curious array of dissimilar administrative theories in practice in similar fields. The conquest in some divisions of the child welfare field has been easy and fairly complete; in others it has been hard and only partially accomplished; while in a few it has made scarcely any headway at all. In the administration and enforcement of child labor laws, for instance, power has been centered in the state virtually from the beginning of the attempt to restrict the employment of children; undesirable conditions are observed, a state law is passed to remedy them, and the state sets itself the task of enforcing the provisions. In the matter of education, however, the state declares that there shall be a public school system, but leaves the establishment and development of that system to the local communities; it issues the order that all children within certain age limits shall attend school, but leaves the enforcement of this order to the local communities.

We incline to the theory that the larger the political division the more effective the administration; and it does seem that, so far as the criminal law is concerned, the efficiency of enforcement increases directly with the distance between the enforcing agency and the locality affected—a county sheriff is feared more than a town constable, and a United States marshal more than either. But it would be far better to encourage local administration, with state support and supervision.

Juvenile courts are not, and in the nature of things cannot be, controlled by any state department. The independence of the judiciary is a cardinal principle of good government. But the state has certain powers with regard to juvenile courts which should be exercised in behalf of unfortunate children everywhere: for instance, it may properly supervise probation work in order that this vital part of juvenile court procedure be in no wise slighted, and that a uniform policy concerning it be adopted so far as this is practicable and advisable; and it should forbid commitments of children to agencies and institutions, whether public or private, which have not its approval as worthy of the trust.

The relationship among the several branches of child welfare work is intimate, although commonly unrecognized or disregarded by the workers. Each is absorbed in his own task and expects others to take care of theirs and to leave him alone. An agency with a thorough understanding of all the issues involved and with a broader appreciation of human values is needed to oversee all these activities for children and to supplement and to adjust their several services in such a way as to insure a full program fully carried out.

The enforcement of compulsory school attendance laws, the taking of the school census, the keeping of a constant enumeration of children of school age, the issuance of work permits, and the enforcement of local laws or ordinances concerning child employment (street trading ordinances, for example) are so inter-dependent that it is clearly advisable to unite all such work in a single division or bureau of the public schools. This applies to rural districts as well as to towns and cities. In the country such a combination of duties would make it feasible to employ at least one person on a full-time basis even in sparsely settled regions, for the several tasks would keep him busy through the year.

But there is no virtue in this plan, no strength in this union, unless it is given financial support so that, as the work develops, a sufficient number of assistants may be employed to care for the work adequately. Whatever local body or bodies should be made responsible for such work, whether a public welfare board or the juvenile court, the school board, the county commissioners, and other public servants acting jointly, its jurisdiction should embrace a whole county or such political division as would insure disinterested and comprehensive service. The personal embarrassments of neighborhood control should at all costs be avoided. And lastly, the work of this agency or union of agencies should be under the supervision of the appropriate state departments—the school department should oversee the work done relating to schools; the labor department that relating to employment; the health department that concerning health; and the public welfare department or its equivalent that having to do with relief, placing out, probation, commitments, parole, and preventive activities.

Organic evolution moves from the general to the special, social evolution from the special to the general; and the safety of man as a product of these two forces lies in a nice adjustment of the two. We are at once both individuals and society, and in our government we must find that balance between these special and general elements of our dual character which will permit our largest growth.

Social work is a spectrum—each separate task is a color or a shade, and if wisdom be given us to join them in that bond of unity which is the greatest good, they will blend in dazzling white whose lustrous purity shall guide us toward the truth.

B. REMEDIAL WORK FOR RURAL CHILDREN

Frances Sage Bradley, M.D., Federal Children's Bureau, Washington

For years children of congested cities have offered a ready and logical field for investigation. Their needs have been many, and they were clearly demonstrable. For this reason the small victim of shop or slum has given us much illuminating information. It has been discovered by societies doing infant welfare work that the death rate during the first month of life of children whose mothers are supervised during pregnancy is only one-half that of children whose mothers are not supervised during that period; and that the maternal mortality of mothers when so supervised is not more than half that of unsupervised mothers. This supervision is less available to the rural mother and child than it is to the mother and child of the city.

In fact it is gradually becoming apparent that the rural child has trials quite peculiar to his environment, and that the country presents certain possibilities of menace or of disaster which require careful study. Recent studies made by the

Children's Bureau in certain rural counties revealed the fact that a large proportion of mothers received no prenatal supervision, and that such supervision as was given was often inadequate. Moreover, in rural areas very few infants have adequate postnatal care and supervision during the first year of life.

The older child also suffers from lack of physical and mental supervision before and after he enters school and is seriously handicapped in consequence throughout the remainder of his life. Dental neglect is practically universal and is undoubtedly responsible for a large amount of malnutrition as well as for other pathological conditions found.

According to the United States census three out of five American children are rural, that is, they live in communities of less than 2,500. It becomes, therefore, a matter of great concern to reach this great 18,000,000 of our population with such supervision as will insure to us the type of citizen to which the United States is entitled. Certain quite definite and uniform obstacles are found in reaching this part of our population. There are: first, mechanical difficulties; second, financial difficulties; third, psychological difficulties.

Mechanical difficulties are due in part to the isolation and remoteness of the rural home. In our country of vast stretches of territory it requires very special and expensive effort to reach those who live at great distances. There are many natural obstacles, such as poor roads and bridges. These, however, are steadily disappearing before the alluring approach of the automobile and of the good roads movement.

Financial difficulties are perhaps more apparent than real, though it must be conceded that rural work costs relatively more than urban work. A given amount of money and effort must be spread out thinner in a sparsely settled region.

It must not be forgotten that the habit of the rural citizen is along individual rather than community lines. Dependent upon his own efforts, he has worked out according to his lights his own family problems, but as each family is a law unto itself a woeful lack of uniformity results from such methods, and there is none of the inspiration and strength of combined community effort.

The rural citizen is slow in recognizing the value of sanitary and other preventive measures. In some localities the influence of tradition and superstition delays the advance of preventive medicine.

Various experiments are being tried out to meet this rural problem. One of the most interesting, perhaps, is that of North Carolina, which a few years ago was regarded as a backward state. By the combined efforts of its state organizations the welfare of the child is becoming a vital and joint issue. The State Board of Health and the State University undertook a few years ago an educational campaign beginning with the doctors. They secured from northern hospitals the services of two expert pediatricians, each of whom conducted a six weeks' course of children's clinics in six rural counties, demonstrating up-to-date sanitation and prevention as applied to the care and treatment of children's diseases. The enterprise paid for itself, each doctor bearing his share (\$30.00 to \$35.00) of the expense of bringing the two specialists to the state. The same training with the same specialists would have cost not less than \$300.00 per capita had it been necessary for each doctor to leave his home and practice and go to the hospital center. The doctors had also the added advantage of securing help with their own patients in their own environment.

With the co-operation of the State Board of Health and the State Board of Education the teachers of the state are instructed in testing the vision and hearing of their pupils and in the recognition of gross defects. Each teacher is required to report annually to the State Board of Health on the physical condition of her children, and upon request a public health nurse is sent to a county which has no nurse for more careful inspection. If necessary, she arranges for dental or throat clinics to be held by the State Board of Health, a throat specialist having previously selected suitable cases for operation. The dentist or throat specialist is employed by the State Board of Health, though the nurse secures toward the maintenance of the clinic such fees as the patients are able to meet. The effort is made to reach with these corrective clinics one-third of the counties of the state each year. This arrangement is not considered ideal but has certain definite advantages:

First, it brings the teachers to a realization of the close relationship existing between physical and mental development.

Second, it teaches the parents that physical and mental defects in their children may be detected before evident harm has resulted, and that early correction will prevent later incompetency.

Third, it brings the medical profession to a recognition of its responsibility for the physical and mental well-being of the children of the state.

Fourth, it teaches the general public to realize that a system of public instruction must educate along physical and mental lines in order to secure the well rounded development of children.

Fifth, aside from its educational value it receives each year hundreds of children who otherwise would remain neglected as in the past.

The Universities of Arkansas and of Alabama are offering special courses for the study of child welfare, and other states are trying by various means to establish permanent methods of supervision of rural children. The Children's Bureau is suggesting for their consideration the use of a truck, with the hope that it may lead to the establishment of permanent county supervision.

For purposes of demonstration this truck, known as the "Child Welfare Special," is used as a movable child welfare center. It is painted a battleship gray on the outside and is enameled white within. It is 17 feet long, 6 feet wide and 10 feet high. There is a dressing room with an entrance and exit at either end, and the main body, which is kept as immaculate as an operating room, is converted into an examination room and is equipped with running water, electric light, and heat, and with the necessary paraphernalia for the examination of children, including a weighing and measuring apparatus and an examination table. There is also storage room for films, slides, projection machine, panels, and models showing proper ways to bathe, clothe, and feed children; and there is an ingenious arrangement of drawers, cabinets, and filing cases for records, literature for distribution, and necessary office supplies. There are reference books on physical diagnosis and diseases of children and of course such supplies as stethoscope, flashlights, tongue depressors, and the like. There is a plentiful supply of little white blankets, a fresh one for every child examined; a collection of celluloid toys which are dropped into a sterilizing solution after each child has used them.

A staff of three may sleep comfortably in the truck, or the same number may find accommodations in a tent with cots, army blankets, air pillows, etc., which are

stored in boxes outside. These boxes carry also an adequate supply of cooking utensils, that the staff may not become an imposition upon small communities.

The staff consists of a doctor, a nurse, a clerical assistant, and a chauffeur who also keeps up the repairs of the truck, manipulates the projection machine, and makes himself generally useful. The Special is parked usually on the courthouse square or near a school or other public building. The latter is used as a waiting room for mothers and as an exhibit room for panels, models, etc. It is also used by the home demonstration agent for the demonstration of suitable foods for growing children. Here also the clerical assistant secures from parents their address, occupation, and nationality, and tests vision and hearing of children over five. The family is then received by the nurse in the rear dressing room of the Special, where she secures the child's previous history, including all early diseases. The child is then undressed, weighed, measured, wrapped in a blanket and placed on the examination table before the doctor. The physician calls the attention of the mother to the fact that the relation between height and weight is a fair index of general condition and attempts to show her point by point where she is succeeding and where failing to secure the best possible results with her child. While no prescriptions or treatments are given, the mother is impressed with the close relation between good hygiene and sound physical development. She is urged to seek her own doctor for the correction of defects found, and the great number of corrections found in the wake of the Special is the best proof of the responsiveness of the public to this type of work.

The big truck makes a dramatic appeal as it swings into a small town. "Dar now, Uncle Sam done come at last" from an old darkie expresses the feeling of the community, and towns vie with each other in making the stay of the Special a success.

This method of using a movable child welfare center is not urged for city work nor yet for work in remote mountain districts; but it is suggested for the consideration of organizations wishing to reach quickly, thoroughly, and effectively their rural communities, not only as a means of temporary relief but for the purpose of stimulating permanent, local, remedial activity.

C. IS THERE A DIVIDING LINE BETWEEN THE CASES WHICH THE PUBLIC AGENCY SHOULD TAKE OVER, AND THOSE WHICH SHOULD BE HANDLED BY PRIVATE SOCIAL AGENCIES?

Robert W. Kelso, Executive Secretary, Council of Social Agencies, Boston

There is not much love to lose between public and private social welfare agencies, yet the reasons for this condition of affairs are superficial and need not abide. The American citizen for the most part looks upon his government and the machinery thereof with contempt. One of the causes for this attitude, as well as one of its results, is that too often the public servant—and this includes also the public social servant—is a little bit of a fellow with a lot of power. To the private social worker he seems stupid and as lopsided in his views as a fat man in a concave glass. He is, of course, much better than this.

And the private social servant himself is as often that dynamic individual who knows so much about the community good—who is so sure of the very thing which should be done next—that he is always upon the verge of becoming a public danger.

These two are an ill-mated pair, and in any discussion of their domestic infelicity there is much to be said on both sides. Their estrangement is due to a lack of clear thinking, and perhaps to a lack of charity in their respective points of view. I have inquired extensively among social workers on both sides of this dividing line, and find very few persons who have given more than a superficial thought to the true relationship which they should hold to each other.

How does it happen that public agencies and private societies are found universally to exist side by side in the same field of effort working upon the same problem? Should the effort be all private? Should the government admit that its effort is a political interference merely and quit? Should the private agency turn the whole task over to the public agency to carry on out of taxes? Or is there room for both, and should they function together?

To clear the ground for discussion of this interrelationship, I invite your attention to three preliminary queries: First, what is the aim of relief? Second, what is the province of the public relief agency? Third, what is the nature of the private social agency? After that I wish to come to the specific question of interrelationship.

1. What, then, are the purposes of relief?

In this country, where we pretend to govern ourselves, every citizen has to look after himself and those who are dependent upon him. If he is unable to provide that care and support either in whole or in part, the load must be carried by somebody else, or he and his dependents will die. Either it must be those who are his kin, or those who know him and are interested in his welfare, or those who though they do not know him sympathize with his difficulties or recognize his trouble as a danger to the general welfare; or finally, if he have no special plea, by the whole people acting together through their government.

In any event, the ultimate aim of the relief given to this citizen in distress is the welfare of the whole community. The welfare of the individual is so bound up with that of the whole society in which he dwells that the process of relieving his distress is at all times in effect an effort to protect society and to advance a better social order.

2. And what is the province of the public relief agency in this process of helping the citizen who cannot help himself?

Obviously, whatever is necessary to be done to maintain the welfare of society becomes the obligation of government, if it be not taken care of voluntarily by the citizen himself or by groups of citizens organized for that purpose. Once granted that the relief is necessary as a protection to society, it must follow that the governmental machine stands as a last resort when all voluntary efforts fail.

But how shall the government know with certainty that any such condition of individual distress does constitute such an injury or such a menace to society as to warrant its own attempt at a remedy? It is this very obvious question which justifies the existence of the private charitable agency.

3. What is a private charitable agency?

A gift to charity constitutes in law a trust fund for the use of the public generally to be applied within the field designated by the terms of the gift, or otherwise contemplated by the giver. When, therefore, funds given to such a use, no matter in what manner they be given, whether by a will or by a gift in the giver's lifetime, and whether given in a single large sum or in a collection of small change, are administered by a social agency, that agency becomes a trustee for the benefit of that indefinite public

which makes up the community. The fund in every case is in all essentials a public trust, and the trustees who have it in charge become trustees to a public use. If it be kept always clearly in mind that every private charity is a public trust, the true relationship between such agencies and the government will be more easily determined. With this preamble let us inquire into the proper line of cleavage, if there be one, between the work of the public body and that of the voluntary society.

If the public agency should undertake the care of those groups of cases, such as the feeble-minded, whose need and treatment have been sufficiently determined for the government to be warranted in establishing public provision for them, it follows that, in general, cases which involve long-continued dependency, such as cases of old age or widows with young children, should fall under public care.

Problems of uncertain depth and undefined limits, for which the process of remedy or correction cannot be said to have become established as a success, would fall naturally beyond the province of the government and be, therefore, proper objects for the private organizations. To state it in briefer terms, the government should undertake the well-trying and fully demonstrated processes in social service, while the private agency should be the experimenter. For instance, the problem of the growing family in which either the father or mother is feeble-minded may be said to fall still upon the experimental side of the division just indicated. Courts are reluctant to break up such families unless the feeble-minded person constitutes an actual danger to life and limb. If one or more family agencies could carry on an intensive study of a group of such cases so that they would accumulate through a course of years accurate and specific data as to what happens to the children in a family of this sort, they could present evidence to the judges that might modify the quite proper judicial caution about breaking the family unit.

To define in still greater detail the interrelationship of the public and private instrumentalities, the following line of demarcation should be followed.

1. The whole field of social service should be covered.
2. Subject always to statutory limitations, the public agency should assume:
 - A. Cases of obvious dependency of long continuance, such as old age, incurable disease, and the like.
 - B. Cases of dependency which are not complicated by other problems unless they are found to contain the prospect of practical reimbursement or an expectation of early rehabilitation, or that involve an experimental feature: e.g., the foundling.
 - C. Cases that call for restraint or other control of the person, including cases involving deportation or return to other States; e.g., the delinquent and the vagrant.
 - D. Cases in which criminal prosecution is indicated at the outset as expedient, such as desertion and non-support.
 - E. Cases in which experimentation by competent private agencies has reached such a stage that public opinion recognizes the value and the necessity of relief. The group of families contemplated by a mothers' aid law or widows' pension statute might be considered as falling under this head.
3. The private agency should undertake:

All cases not falling within the statutory powers of the public agency to assume, pending a demonstration to the public of the expediency of an enlargement of the statutory power to admit them to public care.

The attitude of private charity toward public agencies.—Considering this rough division of the field the function of the private agency should be primarily educational; that of the public agency administrative. The object of the private society may be, within the terms of its written purpose, the care of the aged, the rescue of children, or the relief of the sick, but its ultimate object must be not merely to palliate or remove suffering and neglect, but also to demonstrate to the public mind the nature of the problems with which it is dealing, and the methods it has followed successfully, to the end that the public may determine whether taxes shall be used for the purpose of continuing that method so that the individual may be benefited and the welfare of the whole people advanced.

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN STATE AND LOCAL GOVERNMENTS IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF PUBLIC WELFARE SERVICE

A. THE PRESENT STATUS OF LEGISLATION

William Hodson, Director, Children's Bureau, St. Paul

The responsibility of the state for its dependent or handicapped citizens has long been a recognized principle of law, ethics, and government. In the main, this responsibility has been discharged by the creation of institutions suited to the needs of special classes needing the protection of the state. Institutional development was based, not wholly upon the principle of protecting those who were unable to protect themselves, but upon the need for protecting society as well from the menace of insanity and criminality and other anti-social types of conduct and defect. As our civilization has developed we have carried the movement forward to the point of providing institutional care for those who needed it, quite apart from any immediate interests of society in its own protection. The blind, the deaf, and the dumb, and the dependent child, have had their claims upon the state recognized for their own good and indirectly, of course, for the good of society.

Of late years a new type of state service has been developing, of a preventive and broadly protective character. Administrative machinery for the enforcement of rights and the prevention of wrongs has been created. Public welfare and child welfare departments of state and local governments are rapidly becoming a formative part of governmental machinery. In the year 1921 no less than five state legislatures considered or passed laws on this subject, and in many other states the problem is in the pre-legislative stage of consideration.

In all of these programs there is a definite relationship between the state and the local or county government, and all of them start with a definite form of machinery for administration in state and county. The principle seems to be that there should be centralized in a department of the state government the responsibility for discharging the public obligation in their field, and with centralization of responsibility should go decentralization of administration through county organizations. This results in a single supervisory state agency to direct and standardize the work being done in every locality of the state and at the same time provides a means whereby special needs and peculiarities may be recognized and dealt with; moreover, it fixes upon each community a responsibility in solving its own problems.

In Arkansas, under the law of 1917, the State Commission on Charities and Correction is authorized to appoint a County Board of Public Welfare which works under the general supervision of the state board.

In Indiana, under the law of 1901 as amended in 1907 and 1919, the circuit court may appoint a Board of Children's Guardians and the local board reports to the state board. Observe that Indiana pointed the way as early as 1901.

The Kentucky law of 1915 provides for a Board of Children's Guardians to be appointed by the city or police judge, but, unlike most other states, does not provide for supervision or co-operation with a state department.

Michigan in 1915 authorized the governor to appoint a county agent who serves under the State Board of Charities. Here are observed two changes from the generally accepted procedure which challenge attention. Why should the governor appoint county agents for the State Board of Charities? The proposition may work in practice, but if so it must be because of the unusual character of the governor. In principle it is clear that the board which controls and supervises should also appoint, for no one can truly and efficiently serve two masters. Such a plan savors of political compromise and is fraught with grave dangers of a political character. In the second place, the use of a single individual merely as a local agent of a state board deprives the community of an effective voice in the consideration of its own problems which is assured when a board of citizens with local autonomy is functioning.

Minnesota in 1917 provided for the appointment of county child welfare boards by the State Board of Control. This appointment occurs when a request is made by the local board of county commissioners, the governing group of the county. Minnesota puts the initiative for organizing county boards upon the local community itself, and the boards are appointed only in response to the demand of local public opinion. The county boards have such duties as may be delegated to them by the state board, and they report to and are supervised by the state board.

The law of North Carolina, passed in 1917 and amended in 1919, authorizes the State Board of Charities to appoint three persons as a County Board of Charities and Public Welfare. It is provided further that the board of county commissioners and the board of education may jointly appoint a county superintendent of public welfare who is the secretary of the county welfare group and agent of the state board as to any of its duties in the county. Just how effectively such a plan works in practice those having knowledge of the facts are best qualified to judge. In principle it is not a sound method of procedure, because of the division between appointive and supervisory power. The emphasis is placed upon the individual rather than upon the board as a representative and responsible group of citizens.

In Missouri, under the law of 1921 recently passed, the county court may appoint a county superintendent of public welfare, but the selection can be made only from a list of qualified persons furnished by the State Board of Charities and Corrections, and the superintendent reports to that board.

Pennsylvania at the last legislative session provided for the appointment, by the State Department of Public Welfare, of three or more in the county to serve as a Board of Institutional Visitation.

Arizona by act of 1921 provides for the appointment by the superior court of a local board to deal with child problems, which reports to the state department.

The Wisconsin legislature has just passed a law for the appointment by state authority of local boards of child welfare.

In considering the personnel of these local boards and the length of service of the members, there is considerable diversity shown in the various states. Minnesota has a requirement which is not generally followed, but which seems to have some merit. It is provided that the county superintendent of schools and a member of the Board of County Commissioners chosen by that board shall be, in every county, *ex officio* members of the child welfare board. The obvious purpose is to establish a close connection between the social and the educational interests of the community and to effect a direct contact with the county commissioners who hold the purse strings for the welfare board. From our experience in Minnesota I have no doubt about the wisdom of the law as it relates to the commissioner membership, not only from the standpoint of finance, but as a matter of education in social methods. The commissioner member of the welfare group is thus enabled to bring to his own board new light and understanding, of which as a rule it stands in sore need. In many cases the commissioner is, to be sure, not interested and does not function as the law intended, but on the whole we have observed good results. In the case of the county superintendent of schools, I have considerable doubt. In principle, his *ex officio* membership seems to be fully justified, but in practice we have not secured the kind of co-operative service we have a right to expect from the head of the county school system. The county superintendent is frequently much overworked and therefore unwilling to devote himself to the work of the welfare board. He finds it irksome to be forced to serve. I believe the law should be amended to provide perhaps for giving preference to the superintendent in the matter of board service, but not requiring his service when he is unwilling or unfit to serve. Discretionary power in the appointing body in this regard would be a decided improvement in Minnesota. In general, *ex officio* membership is a desirable means of assuring the opportunity for close contact between social welfare work and kindred endeavor in related fields. It is a means also of emphasizing local autonomy by giving to local county officials a voice in the activities of the welfare board, not through appointment from the state, but, because of their official duties as county officers.

Whether the local board be a public or child welfare group, under the various state laws, it usually derives its powers and duties in one of these ways. First, there may be delegation of power from the state agency to the local, or the local board may be simply performing in the county duties which the state board would otherwise have to fulfil; here the local board acts as agent, the legal power being vested in the state body. Second, the law may expressly define the field of activity of the local board, in which case there is usually a combination of independent authority and agency power, and the local board may act either as principal or agent, depending on the situation. Third, the law may fix all power in the local board without reference to any state department. The definitions above given are more precise than the various laws may warrant, but they express the general tendencies.

Perhaps a discussion of the Minnesota plan, with which I am most familiar, will provide the best means of considering this phase of our subject. There the local child welfare boards are, in the main, appointed by the state board, and their duties are derived principally from the state board, though all expenses are met out of the county treasury through appropriations from the board of county commissioners. Public responsibility for children in need of care and protection is centered in the State Board of Control, which likewise manages all state institutions, including those

for children. Every private agency receiving children, caring for them, or placing them in family homes must be licensed by the state board, and licenses must be secured from that board by all hospitals, of whatever character, which receive patients for maternity care. All child placing agencies must report their placements for the approval of the state board, and in adoption proceedings the court requires a full investigation and report by the state board before a decree is entered. Feeble-minded children are committed to the board for institutional or extra-institutional care. The board is charged with the protection of the rights and interests of the unmarried mother and her child. The board may accept the guardianship of all types of children who may be committed to its care, and is charged with the duty of enforcing all laws for child protection. It is directed to co-operate with juvenile courts in the administration of the juvenile court law and to co-operate by investigation and supervision of county allowance, so-called mothers' pension cases, as the juvenile court may direct. Under such a plan there is very broad centralization of duty and responsibility, which is open to the objection that it involves too much concentration and power. However, this objection is met in part by the county child welfare board system in operation by which the board refers, for investigation and report, to the local board cases which arise within its jurisdiction except in the matter of licensing and supervising children's agencies and hospitals. The extent to which this reference takes place will depend upon the efficiency of the local boards and whether or not they are provided with trained assistants. As the board develops its facilities its powers may be broadened and enlarged. The reports and recommendations of the local boards are respected and usually acted upon by the state board, particularly where the local board has attained a high standard of efficiency. At the same time a close watch may be kept upon local methods by the state departments, suggestions may be offered as to case work, policies and standards of general application may be worked out, and the problems of independent board administration may be considered in the light of state-wide experience. The state and county boards maintain a close relationship to the juvenile courts by acting as probation agencies and by assisting in the investigation and supervision of cases of dependency, delinquency, and neglect, as well as county allowance matters. Our law also provides that the county commissioners may employ a county nurse, or nurses, and place her under the jurisdiction of the child welfare board if they desire. This is being done on a broad scale in our largest county at the present time, and as to this work there is no supervision by the Board of Control.

It is reasonable to forecast that Minnesota may eventually enlarge the powers and duties of its state board so as to make it a public welfare department dealing with adults as well as with children, with the power of delegating its enlarged powers to the county boards. While the boards in Minnesota sometimes undertake these broader responsibilities informally, I have felt it unwise to proceed too rapidly and too far in advance of public education and understanding in such matters. In this question, of course, one can only be guided by the conditions as they obtain in his own state. It has seemed to me that until we had done the children's job well, with a high average of efficiency throughout the state, it was unwise to undertake new duties. Moreover, it is an exceedingly difficult matter to secure trained assistants for our boards in their present limited field, and the problem is complicated when family relief and other problems of adult maladjustment are dealt with, each of which

may well require the services of an expert in the particular field. The vision, however, is before us and will be realized in proportion as we do well our present job.

The character of the relationship between state and local public welfare agencies can be determined only in part by law. The statute provides the framework, but the design of the structure itself is a matter of wise administrative adjustment. A state department must recognize the differences which exist in urban and rural life, and the problems of each must be understood and dealt with in accordance with the special needs of the situation. The plan must be flexible and, to be successful, it must be in truth and not in name a co-operative effort. Without a full recognition of the individuality of the local boards and their right to a proper measure of self-determination there will be developed not virile, self-sustaining, and efficient local groups, but a state autocracy which defeats the fundamental purposes of any sound child welfare program. The function of the state is to help communities to a realization of their own responsibilities and to point the way toward effective discharge of the community obligation toward childhood.

B. THE NEW STATE BOARD MOVEMENT IN THE SOUTH—CAUSE, EXTENT, CONDITION, AND FUTURE

*L. H. Putnam, Executive Secretary, State Board of Children's Guardians,
Charleston, West Virginia*

Cause.—"Private philanthropy, while exercised today on a scale of unprecedented magnitude, is felt to be wholly insufficient to express the purpose of organized Society. Moreover, it lacks the authority, the disciplinary power, which is so essential an element of all true kindness. The State is, therefore, steadily enlarging the scope of its activities and assuming the initiative in wrestling with the problems of the multitude"—so says Mr. R. Fulton Cutting, president of the New York Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor.

It is a recognized fact that the state has definite duties and responsibilities in connection with special classes, such as dependents, delinquents, physical defectives, and the mental deficient. No longer can the state expect private, philanthropic, or church organizations to carry these responsibilities, which are clearly those of the Commonwealth. It is now recognized that state care and supervision of most of the above-named classes of unfortunates is the best method of looking after same, thus relieving private, philanthropic, and church organizations of tremendous burdens and allowing them to fulfill their true functions along charitable lines.

Extent.—Recognition of these facts on the part of state officials and the public generally, has resulted in the creation of state boards of charities; boards of public welfare; boards of children's guardians; or child welfare departments in the following southern states, practically all created within the past five years: Delaware, State Board of Charities; Tennessee, State Board of Charities; Kentucky, State Board of Charities and Corrections; Virginia, State Board of Charities and Corrections; North Carolina, State Board of Charities and Public Welfare; West Virginia, State Board of Children's Guardians; South Carolina, State Board of Public Welfare; Georgia, State Board of Public Welfare; Alabama, State Child Welfare Department.

So far as I have been able to learn, Mississippi, Louisiana, Texas, Arkansas, and Florida have not created such boards or departments.

Conditions.—These boards or departments have been created to meet varied conditions existing in the southern states. Some cover an exceedingly wide scope of work, while others are very limited in their activities. The South is today a vast sociological laboratory, and various experiments, some of which are based upon the experiences of other and older states, and others now under process of pioneer development, are being tried out, with greater or less measures of success.

Due to the ever present race problem, welfare progress in the South is exceedingly difficult and interesting. Up to the present time the efforts of these boards and departments have, in the main, been directed toward the solution of problems affecting the general public as a whole and the white public in particular. However, some unusual and encouraging attempts have been and are being made to study and present solutions of the welfare problems of the colored race.

There is an increasing desire on the part of the progressive element of the whites and the better element of the colored to find a common ground of action pertaining to welfare problems which confront both races. Despite the fact that regrettable actions and incidents occur in the South from time to time, as elsewhere in the United States, there is a sincere and increasing desire on the part of the thinking people to get together and amicably adjust such differences as exist.

In a paper of fifteen minutes' duration it is impossible to discuss these various pieces of work in detail, but we of the South invite your attention, your suggestions, and constructive criticism based upon actual knowledge of the conditions confronting us.

In response to a request made by the writer, asking for a concrete statement regarding the most significant activities of the various boards and departments, the following replies were received by wire:

Virginia.—We have supervision of institutions, without executive power; place children in homes and institutions; supervise feeble-minded outside of institutions; have supervision of probation officers. Institutions for feeble-minded, for delinquent girls, and hospitals for crippled children established. Prison system reorganized according to modern standards.

North Carolina.—State board given executive power 1917. Licenses annually state and private institutions. Doing research work regarding intake and outgo of child caring institutions. County agents, probation officers, enforce child labor law and school attendance law; 100,000 more children in school past year. Plan better organized county work.

South Carolina.—Board supervises penal and charitable institutions, schools for feeble-minded and juvenile delinquents, places neglected children. Engineered establishment of schools for feeble-minded and for delinquent girls. Responsible for marked improvement of institutions under supervision. Advocates woman's reformatory; abolition of county chain gangs; establishment of district homes for infirm.

Alabama.—Alabama is building institutions for feeble-minded and strengthening her training schools. New modern training school for girls will be constructed early in fall. The new State Child Welfare Department inspects, issues certificates of endorsement, or permits, to all agencies and institutions caring for children. Prescribes standards and tabulates reports. Licenses maternity hospitals and child placing societies. The department organizes county welfare units, supervises work of probation officers and advises with juvenile judges; receives monthly report of number and class of cases handled; administers the state child labor law, maintaining a staff of inspectors which co-operates with attendance officers.

Tennessee.—Secured law establishing institution for feeble-minded, and another law providing supervision, inspection, licensing child caring agencies. Have home-finding department for state institutions. Organized State Conference of Social Work, also State Council of Social Agencies. Board was established for purpose of investigating county and state institutions as to care and treatment of inmates. Results more than satisfactory in raising standards of welfare work and injecting into state government principles of accepted standards of welfare work.

Kentucky.—Non-partisan, non-salaried board appointed 1920 to remove state institutions from politics and establish broad, humane, and practical policy in care and treatment of state wards. Board has

employed capable, experienced superintendents and officers; rehabilitated institutions physically; adopted standard food products; modernized parole system: expects to place Kentucky on par with best in country.

West Virginia.—The State Board of Children's Guardians receives and places normal dependent children, after careful mental and physical examinations have been made. Is especially interested in aid cases. Gives particular attention to the problem of the unmarried mother. Investigates cases of tubercular and venerally infected children and in conjunction with State Board of Control and State Board of Health provides for care of same in state and private hospitals receiving state aid. Investigates cases of deaf, blind and crippled children in behalf of State Boards of Control and Education. Places same in proper institution or hospital. Board officers and agents supervise paroled youth of boys' and girls' industrial schools. Assists in enforcement of child labor law. Aids in cases coming under Mothers' Pension Act. Studies problems concerning dependent, delinquent, defective and deficient children, and reports to the governor and legislature measures designed to improve conditions surrounding said classes. After July 1st, 1921, will inspect and license private institutions, hospitals, lying-in or maternity homes, associations or societies receiving, caring for or placing children. As a result of activities of State Board of Children's Guardians and Control, a State Mental Hygiene Commission was appointed during 1920. The National Committee for Mental Hygiene was induced to make a complete mental deficiency survey of the state resulting in passage of law authorizing Training School for Mental Deficients. Board worked for law creating Child Welfare Commission. Passage of law raising age of consent. Establishment of industrial schools for colored youth. Improvement juvenile court law. Board is interested and assists as far as possible every legitimate effort to improve conditions surrounding unfortunates.

Future.—Today the clarion call of privilege and opportunity is being sounded to the socially minded of the South. More and more, as vision and breadth of mind increase, do the people of the South appreciate their serious social responsibilities. I believe that the leaders of southern welfare movements, assisted and guided by sympathetic counsellors of other sections, will produce some practical and gratifyingly pleasant surprises as they solve many of their problems.

Dr. H. H. Hart, director of the Child Helping Department of the Russell Sage Foundation, gave the following bit of advice to a worker who has labored in the southern field during the past twenty years. He said: "Remember, five years is an exceedingly short length of time; if in twenty years you have had a small part in the proper development of southern social problems, you will have done a tremendously big piece of work." I believe that the inherently strong principle underlying this statement is generally accepted by southern social workers and that enduring structures are being built, based upon sympathy, knowledge, and practical results obtained; upon thorough work done by the best of workers obtainable as far as means will permit, and upon a sincere desire to "do a good job, not to hold a good job."

THE RELATION OF STATE INSTITUTIONS AND AGENCIES TO PRIVATE INSTITUTIONS

A. A REDEFINITION OF THE PROPER RELATION OF STATE BOARDS OF CONTROL TO BOARDS OF EDUCATION, HEALTH, CHILD WELFARE, AND THE LIKE.

Burdette G. Lewis, State Commissioner of Institutions and Agencies, Trenton, N.J.

For some time we have heard that state governments are inefficient and cumbersome. Apparently they have suffered as has the federal government from the tyranny of well organized and vociferous minorities and from the paralysis of unwieldy and inarticulate majorities. In the Congress of the United States we have seen for years that a handful of wilful men may stop legislation and menace the continued activity

of governmental departments whenever they wish to force their will upon the majority. Something of the same sort has happened upon different occasions in most of our states.

Perhaps we do not recognize so clearly these organized minorities in our states because in many cases their organizers are our own friends and neighbors, or they are so highly placed in the confidence of the people that discretion is the better part of valor and we leave them alone, while the taxpayers foot the bills.

The present status of state government service.—One of the difficulties with our educational system has been that the determination of the subjects to be taught, as well as the manner in which each subject was to be taught, was left almost exclusively to expert educators, whose lives have been confined to teaching work and who have not had the opportunity of becoming familiar with the way business, commerce, and industry are conducted and with the viewpoints of those having had business experience, professional experience, or social service experience. They were therefore improperly prepared to act as dictators in the educational field, charged with determining what subjects should be taught in the public schools. It is, of course, true that they were especially qualified to determine the manner in which the subject was to be taught, but they had no more right than the doctor, the lawyer, the business man, or the trained social worker to exclusive judgment as to what subjects, whether history, science, civics, arithmetic, and the like, should be taught.

The health departments have been slow to recognize that the social workers of the country have a great deal to teach them about how to handle public health education in particular, and about how to improve industrial nursing, social service nursing, and nurses' training school work.

The child, the greatest possibility in the universe, has naturally and justly attracted a great deal of attention. People have been quite properly insistent that everything possible be done to insure him the greatest future, for in doing that the nation is made doubly secure and is wonderfully enriched. It has been understandable, therefore, that special departments should spring up to emphasize the importance of certain fundamental, medical, environmental, social, and training opportunities for children, and that great impatience should be expressed regarding the apparent or alleged failure of the well organized ordinary departments of government, such as the health, educational, institutional, and labor departments, to function specifically and particularly for the child. There have been notable movements for the development of child welfare boards, which have done much good.

Public institutions have been surrounded either by high walls of brick and mortar or by imaginary walls erected by those especially interested in them. While again there are notable exceptions of institutions which have become highly developed in isolation, the evil results of this general policy of isolated development have been most serious. Correctional institutions perhaps suffered most during the first ninety years of the past century, for, as the insane, the epileptic, and some of the more unstable of the feeble-minded were removed from the correctional institution and given special treatment and training in a special institution for the care and custody of the insane, the epileptic, and the feeble-minded, the correctional institution was left to itself and was not able to make the progress in the ninety years which the remarkable public opinion prevailing from 1790 to 1830 entirely justified.

EDUCATIONAL DEPARTMENT

1. Supervision of kindergartens, elementary, high and normal, continuation, trade, vocational, industrial, and special schools for crippled, truant, backward, and defective children.
2. Physical training for children of school age, community centers, conduct of indoor facilities for community bathing in school buildings.
3. Provides space for and conducts medical, dental, surgical, and psychiatric clinics for children.
4. Formulates and by inspection promotes adoption of educational standards for institutions and industrial welfare departments.
5. Supervises vocational guidance work, furnishes basic reports to industrial welfare department in re-working certificates.
6. Conducts demonstration work and classes in the field of special education for children, youth, and adults.

HEALTH DEPARTMENT

1. Prevents disease and degeneracy, and operates research laboratories dealing with the same.
2. Public and preventive health education, including traveling clinics and health centers.
3. Furnishes diagnostic services.
4. Formulates and by inspection promotes general health and research standards for public school, institutional, and industrial welfare department special clinics and special laboratories.
5. Regulates practice of midwifery.
6. Conducts pre-natal, baby, and maternity clinics.
7. Establishes standards and by inspection promotes standards for industrial hygiene.
8. Approves plans for general hospitals.
9. Conducts nurses' training schools in own hospitals. Establishes standards for, and by inspection promotes, development of nurses' training schools under control of public institutions.
10. Inspects and offers advice in development of rehabilitation clinics for crippled and physically handicapped civilians conducted by the industrial department.

The co-operation of the special state institutions for the care and training of the sane, the feeble-minded, and the epileptic within the same department and with private institutions, with well organized psychopathic, clearing house, classification, and treatment institutions, and with clinics has a tremendous influence upon the development of research and medical work in these institutions. The reasons for this are simple. The state institutions have been receiving the end product, where so

INSTITUTIONAL DEPARTMENT

1. Administrative control and jurisdiction over all state institutions and special training schools for defectives of all kinds.
2. Conduct of own health work with co-operation of visiting physicians, of laboratories, of special diagnosticians of health department.
3. Conducts own educational work but educational department furnishes standards for work, uses institutional schools for practice teaching, accepts institutional teachers in school system, also is demonstration field for application of scientific methods in determining aptitudes of people, measuring adaptability and providing training for life and for industrial welfare department in reorganizing industry.
4. Demonstration field for community activities.
5. Conducts own special clinics and laboratories in institutions and for use of rehabilitation clinics of industrial department.
6. Child placement, dependent children, widows' pensions, repatriation work, licenses non-profit corporations, licenses and inspects charitable agencies and all institutions including child caring institutions.
7. Parole and after-care work for all institutions and for children listed under 6.
8. Supervises and inspects all public and private institutions.
9. Conducts institutional farms as demonstrations with co-operation of federal and state departments of agriculture and experiment stations.
10. Makes demonstrations for educational and industrial departments of all year round school, co-ordinating industrial training with school book instruction and with production.

any of the cases are of such a low standard or where the disease has been allowed to develop so far that the chance for rapid recovery or for complete recovery in state institutional cases is much less than in those special private and public institutions where the cases are handled at a much earlier stage in the development of disease.

The interchange of ideas within the Department of Institutions and with the medical and other divisions, through clinics and clearing house psychopathic institu-

administrators made up of at least a representative of departments of health, education, industry (labor), industry (capital), agriculture, research, commerce, and social welfare.

The proper sphere of the board and of the directing administrative head of the Educational, Health, Institutional, and Industrial departments.—The state board and the commissioner or directing head of each of these departments should in so far as possible be relieved of "business details" by a capable staff in the department, not by division of authority. The state board should be composed of practical and enthusiastic representatives of health, education, industry, social welfare, scientific investigation, agriculture, business, and the like and they should be chosen regardless of their political or religious affiliations or belief. In like manner, the commissioner should be chosen by the superior authority without the necessity of confirmation by the legislature and should be left free to conduct work of this vast importance in accordance with policies and principles formulated by the authority superior to him, but by an authority which is willing to listen to him before it takes final action, and when a decision is once made, no board should attempt to become administrative, but should leave these details to the chief executive of the department.

Great dangers in autocracy and in decentralization.—There is a way to minimize the danger of too much centralization and of the much greater danger of decentralization. The proper corrective is a well informed electorate which can be obtained only through the adoption of well planned, truth-telling, educational campaigns. The public press should be utilized to bring the people into more intimate contact with government, and the essential facts as to discoveries, achievements, failures, and hopes should be told to the people through the medium of the press and motion pictures.

Even the most thick-skinned politicians will understand, will fall in line, and will actually support the administration which is successful in the eyes of the public.

B. THE OHIO PLAN

Mary Irene Atkinson, Chief, Institution Inspection Division, Ohio Board of State Charities, Columbus

The functions of the Ohio Board of State Charities may be divided into two classes: first, administrative; second, non-administrative.

Under the head of administrative functions are the Support Department and the Child Caring Division of the Children's Welfare Department.

The non-administrative duties include the inspection of workhouses, jails, and infirmaries, when such inspections are deemed necessary, the annual inspection and annual licensing of every child-caring agency in the state, whether public or private, the annual inspection and licensing of every private home which boards children, and investigation of the reliability and purpose of persons applying for articles of incorporation to establish some social activity.

If the secretary of the Ohio Board of State Charities, Mr. Shirer, for whom I am substituting, were presenting the subject he would be able to explain in greater detail the Support Department, which is responsible for collecting money for the payment of board of persons confined in our insane hospitals, institutions for the feeble-minded, and the hospital for epileptics. He would also doubtless stress the subject of infirmaries and workhouses. What I shall say will be confined to the children's work

which Ohio has been doing since 1913 through its Board of State Charities, as that is the department with which I am connected.

We will consider first the administrative functions of the children's department as it is worked out through what we term the Child Caring Division of this department. Dependent children may be committed to the Ohio Board of State Charities by the juvenile court or transferred from county children's homes. In ten counties the entire placing out program of the county children's homes is being handled by the state department. At present this division is caring for 1,500 children, the majority of whom are in foster homes. Some are in boarding homes and some in hospitals. In the latter group are included crippled children who are committed for medical treatment only. These crippled children are cared for in the various hospitals of the state which do orthopedic work and, when released, are returned to their own homes. The expense incurred in orthopedic cases is paid for by the state from a fund appropriated for that purpose. A nurse with special training in the treatment of orthopedic cases makes the contacts with the hospitals and does the follow-up work after the children go back to their families.

The standards of procedure followed by the Child Caring Division in case work, social history, physical examination, correction of defects, etc., are those of recognized social agencies and need not be discussed further at this time.

In Ohio we have the county home plan. There are sixty counties out of a total of eighty-eight which maintain county institutions for the care of dependent children. In addition, there are about 125 private institutions and agencies. The state institutions which receive children are also under the supervision of the Board of State Charities and are licensed by this board. Since the new boarding home law was passed in 1919 the Board of State Charities has been licensing every private home which boards any child not related by blood or marriage for hire, gain, or reward.

We shall consider first the inspection and licensing of institutions. Ohio's conception of efficient institutional inspection is not superimposing upon the agency the standards which the Board of State Charities believes are proper minimums, but rather helping the agency to set for itself proper standards for its activities. The spirit of our Ohio law is not the police method spirit. It is true we are provided with badges, but we carry them in hidden places for use in emergencies only. The spirit in which the board has attempted to function is that of constructive service.

In making a study of an institution the problem is approached from these angles: first, intake; second, physical plant; third, administration; fourth, institutional regime, including education, recreation, religious training, physical and medical care. In a word, the entire life of the child within the institution; fifth, outgo.

Perhaps a few concrete examples of how we meet certain conditions will illustrate the kind of service which is being given. Superintendents of both public and private agencies in some sections of Ohio still take pride in telling one that last year they spent only \$25.00 for medical service. In order to sell the idea that the mere fact that a child was not confined to his bed did not prove that he was in a 100 per cent physical condition, it was decided to go to the institution and examine the children. The plan mapped out was as follows: a letter was sent which said that on a certain date a nurse from the Ohio Board of State Charities would come to assist the physician employed by the institution in making physical examinations of all the children. If the date was not convenient we were to be notified at once so that a future date might

DIVISION V—THE FAMILY

MOTHERS' PENSIONS

A. PROBLEMS OF ADMINISTRATION

Joel D. Hunter, General Superintendent, United Charities, Chicago

The facts as to the departments of the government administering mothers' pensions are to be found in Bulletin No. 63 of the Children's Bureau.

It is the purpose of this paper to discuss some of the tendencies in administration under the judicial branch of the government and some under the executive, and then to guess which is tending toward the higher efficiency.

The judicial branch of the government has been the branch that has been most free from political corruption. Quite often when there has been a desire to place governmental responsibility where it will be free from undue political influence it has been placed with the courts. Recently in Cook County the independent voters were more aroused than they have been for many years because of an open attempt of the Lundin-Thompson politicians to elect their henchmen to the circuit court. For the first time these gangsters were beaten and badly beaten. The ordinary citizen winks at a good many things in other branches of the government which he objects to in the judiciary.

For those who are in favor of the administration of mothers' pensions by the judicial branch of the government the record of the judiciary, as compared with that of county supervisors of the poor and similar officers, is a strong argument. It is safe to say that throughout the country a majority of county and township supervisors of the poor have been political appointees with no particular preparation for their responsibilities. Administration by courts is more likely to be free from politics than any other administration. Score 1 for the judicial branch of the government.

Most of the irregularities and inefficiencies in mothers' pension administration have been, not in the large cities, but rather in counties in which there is no large urban community. In at least half the counties of Illinois the pensions granted are inadequate or else the law is very poorly administered or both. To the question, "How can proper methods be introduced in each county?" the best answer seems to be, "By centralized supervision and control."

There are theoretical and practical objections to the state, through its executive officers, supervising the activities of the judicial officers of the county. The theoretical objection is that in our system of government we have been committed to the policy of keeping the legislative, the executive, and the judicial branches of the government distinct. It is argued that it would be a policy fraught with danger to ask the executive department of the state to supervise any judicial activities.

Again, there are practical objections to state supervision of courts and their officers. These are the jealousies of the judges and their consciousness of power and

freedom. A few judges would welcome state supervision, feeling that it would result in the common good, but a majority would not be able to see that supervising from outside could possibly have any such result.

The most satisfactory law so far as state supervision of local executive officers is concerned is that of Massachusetts. The law reads:

SEC. 5. *State board of charity to have supervision.* The State board of charity shall hereafter supervise the work done and measures taken by the overseers of the poor of the several cities and towns in respect to families in which there is one child or more under the age of fourteen, whether or not such family or any member thereof has a settlement within the Commonwealth; and for this purpose may establish such rules relative to notice as they deem necessary and may visit and inspect any or all families aided under this act, and shall have access to any records and other data kept by the overseers of the poor or their representatives relating to such aid; and said board shall, in its annual report to the legislature, report upon the work done by its own agents and by the overseers of the poor in respect to such families, any of whose members are without legal settlement in the Commonwealth; and shall make a separate report on the work done by the overseers of the poor in respect to such families in which all the members have a legal settlement in the Commonwealth.

There is less jealousy and less theoretical objection to overcome if state supervision is applied to county executive officers than to officers appointed by the judges.

Centralized supervision is necessary to obtain an efficient state-wide administration of the excellent laws which we are discussing. This satisfactory change in legislation and administration is occurring much more rapidly in states in which the administrative responsibility is placed elsewhere than the judiciary. Score 1 for executive county administration.

Something which should not be given without state supervision but which should invariably go with it is state aid. In ten out of the sixteen states which have some sort of state supervision state funds are used. There are at least three reasons for state aid:

First, it makes state supervision much more acceptable to local authorities. That statement needs no elucidation. If a prize is to be given for good and efficient behavior, those who have any merit at all will welcome inspection.

Second, state aid makes state supervision more effective. When a considerable amount of the state's funds are involved, the officials of the state will be more inclined to select intelligent and experienced administrators of the law than they would otherwise, and these same administrators will be more careful in their investigations and more thorough in their reports when they know that state aid to county funds depends upon them and their reports. Also the power to effect changes in local administration is increased manifold by a financial leverage.

Third, state aid with state supervision will provide adequate relief in many counties where such relief is not being given. In Illinois and probably in many other states many local authorities in numerous counties do not grant all they can under the law, when even the maximum would be inadequate. State supervision alone would not be able to effect the amount of relief given nearly as quickly as would state supervision with state aid. The reasons given to show that state supervision is more likely to be obtained when mothers' pensions are administered by executive county officials apply also to state aid. Score 2 for executive county administration.

Fourth, when mothers' pension laws were originally passed it was felt that they would have an immediate effect on the population of children's institutions and the number of children placed in family homes. The effect was hardly noticeable. Why?

The parents of most of the children in institutions have been determined to be unwilling or unable to care for these same children or else they, the parents, were deceased. The parent or parents of the children in whose interest pensions have been granted have been determined to be fit, mentally, morally, and physically to care for children. In the main the children in whose interest pensions are granted form a distinct group from the neglected children who make up the population of children's homes.

Again, the satisfactory administration of a mothers' pension law, or any other piece of family welfare legislation, will prevent many a family breakdown which otherwise might have occurred. There is enough information available in some communities to warrant the assertion that the population in children's institutions and the number of children placed in family homes have been decreased partially because of the successful administration of a mothers' pension law. For example, the number of neglected children brought before the juvenile court in Chicago and committed to institutions or child placing societies has consistently decreased since 1912, with the exception of one year.

The point toward which this discussion is leading is that the specialty of juvenile courts is delinquent and neglected children, and not children whose parent or parents are fit in every way to care for a family. Theoretically the responsibility for the administration of mothers' pensions seems to fit better with some other group than that which specializes with the children of unfit or improper parents.

There has long been a feeling among students of the juvenile court that such courts should not take jurisdiction over dependency cases when no element of neglect is present. It would seem that this responsibility should be placed with some other governmental group, for instance, mothers' pensions with some executive county official. Score 3 for county executive administration.

Before announcing the final score, warning should be given that what is sought is an efficient, state-wide administration of excellent laws, and that the best way to obtain it seems to be by having some sort of state supervision of and state aid to executive county officers appointed on a merit basis. This principle should be a guide to states considering the passage of a new law and a suggestion to states which already have adopted a different system to carefully consider the situation to determine if a change would be desirable. The score is 3 to 1 for the administration of mothers' pensions by the executive branch of the county government with state supervision and aid.

One definition of a law is, "A contrivance to establish a certain end." Mothers' pension laws are contrivances to establish what end? To keep together in wholesome surroundings and under proper influences families which otherwise might be unable to stay together—the parent or parents of which families are fit but economically unable to properly care for the children. There has never been any disagreement worthy of note to this purpose. There has not been, however, a united opinion that it was wise to seek to attain the agreed-upon end through publicly administered mothers' pensions. If that opinion still exists we need not concern ourselves with it, for the principle is well established by law and custom, and our present interest is in the proper administration of present laws and their logical development rather than in their repeal.

There has been discussion as to whether deserted women and women with children born out of wedlock and other groups should be included among those

eligible for pensions. Such discussion is not interesting. It is beside the mark. The general policy can and should be in every state to increase the number of those eligible for pensions until every fit parent is included, provided certain things are present, and these provisos are of importance. In other words, we should all say: "We believe in mothers' pensions. The principle behind them is correct. We will go the limit in extending their scope provided: first, that there is an efficient administration of the law and a general approval of it and its method of administration in the area affected; second, that the total amount to be used for mothers' pensions is guaranteed by the provisions of the statute; third, that the amount to be given for each child and family is adequate; fourth, that the administrators of the law are appointed on a merit basis; and fifth, that there is centralized supervision and aid."

B. THE PRESENT STATUS OF MOTHERS' PENSIONS ADMINISTRATION

Emma O. Lundberg, Children's Bureau, United States Department of Labor, Washington

Ten years have elapsed since the enactment of the first law specifically providing for the care of dependent children in their own homes through allowances from public funds. Forty states now have what are commonly called "mothers' pension laws."

After another ten years, when an analysis is made of the social results of the mothers' pension movement, we may discover that the whole system of poor relief has become socialized through this leaven, and that not only public agencies but private organizations for family and child welfare work will have learned a valuable lesson in the possibilities of conserving home life for children. Moreover, there will have been a demonstration of the financial cost of social amelioration that must increase efforts to abolish through a wiser social program this tremendous burden, the full weight of which we have so recently begun to acknowledge. In these ten years of mothers' pension laws, assistance to children in the home from public funds apart from the old-time poor relief has become a recognized principle of public aid, going hand in hand with the extension of placing children in family homes instead of maintaining them in institutions. Ten or fifteen years ago the main discussion was on the question of placing out dependent children as against care in institutions. In 1921 the moot point is how the home can be conserved and the child's removal prevented. We cannot overestimate the constructive force that is represented by thousands of homes that have been enabled to give their children a better chance for proper physical development and to conserve for them a mother's care made more adequate through the removal of some degree of strain and worry and deprivation.

The many changes in administrative regulations and methods give some indication of the trend of development that we may expect in the next few years. Inadequate as the application of the law has been in many states and localities, the theory of aid to children in their own homes is firmly rooted. The tendency in legislative amendments has been toward increasing grants and liberalizing the requirements.

Eligibility requirements.—Nothing can be further from standardization than are mothers' pension regulations and administrative measures. In regard to eligibility for the grants, for example, in the forty states there are twenty-nine varieties of combinations of specifications as to status. In only eight states is the grant limited

specifically to children of widows; all states include widows directly or by implication; in six states divorced women may be granted the aid; deserted mothers are specifically included in fifteen states, frequently with some proviso as to length of time of the desertion, and sometimes with the statement that proceedings must have been instituted against the absconding husband; eighteen states include families where the father is physically or mentally incapacitated; mothers whose husbands are in institutions for the insane or the feeble-minded are included in fourteen states; and in twenty-one states the grant is made if the husbands are in state penal institutions.

The probable trend is indicated by the more general provisions in a number of states. Colorado includes a parent or parents who because of poverty are unable to provide properly for a dependent child; a few states include relatives other than parents and guardians having the custody of the child; Wisconsin provides for grants to grandparents or persons having the custody of a dependent child, Minnesota to grandmothers and stepmothers, Florida to a female relative or guardian upon whom the child is dependent; in 4 states the law is applicable to "mothers who are needy," to dependent mothers, or to mothers with dependent children; in North Dakota any woman who has one or more children dependent upon her for support is eligible for the grant; unmarried mothers are specifically included in Michigan and Nebraska. A beginning of maternity benefits is found in Colorado and in Missouri (outside of Kansas City and St. Louis), where aid may be granted under the law during certain periods before and after childbirth, and in Pennsylvania, where aid may be given for an unborn child if the mother has other children which entitle her to assistance under the act.

West Virginia, with a thirteen-year age limit, is the only state in which the age is lower than the usual age for legal employment. It is very encouraging to note that in more than half the states the age to which aid may be granted coincides with or is greater than the usual compulsory education age, and that employment of children of permit age is not made necessary by the law, though it may be the practice because of inadequate appropriations.

Administrative agency.—Differences in the type of administrative agencies are largely traceable to fundamental differences in state and local governments in the various sections of the country. In the Middle West the beginnings of mothers' pensions were made in the juvenile courts—the public agency that appeared to be best equipped to handle the work through its staff experienced in social investigation and supervision. Throughout the Middle West and the West, with few exceptions, the administrative agency is the juvenile court or the county, district, common plea, or other court with similar jurisdiction—there are in all nineteen states in which the administration is lodged in a court. In eleven states the county, town, or municipal board giving poor relief administers also the aid to mothers of dependent children. Specially created boards for the sole purpose of mothers' aid administration are found in three states; the direct administration is lodged in an already existing state board in four states; in only two states, New Hampshire and Florida, is the administration under the school authorities.

State supervision.—In Massachusetts a special division of the Department of Public Welfare investigates all cases reported by the town overseers of the poor and, if the case is approved, authorizes a refund to the town of one-third of the expenditure for relief for each family; general supervision is exercised over

the administration by the overseers of the poor. In Maine a division of the state Board of Charities and Correction is charged with supervision of the administration by local overseers of the poor or special municipal boards. In both states there are special agents and assistants to investigate and supervise the work of the local boards and to determine the state refunds in settled cases; in cases not having settlement the state pays the entire amount. Connecticut has an agent in the office of the state treasurer, known as the state agent, who with a staff investigates recommendations of local agents, approves or disapproves grants, receives reports from the local agents who supervise the families, and reinvestigates from time to time.

Altogether, there is some form of state supervision in seventeen states. Pennsylvania has purely advisory authority vested in a state supervisor, previously under the state Board of Education, but this year placed under the newly created Department of Public Welfare. The other states provide for general supervision by state boards of charity or boards of control or require annual reports to the state board or to the governor.

An important factor in the supervisory power of the state over the local administration of aid to dependent children is appropriation by the state to supplement local funds.

Study of the situation in states providing for some form of effective supervision or authority by a central state body, as compared with the results where each locality acts as an independent unit, proves the desirability of having some authority vested in the state, either educational and advisory in scope, or having power to control the situation more concretely. The leverage value of state subsidy appears to have been appreciable, both as an incentive to local effort and because of the control of standards of relief made possible. This form of encouragement is undoubtedly of greater importance in rural sections than in large cities, where standards of social work are well recognized.

Expenditures and grants.—From such computations as can be made on the basis of available figures for a number of states and cities, we find that the children receiving allowances represent from 0.1 per cent to 1.9 per cent of the total population under fifteen years of age—almost twenty times the frequency in one locality that is found in another. We cannot believe that this is caused entirely by varying degrees of need in the different localities; more probably it is an indication either of inadequate provision or, it may be hoped, that the need is being met in other ways.

The amounts expended per capita on the basis of the state population shows similar variation. There was a considerably higher rate of expenditure in large cities than in the states in which they are located. Does not this indicate a higher degree of recognition of the problem by the administrative agencies in the cities, as well as the admitted probability that there are in large cities presumably more cases of need and fewer natural resources?

In all but four states the law specifies a maximum allowance. Colorado and Massachusetts provide that the amounts must be sufficient to care properly for the child at home; in New York the amount must not exceed the cost of caring for the child in an institution; Maine leaves the amount to be determined by the state and county boards. Maximum allowances for families are specified in thirteen states, and range from \$25 to \$60 a family.

Figuring the maximum legal allowance on the basis of three children, the range is from \$19 to \$68 a month for each family of three children. In actual practice in granting aid, there is often a great variance between the amount permitted by law and the amount allowed, according to the inclination of the administrative agency and to the total appropriation available, the inadequacy of which frequently makes retrenchment necessary. From one state we receive the information that the maximum is almost always granted, because even this is insufficient to provide for the families' needs; from another state we have the word that the maximum is never allowed.

In an encouraging number of localities the aid to be given each family is determined on the basis of scientifically estimated budgets. This means a preliminary thorough knowledge of the family's resources and needs, especially the requirements for the physical upbuilding and safeguarding of the children. It means also continued watchfulness over the family's welfare and a revision of the aid granted, whenever circumstances change. Comparing the maximum allowances that may be granted families of three children with the totals of eight "standard budgets," we find that the majority of states which set a limit on grants allow only about half the amount recommended by these standards. Under such conditions the alternatives are supplementary aid from other sources, employment of the mothers, or inadequate standards of living.

For six states and seven large cities in other states it was possible to obtain the proportion of the total population under fifteen years of age receiving aid under mothers' pension systems. In this area, embracing a total child population of six and a half millions, or more than one-fifth the child population of the country 66 children in every 10,000 received such aid. If mothers' pensions were available in the entire country to the extent that they were used in these states and cities, approximately 200,000 children would be receiving aid, and the annual expenditure might be estimated at not less than \$20,000,000—certainly a figure sufficiently large to impress upon us the necessity for wise administration which will insure the greatest possible return in terms of future citizenship.

DISCUSSION

C. C. Carstens, Director, Child Welfare League of America, New York

The legislation which was put on the statute books of forty states dealing with widows' or mother pensions marked an era in the history of public relief giving to families in the United States. Up to that time public relief had been given in frequency and amount for almost no other purpose than to provide for the survival of the family. There doubtless were exceptions, but they were not numerous enough so that they expressed any general policy in the giving of relief. When the granting of mothers' pensions became common and popular, in many of the states or in districts of certain states the granting of this aid was intended to meet the needs of the budget. This implied that a study of budgets should be made; that the mother should not be expected to absent herself from her family any more than seemed wise for the benefit of her children and her household; and that a sum should be furnished from the proceeds of public taxation to cover the difference. In theory this is clearly an established policy in the United States, but in practice it lacks a great deal, for in at least twenty of the forty states very serious administrative difficulties interfere with the success of the respective statutes, and in many of the states the money is spent without any commensurate return, because the mother is expected to earn a very large share of her budget and much more than it is best that she should earn in view of her own needs and those of her children.

These weaknesses are unfortunate from another standpoint. Regular public aid in instances other than widows' families has been effected for good by mothers' pension legislation. If now the community

gradually allows the standards of mothers' pensions to slip down to a wholly inadequate basis, the impetus for more scrutinized and more adequate care in all public relief is largely lost.

Social workers as a whole have now accepted the principle of public aid to mothers. It is equally important that we should stand for its remaining or becoming adequate to meet genuine family needs.

Amy D. Steinhart, Chief Children's Agent, California State Board of Control, Sacramento

There must be an earnest and concerted effort toward the establishment of such norms of operation and administration as shall make of the system of state aid to mothers not merely a plan for the giving of relief or haphazard maintenance but one which shall recognize it as the legitimate and logical deterrent to the delinquency or dependency which are the inevitable accompaniment of the broken home and the home maintained at a level of poverty which carries with it the hazards of undernourishment and neglect. To attain this level certain factors suggest themselves which seem necessary to its achievement: first, state supervision or control; second, organized local administration; third, adequacy of income; fourth, generous legal requirements; fifth, a method of research and statistical compilation that shall strike at the fundamental causes of dependency and shall be the guide posts for advanced legislation.

The necessity for state supervision will doubtless ultimately be as universally recognized as is that for state supervision of public instruction. The advisability for one seems as great as for the other. Similar weaknesses are found to manifest themselves where such supervision is lacking; that is, inequalities of distribution, unevenness of standards, a reluctance on the part of parents to accept freely of the benefits to which they are eligible. Among social workers there is a consciousness of all these hazards and a recognition of the wisdom of centralized advice and administration.

The problem of local organization is one that in too many instances depends on community traditions rather than on the actual need of the locality. After all, much of the vitality and effectiveness of the aid law depends on this adjunct to state supervision. There seem to be two tendencies that are frequent subjects of controversy and yet both of which seem to have enthusiastic proponents and opponents. One is the practice on the part of counties of instituting a court procedure in order to establish dependency, and the other is the employment for the execution of their work of persons of insufficient experience. No person without practical experience and the benefits that come from the handling for years of family problems ought to assume the grave responsibility of setting standards of existence nor of determining for others what may or may not be an adequate allowance. To reduce to a scientific basis standards of living there must first be an analysis of food costs and a determination of a minimum requirement.

The method of making grants on a budget basis cannot but be a bulwark of strength to the case worker. A case diagnosis without this safeguard is built on an unstable foundation. However, with the basic structure laid in figures that have been practically tested, the problem of building the superstructure is not so difficult. The goal of adequacy of income in all families who are dependent on public funds must be at some time attained—for a family only half fed and improperly housed is merely completing a circle and building a hierarchy of dependents, many of them unwillingly so but none the less the victims of all the ills of insufficient income. Where state and county allowances are made on a per capita basis, the mother who has borne a large family frequently receives her reward in an aggregate sum that nearly approaches her need, but where a family is small in number and the allowance as it is in California is not on a scale graduated according to the size of the household, the woman with but one, two, or three children and receiving only forty or sixty dollars is forced to find outside means of adding to her income, no matter what her health or previous training may be. Thus a scale of allowance proportioned to the size of families, and with the knowledge that the overhead does not greatly vary as the number in the home increases, seems a sound approach to the solution of need.

Among states there might well be formulated an agreement which shall become a part of the aid statute and which shall safeguard states from an unwarranted influx of dependents and at the same time safeguard dependents from the months of deprivation which may precede the establishment of a legal residence. What is needed most here is a plan to which all states will conform and which will pledge them to the return to their communities of such needy persons as rightfully belong to them. A few states have written into their laws qualifications as to property and cash. Others undoubtedly have made rulings under which a conclusion is reached as to the eligibility to aid of a client. The problem resolves itself into a determination as to what is a public function in a process of child care. Shall only the totally dependent be regarded as coming within the jurisdiction of the state's support? Since the granting of aid to children has come to be considered as an investment to the commonwealth which shall pay a dividend in good citizenship there is reason to believe that the family which has made at least a moderate provision against destitution shall not be penalized for its foresight. It is conceivable that there are limits which

even a liberally inclined state may not exceed, but in the economic gain to the community by an adequately nourished child as against the child who has no resistance to illness, surely the factor of property holdings shall be liberally construed. A two years' operation of a ruling in California that the state's benefits might not be extended to the owner of property assessed at \$1,000 left a loophole for family deterioration that was ominous. A ruling now in effect that property assessed at \$2,500 shall not disbar the granting of aid has not to an alarming degree increased the claims on the aid fund but has given an assurance that artisans' children whose first claim on public assistance is caused by the death of the bread-winner, are not being punished by this unexpected dependency. In this manner have we more nearly than any other approached a mothers' pension. We cannot feel, however, that this term can with any degree of reliability be applied to any existing law. Whether in the ultimate children's charter such a system shall be enacted, or whether a contributory plan shall prevail, only the final calculations of costs and conditions can solve. But the importance of a compilation and above all a scientifically enunciated compilation cannot be overestimated. When California in 1914 learned that 27 per cent of the deaths of fathers of dependent children was caused by tuberculosis immediate and aggressive preventive measures were instituted. When it came to light that 18 per cent of deaths was caused by industrial accidents the establishment of a compulsory workmen's compensation seemed thoroughly justified. Only carefully devised figures and statistics can prove what is the bearing on child destitution on any or all of the following: conditions and regularity of employment; individual and community health conditions; educational facilities and opportunities for vocational training. While at no time shall a child because of poverty or dependency be subject to the slightest exploitation, yet a plan has not justified its continuance that does not in its final achievement aim to modify poverty and ultimately to apply to its fundamental causes such remedial measures as can more nearly decimate them; and without research these cannot be gauged. We must not look upon public aid to children as a cure for all the ills that beset childhood. Although children who secure aid are not thereby immunized from delinquency nor malnutrition and illness, at least they have had an opportunity for a normal plan of living, a plan which requires regularity of school attendance, in which there are available the services of medical and psychological experts and, I must not omit, the full time service of the mother. This household may with these benefits fulfil ambitions which without aid seemed unrealizable. Its improvement may react advantageously on an entire neighborhood and on all childhood, but in any instance it should have been offered the birthright of each of its children, that of a normal community opportunity.

CASE RECORDS IN FAMILY AGENCIES

A. IDENTIFYING CLUE-ASPECTS IN SOCIAL CASE WORK

Mrs. Ada E. Sheffield, Director, Bureau of Illegitimacy, Boston

The hope voiced from time to time among social workers that their vocation holds promise of attaining the dignity of a profession rests upon a growing sense that their social problems invite an analysis that relates them to fields of established science, such as biology, psychology, anthropology, and have an importance and difficulty that will challenge the best minds. In case work, or work with individuals, these problems are becoming defined as an integral part of what may prove to be a developing science of the socialized personality, that is, of personality conceived as a center of interpenetrating social forces.

The possibility of gradually building up such a science systematically and of applying it practically in the complex associational life of the modern world is receiving recognition from one after another important spokesman in related fields.

As practical workers we shall ask first whether the pioneers in this field have really sketched out a trustworthy conception and rationale of their task. In answer we find at least the foreshadowing of an agreed rationale of analysis in dealing with personality. The analysis falls naturally into two main divisions: first, the individual's biological endowment and, second, the relationships which show the interplay between this native endowment and his social milieu in its various groupings.

The first of these two divisions is self-explanatory, and would probably be accepted without question. The second division, the one analyzing the specifically social facts, calls for explanation.

The proposal that these social facts should be analyzed in terms of relational groupings is based on a new conception of personality. Personalities are highly composite entities, each being a constellation of more or less developed sentiments integrated into an organic system. And since the sentiments are all threaded upon relationships between the self and enviroing selves, institutions, and ideas, the personality is a web-like creation of a self interacting with other selves. As this idea gains ground we shall talk less of the individual as a solid and self-contained unit, moving and acting in an environment of other solid and self-contained units, all mutually distinct and external. We shall talk more of defining relationships, of motivations among lives that interpenetrate. If this is true, then what we ordinarily think of as the personality of a client appears and is developed in the interplay of character forces between himself and others first in one and then in another of the various groups of people which help to create and enrich his social life, each relationship giving scope and stimulus to some special aspect of his nature.

It is within these various groupings that a man's values in life take shape. The things he prizes, his guiding sentiments of love, of family dignity, of ambition, of religion, of friendship, of citizenship, sentiments which "integrate" and give purpose to his life, are all formed by the joint activity of his mind with other minds, organized into circles that conserve and reinforce those values.

The relationships radiating from the self may reach to any of three distinct levels of interest: the level of other persons, the level of institutions, and the level of ideas. Within each field of relationship—that of sex, of occupation, of recreation, etc.—the level actually spanned by the web of sentiment depends on the vividness with which the personality has realized the potential values in that field. In two respects social case workers have a unique opportunity to further the application of psychological research to social science. First, their efforts to rehabilitate persons who for one reason or another are out of adjustment with their surroundings bring them into an intimate knowledge of the trials and struggles of these persons with their families, their work, their companions, extending over a considerable period of time—over months or even years. Second, the difficulties or maladjustments in the lives of clients are difficulties which in lesser degree are universal. They are merely conspicuous or exaggerated instances of failure in personal adaptation or in social machinery which are the same in kind as those which we all experience. As Mr. Wallas puts it, they may be thought of as society's analysis of its maladaptations.

Analysis must begin with our case-recording, and our histories must be written, our thinking must be done analytically instead of as at present in storiette sequence. What we are concerned with is not a story, but a problem which must be factored out before it can be solved. The categories of analysis I propose are the familiar ones of family, occupation, recreation, and so on, which have guided case workers in their investigation for many years. The new step would be, first, that workers should train themselves to think of the relationships, the interactions between client and milieu, as the important things, and, second, that they should dictate their material—keeping the chronological interview intact if desired—with these relational categories in mind. It means a somewhat different way of thinking about case histories and

will at first take more time on the part of older workers. To compensate for this it holds promise, because of the sharper thinking that it induces, of more practical help to clients and of a steadily advancing professional insight.

As an illustration of the sort of analysis which I have in mind let me discuss the family relationships in the cases of three unmarried mothers, drawing comparisons on the social training which each girl received in her home and which laid the foundation of her social nature and her ideals. By social training in this connection I mean her education in sensitivity to public opinion—in the nature of society's approvals and disapprovals and also in the way in which she should expect to see approval and disapproval expressed. It is to be remembered that the family is not a single relationship, but a field of relations corresponding to its network of sentiments. There is the relation between the parents, between parents and children, among the children themselves to all of which the advent of grandchildren will add a new set. Any one member of a family may be thought of in several relations, each involving its appropriate sentiment. The father is provider, protector, mirror of public opinion, to his children; the mother is housekeeper and priestess of the home; the children are family pets, future bread-winners, budding citizens, etc. By exemplifying all these rôles the persons in a family sustain between them the distinctive sentiments in the family field; and, since these sentiments are motivating forces for all concerned, we have reason to expect that in a family where a daughter has been unchaste something impaired or abortive will be found among the family relationships. Whatever shall appear among the data in the case to affect the functioning of sentiments that sway the girl's social thinking will be a clue of the scientific sort that we hope to see recognized in our future social work. Our observation, that is, will here aim to identify *clue-aspects* in the state of the girl's self-family relations.

All three of the unmarried mothers here considered were healthy girls; two of them were normal in intelligence, while one was perhaps slightly subnormal. The fathers of all three were of the grade of small proprietors. One of them owned his own fishing-craft, the other two their farms. All three were industrially stable and all the families had lived a number of years each in a detached house. The neighborhoods in which they lived might be described as being one rural, one semi-rural (within city limits but in farming country) and one outskirts (a part of the city just beyond the more thickly populated center). In all three instances both mother and child ended by becoming happily absorbed into the community. At this point the resemblances that concern our study end. In their family relations the three daughters had three distinct types of handicap that were contributory to their social lapse.

In the first family the facts bearing on our comparison were as follows: the father, although a sober man, was habitually ugly and abusive at home, giving rein to a violent temper and beating the children severely. They were much afraid of him, as was also his wife. For example, when the latter learned of her daughter's pregnancy, she appeared indifferent except to the possibility of her husband's finding it out. Overworked, with numerous children, the wife kept an untidy home and made no attempt to cope with her husband or to control her boys and girls. The latter quarreled among themselves. The girl in question said that her father was sometimes kind to the others, never to her, and she therefore avoided him at all times. She can recall no show of affection from either parent during her whole childhood—

a fairly reliable indication that the parents did not get joy out of their children. In such a family group the father, who should have exemplified to his children the approvals and disapprovals which they would meet in social groupings other than the family, failed in his function as a representative to them of the community. Parental anger had no significance because it was incalculable, immoderate, prompted not by sentiments but by nerves. Missing on the one hand the intimations of a fostering parental concern and on the other the incipient signs of demurring, the children developed no fineness of response. They might be described as socially hard of hearing. In this connection it may not be fanciful to point out that when it came to the girl's love affairs, her sex impulses showed themselves with as little subtlety as had her father's anger. Her flirtations might be described as crass. What else could be expected of a young person who had never been initiated into that common social language of quiet looks, gestures, intonations, through which most of us learn to sense the feelings of others, and to express our own various shades of approval and disapproval? The social worker who knows this girl well speaks of her as being markedly "obtuse to public opinion." In the home of a foster mother she would hang around listening to conversations that did not concern her, and could not seem to take in the fact that she was not wanted. She was entirely untroubled and unashamed at the prospect of bearing a child out of wedlock and for a long time could not seem to grasp the fact that her standing with such a child was any different from that of a married woman. It is of interest to record that her marriage to a respectable man who knows nothing of her lapses is apparently sensitizing her social perceptions and awakening in her sentiment of family integrity. She is now anxious to keep her past concealed.

The facts in this girl's family situation disclose two distinct aspects of the parental-filial web that are important as clues not only to her case but to others in which they are likely to recur. They are, first, the socially irrelevant anger and, second, the deficient parental joy. Each of these represents an impairing of the function of a sentiment which contributes to right living.

In the second family the mother, a handsome, vigorous woman, was probably unfaithful to the father at one period; the sister's marriage was belated; two brothers have been pilferers. They do wrong, but they all apparently rebound; the mother and sister are leading unimpeachable lives, the brothers seem to be going perfectly straight. In their life at home this family enjoy each other. Every Sunday the married daughter, her husband, and children come to spend the afternoon with her parents—all of them, parents, brothers, and sisters, sitting together for talk. The mother is devoted to her illegitimate grandchild, as is also her husband; she gives it the best of care and passes it for her own.

The daughter in question "fell" easily. Although previously chaste and, as was said, fully instructed in sex matters by her mother, her intimacy with the father of her child began on slight acquaintance. At no time does there seem to have been the least sentiment between them, or even a liking that could be called strongly personal. Nor had the man suggested marriage. When asked why she did this thing, the girl answered that she did it "to please him." The social worker who first talked with her said her head seemed filled with the idea of being the central figure in the marriage ceremony. Neither she nor her family took her situation hard. On the contrary, they appeared highly cheerful at the prospect of being able to force marriage upon the man. When later it became evident that he would not be a good provider, they

turned against the marriage. Their one concern was to keep the incident concealed from neighbors.

These facts, together with the sister's belated marriage and the mother's probable lapse from fidelity, indicate this family's attitude towards marriage. They apparently looked upon a husband as a supporting male—a good enough notion so far as it goes, but, taken by itself, a notion on the infra-personal level. Their cheerfulness over the prospect of a marriage brought about under what would ordinarily be considered unpropitious and humiliating conditions suggests that in their minds sex-gratification was a sufficient guaranty of happiness. Their idea of sex attraction was what Wilfred Lay would call an immature or disintegrated conception, since it included neither affection nor companionship and therefore did not rise to the sentiment of love. As a correlative to this family lack in sex sentiment was the mother's apparent lack of respect for marriage as an institution. She fell short in her function as priestess of the home.

In this illustration family life, admirable on the personal level, is accompanied by an unsocialized attitude towards marriage which was apparently a factor in the daughter's uncontrol. The two outstanding aspects in her family situation were, first, that her mother failed as a steadying symbol of wedlock to the girl's inchoate sex-promptings, and, second, that the very congeniality of the whole family group made them self-sufficient and inattentive to outside opinion. These aspects may be conveniently termed maternal symbol of wedlock and self-sufficient family group.

The third family, respectable elderly people, fond of each other, not only took the greatest joy in their daughter but gave her religious instruction and all the educational opportunities their means would allow. The girl was of a pliant, affectionate disposition and fully returned their devotion, spending most of her time out of school or working hours at home. This she did in spite of being very popular among the church people and neighborhood. The community contained few young people, and the two or three young men in town the girl knew but slightly. When she became pregnant the only men whose names were suggested as possibly responsible were several old friends of the parents, in age two to three times that of the girl. Although one of these men had paid her considerable attention the mother said he could not possibly be responsible because she herself had always been present when he called. The two had never been alone. She remarked when expressing her grief over her daughter that she had hoped no one would ever want to marry the girl because she wanted to keep her for herself. The responsible man was married. It was an instance of long-standing familiar affection developing into something more.

In this case the daughter was apparently thought of as a household pet and hand-maid rather than as a person who was to assume adult responsibilities. Her social nature was sensitized to a quickness of sympathy and readiness in helping others that made her everywhere beloved—and then her parents wished to limit her in the field of family relationship to the filial sentiment alone. The girl's balked impulses took their one opportunity towards widening her range of family sentiments.

The phrase which I suggest as giving a clue-aspect of the sentiment here revealed is affectional parental monopoly.

In judging the validity of these analyses, my readers will bear in mind that these histories were not written nor were the facts observed with any intensive study in view. Moreover, the social vocabulary used by case workers is so far from uniform,

in the use of descriptive adjectives, that in spite of careful checking up I will have received mistaken impressions. In fact, any advance in the scientific of case work is conditioned upon a refining of our descriptive vocabulary. With this in mind that I am attempting to supply such interpretative terms as efficient family life, affectionate parental monopoly, etc., to identify clue-aspects of relationship. As one case history follows another, all analyzed on the same plan, these terms will begin to take on an explicitness of meaning which at first they lack. Meanwhile even the vague terms with which we begin will have the effect of leading workers to observe with more discrimination and to note more the significant indications of interplay between endowment and milieu. Such misused terms as socially irrelevant anger, affectionate parental monopoly, do at least supply a worker with a set of expectations as to the possibilities within the situation. And she will work with the inspiring conviction that she is testing her hypotheses by ideas destined to count in a science of society.

B. METHODS OF ASSEMBLING MATERIAL

Marie S. Bedford, Assistant General Secretary, Associated Charities, Minneapolis

The difficulty of sorting out important information from a mass of unrelated facts is not a new one. Experiments have been made along two lines, one in keeping essential items out of the record, the other in gathering into usable form information scattered through pages of rambling history. The former method makes a poor appeal, as being more scientific and more economical of time and effort, but is beset by greater dangers.

In some societies for child care this end has been attained by waiting until the completion of the investigation, or of each phase of treatment before recording it. Another method of securing the same results is by lengthening the intervals between reports. Either method calls for the use of notes and a daybook for the intervening period, lest there be gaps in the record and slips in treatment. Others have experimented with divided records, one for material of permanent value, the other for temporary jottings. Until we shall have perfected a better technique or until we keep our visitors longer in training, most of our efforts must be devoted to the line experimentation, namely that of making available the information now buried in our bulky records, and so assuring the visitor a working knowledge of it when she makes her first visit to the family.

At present we have two lines of experimentation: special sheets and summaries.

The former, Mrs. Sheffield in *The Social Case History* suggests two, budget and medical sheets. The former we have found an exceedingly useful addition to our records. Its chief value has been as an aid to the visitor's own thinking. It helps up to set them down in black and white.

The special sheet with which we have been experimenting in a small way is a "children's sheet." A study of a number of records revealed an appalling paucity of information regarding the children in the family. And what information there was so scattered as to be practically useless. To meet this need we tried out, first, a diagnostic summary of each child, then a "children's sheet" on which to set down any item which the visitor needed to watch, with space for noting the progress of it.

Another special sheet, now an accepted part of our records is the "relative sheet." Here is summarized the record of any relative known to the Associated Charities or to some kindred organization. Such records often give exceedingly valuable information which helps materially in working out plans of treatment, and it is convenient to have these facts readily available. This is especially true when there is some mental or moral defect or when the group of related families is a large one. In some instances genetic charts have been made, and copies of them attached to the records.

The forms and uses of summaries are so many and so varied that it is hardly possible to do more than mention here those which we have found most valuable. A suggested variation of Miss Richmond's diagnostic summary is a "diagnostic and prognostic" summary, which gives a forward, as well as a backward, look. Too often our records give us only the liabilities of our clients. Their assets may be known to the visitor, but are not usually set down unless there is some definite plan for recording them. This is provided by the "diagnostic and prognostic" summary. Here are listed both the assets and the liabilities of each member of the family, in health, education, employment, recreation, and religion, and in its aims and ideals, and for each also a statement as to what the visitor thinks are the possibilities of developing the assets and lessening the liabilities. If made at regular intervals, say in the spring and fall, such prognostic summaries would give us a means of measuring our progress and so determining whether or not it was commensurate with the effort expended.

Summaries with somewhat the same idea, but less elaborate, were made last fall for a special study of co-operation undertaken by the Minneapolis Council of Social Agencies. In addition to facts regarding co-operation, there were listed the family's problems, and the finished and unfinished plans for their treatment.

Another form of summary frequently used is the one made for some special purpose. Recently "health summaries" were made of a number of incapacitated men, when the diagnosis and treatment of their ills had been particularly unsatisfactory. The record was carefully searched for all statements as to the man's health. These were arranged chronologically, and another summary made of all reports from doctors or dispensaries. This latter corresponds to the medical sheet suggested by Mrs. Sheffield. Such a detailed health summary was found especially valuable in case of a mental twist.

More elaborate summaries have been based on the questionnaires of *Social Diagnosis*. At one time a group of desertion cases was so studied, at another certain immigrant families. A sample of the latter was published recently in *The Family* as "A Bohemian Background." We have tried to make at least one such study of each of the immigrant groups with which we deal, assembling thus material which would help in understanding other families of the same group. Equally elaborate have been the psychiatric histories, made under the direction of a mental hygiene worker of certain clients presenting definite mental problems. Occasionally we have a client who is unusually resourceful in prevarication, and whose stories are consequently quite confusing. By means of summaries we have compared the various versions, point by point, for aid in further investigation and in treatment. Such a summary must be carefully annotated by reference to the record for further details as to the circumstances under which the stories were told.

All of these devices for assembling the material buried in our records call for time and thought—more perhaps than would be required to sort out the relevant

matter in the first place by some such method as the divided record. But under present conditions it seems a safer method. We shall always have the original record for further study.

One other method of assembling material, too often overlooked, is from the records of other agencies. Our standards of record-keeping are many and diverse, yet there is scarcely any record so meager that it may not add something to our stock of knowledge about a family and so help us to a better understanding. Illustrating this was the work done by a group of students in collecting and combining information regarding families known to a number of agencies in order that plans might be worked out on the basis of this fuller knowledge. Further evidence of its need came in the case studies, before mentioned, made by the Council of Social Agencies. When we saw before us in parallel columns the information about a family on which each agency had based its plan, we realized, as never before, how often those plans went askew for lack of knowledge which another agency possessed. Is it too much to hope that some day our work may be so correlated that such pooling of information will become routine matter? That a family's problems may be treated as a whole, through concerted effort, rather than piecemeal and at cross-purposes? If so, we shall need to perfect our machinery for preserving that information in accessible form both for our own use and for that of others.

With rising standards of case work and with a widening field for our efforts, our records are sure to grow more and more bulky. Care in writing will eliminate much in verbosity, repetition, negative entries, or "behold-me-busy" details, but whether we seek to condense them further or to summarize their contents, we must accept the fact that more time would be needed for the process. Nor can we console ourselves with the thought that it will save time in the end. It will not, but it will insure us better case work and that, after all, is the main purpose of our records.

C. OUTLINE OF THE FIRST INTERVIEW

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The aim of this paper is to demonstrate that three processes advisably precede the initial interview: first, the careful scrutiny of the source of the application to determine the nature of the need, the connection of the source with the client, and the motive of the reference; second, the exhaustive review of all existing literature concerning the client as contained in case records and public documents; third, the recognition that an initial interview may be indicated with a family long known to the agency receiving the report; but at present in the status of an old, or closed, or lapsed, or dismissed case.

The principles as regards the "Source" in his relation to the society to whom he is referring an individual for assistance are: first, he shall show his good faith by giving his name and connection with the prospective client, in other words he shall not seek to remain anonymous; second, he shall consent that his interest be revealed to the prospective client and never request that the society act under cover. Insistence on learning the nature of the "Source's" contact with the client is valuable. Discovering these relationships at the moment of contact with the "Source" prevents unnecessary complications.

Further instances arise in which the client is relayed through more than one individual to the society. Intermediaries should be ascertained at the time the report is received, not left to be discovered after difficulties have piled up.

Thus in general the interest of the "Source" in the destitute person, the nature of his contact with the client or the intermediary should be learned from the "Source" at the time when he is asking something, and the society has made no more and therefore assumed no responsibility.

Such requests as, "Please visit Mrs. Amaralo but do not let her know I sent you," are occasionally received. Right here is a place to stop and explain that social case workers are professional people, performing delicate tasks the basis of which must be frankness and full understanding. If the interest of the "Source" is genuine he will usually consent that his name be used. Conversely what assurance has the "Source" that the client wishes the ministrations of the society? Isn't it wiser that he consult the potential client and secure his consent to a visit? There is an immorality in bandying people around without their consent; they have some rights in determining what steps are to be taken in their behalf; an application of the principle "by and with the consent of the governed" would clear up such situations; and the result is the worker's visit to the client as the expected emissary instead of as an unexplained and unexplainable intruder. Of course here as in all statements concerning human relationships there are exceptions.

Then there are the host of requests for visits in which the "Source" wishes the society to act in the dark. One agency writes, "Please visit Mrs. Wilson and ascertain her financial and social footing, as an attorney in our town has received a letter from her." It is justifiable to reply that we are unwilling to act without knowing the purpose of our action. "Will you kindly write us the nature of the inquiry and the name of the attorney?" On receipt of this information a visit reveals Mrs. Wilson as merely a blind used by the collection department of a mail order house, and the inquiry to the attorney an effort to locate a defaulting customer.

Agencies too make mistakes in referring. A correctional agency refers a family known to them through a complaint of child neglect, stating, "We have called three times but found no one at home. We know there is destitution there; will you please call?" A school principal asks that some ductless gland extract may be supplied for the treatment of a child in the subnormal room. Her interest is encouraged, but her request is sent to the proper medical agency.

The majority of references by other agencies are proper charges upon a case-working agency. Detecting the minority which are not properly referred is dependent upon a minute knowledge of the functions, possibilities, and limitations of other agencies.

Effort on the part of anyone to refer a client anonymously should be vigorously challenged. This is possible if the method is personal or by telephone. The society should refuse to accept the responsibility. If, however, an anonymous letter is received there seems no recourse but to visit, advising the client of the anonymous nature of the report and retreating as gracefully as possible if the client so advises.

After accepting a report of an individual in need of some social service, there still seems to remain the necessity "to survey the subject of investigation to discover whether someone else has not already gathered the necessary data." To fail to do this is to ignore a decade's growth of social agencies, technique in social work, and the development of the confidential exchange.

Unless social workers are to continue "flying around in futile motion," as Mr. McLean has said, a technique as a preliminary to the initial interview is necessary. The confidential exchange contains the bibliography in case work analogous to that in the field of science.

Theoretically, every social worker uses the confidential exchange. Practically, many use it only partially and intermittently, some so negligibly as to amount to disuse, and none to capacity. "Desire doth outrun accomplishment" sadly in this regard. The reasons for this are in no way unadmirable; the personality of the urging human being obscures for the case worker his theory and technique. The appealing personality also arouses in the case worker a desire amounting almost to jealousy to be the one to solve the client's troubles. To consult the confidential exchange is to imply a doubt of the client's pristine need, is to relinquish this feeling of sole responsibility.

Trite as it may sound, the preliminary to an initial interview is ascertaining which other agencies, if any, have known the client and in consulting them. Occasionally preliminary information gained permits consultation with public documents before the initial interview. Ownership of property, compensation secured, court records of divorce or separate maintenance, or criminal prosecution, any or all, if consulted before initial contact with the family, preclude misunderstandings or vagaries and sometimes protect the clients from the temptation to deceive. With this preliminary work accomplished the case worker approaches the home of the client with calmness for a first interview. He is free from any harassing sense of insecurity, due to the request of secrecy or evasiveness. He also possesses a knowledge of the client's background gleaned from other agencies or the equally valuable information that the client is unknown to other agencies.

The first interview is usually assumed to mean the first interview the representative of this case working agency has with this client. For the purposes of this discussion I place a new interpretation upon the first interview and describe it as the first interview this particular case worker has had with this client, although a record of former contact by the agency exists.

One large city agency reports 33 per cent of its cases last year as new, the remainder as formerly known to the agency. This fact, together with the high turn-over, means that the case worker's time to a significant extent must be spent reading these "old case records."

Typical of this class is the Calder case: the juvenile court reported that Mrs. Calder had asked for relief, that her three children were in an institution, that she wished to re-establish her home, and that in their judgment she should be aided; that no mother should be denied her children because of poverty. It was true she had illegitimate children, but she had now reformed. Miss Benson of the case working agency, who had formerly known Mrs. Calder, settled at her desk with the case record. Its earliest date was December 29, 1914. It comprised 34 sheets of closely typed pages, approximately 10,200 words, with 154 letters sent and received. It recorded contact with Mrs. Calder some time during every year for seven years. It also had a face card showing data concerning the family and a record of expenditures for family of \$269.85.

Miss Benson's heart sank before its bulk, but she reflected that some old cases have two, three and even four volumes. The family had left town eight months previously, and no worker in the office had a personal present acquaintance with it.

She concentrated upon her task to discover what revealing matter of Mrs. Calder's character and possibilities as a mother and homemaker were contained therein. She waded through hopeless pages of recitals of trivial matters, even found, carefully recorded in 1915, "Telephoned Board of Health, line busy, will call again." She read of the family's recurrent request for aid and of assistance given; of Mrs. Calder's recitals of her illness; of the death of Mr. Calder, struck by a wagon; of the children's illnesses, whooping cough, scarlet fever, meningitis; of the death of two children in quick succession; of how in 1919 Mrs. Calder's married daughter invited her to come and live with her in Whitefield, and how in October, 1920, Mrs. Calder accepted the invitation after the Industrial Commission had dismissed the claim for damages for her husband's death on the ground that he was a casual laborer. Then, events moved more rapidly; the society in Whitefield wrote they were returning her and instantly she was there.

Miss Benson mused over her notes. What had she really learned of Mrs. Calder as a woman, and of her children? What verified facts were there in the record? What clues for future procedures? When assembled they were very limited. Essentially Miss Benson's first contact with Mrs. Calder proved to be an initial interview. The information she had gleaned from reading the record of her own society was merely part of the preliminary surveying of the field and in the same category as facts gleaned from the records of other societies.

As this is true of Mrs. Calder, so it obtains with an appreciable percentage of the "old cases" comprising 33 per cent of the year's work. Exactly what portion of that third of the work is in this group is problematical, but assuredly it is large enough to deserve serious consideration and special technique. It might be argued that had the work of previous years been well done, this initial interview would be unnecessary. Granting that the work was well done according to past standards, the continually rising standards will increasingly demand inauguration of new procedure. In this social work nothing is static—all is influx.

The burden of the recurrence of such "old cases" placed upon all societies is considerable. How to organize to meet it is an administration problem worthy of discussion elsewhere. Therefore it is demonstrated that before the initial interview there exists need of a pre-initial interview technique. This technique, developed through the exigencies of the complexity of social workers, of the multiplication of agencies, and the accumulation of data concerning individual families, is gradually taking form. Paradoxical as it may sound, in proportion as this technique is recognized and increasingly utilized will its need tend to disappear.

Chapin says of the scientific chemist that three-fourths of his time is spent reading the literature of his subject and one-fourth is spent in the laboratory. With the application of this pre-initial interview technique, an increasing proportion of the social case worker's time is spent in reading records and in consultation with other agencies and individuals, in telephoning and writing, and in quiet assembling and analyzing material. The familiar phrase "I will visit the family right away," except in the diminishing number of emergencies, is coming to be a danger signal of heedless, unplanned effort.

ANALYSIS OF PROCESSES IN THE RECORDS OF FAMILY CASE WORKING AGENCIES

via P. Robinson, Associate Director, Pennsylvania School for Social Work,
Philadelphia

order to limit this subject to something that may be presented at least in fifteen minutes I am arbitrarily going to discuss only the processes by which things done in treatment. It is in the treatment phase of its procedure that social case work is most distinctive in its methods and technique. Like any profession founded on scientific method social case work must move through three phases: observation and assembling of its facts; hypothetical interpretation of these facts and control of the facts for new ends. To differentiate social case treatment from technical sense from the more or less haphazard, unscientific, but kindly and very helpful "influencing," "guiding," "helping out" process which goes on between human beings associate it with a task in which case workers must make some use of a scientific method if case work is to take rank with the professions which are firmly founded on scientific method.

The first characteristic that distinguishes the work of the social case agency from the efforts of the friendly unprofessional kind is the fact that the social agencies record work done. To these records then we should turn for the processes by which adjustment is accomplished. In this search for process in records it is important to keep in mind clearly from the outset the distinction between processes which have a significance for treatment and those that have only a temporary value. Sheffield puts it in *The Social Case History*. The latter are details as to the technical process of getting things done and have no bearing on the real development of the case.

There are no set rules and no short cuts by which workers can be taught to distinguish between essential process and mere machinery. The ability to make a distinction in recording must grow out of the ability to penetrate to the fundamental problems in the case itself and to hold these clearly and vividly in mind throughout all the involved and often devious details of treatment. It requires constant vigilance and the clearest thinking to remember that the amount of time and effort consumed by the worker is not the criterion of the value of the detail or the bearing of the detail on the case problem.

Even though we find frequent remnants of machinery still clinging to our records, among well standardized agencies fairly general agreement and steady effort maintain it. As to the recording of the significant processes, on the other hand, there is much difference of opinion. It would be wise to try to classify some of these processes before we discuss how much notice should be given them in records. One classification which may be made for conveniences of this discussion is into those processes that have to do with altering the material environment in order to meet the client's needs and those that have to do with re-education of the client's point of view or habits or attitudes or the changing of the attitudes of other people towards the client. Actually the two groups of processes are closely related in every case, and the treatment falls down unless they are kept so interwoven, but in the matter of recording we can make a distinction. If we discuss any piece of case work with the client in reference to which side of the treatment was most important, that which

concerned itself with a re-education of attitudes and point of view or that which had to do with the securing of the material equipment for carrying out this re-education, she will say in almost every case that the re-education of the client or his associates was most fundamental. If there is any truth in this assumption that re-education of attitudes is the most important side of treatment, should we not expect to find the steps in this process as carefully brought out in the record as are the steps in the process of manipulating the environment.

I have been reading records with this definitely in mind for some time and have tried to get material from others who have been interested in looking for this sort of thing in records. In the records of family case working agencies I have found so few illustrations that one must conclude that these have slipped in by accident and that it is not the practice or the intention of the family agency to record any of the processes by which its work of re-education is brought about unless some manipulation of the material environment is made. The latter is recorded with scrupulous exactness. Is it that the processes of treatment are so clear cut and so well standardized as to be raised into the class of methods which need no description? Does it seem reasonable to believe that these varied processes are so generally accepted that there is no need to record them?

In the field of medicine, with a longer tradition and a wider experience than social work, there are certain commonly taught and accepted treatment processes for certain disease conditions. Case workers have as yet no common basis of knowledge or technique so that they can merely indicate a line of treatment in symbolic terms and expect that all case workers will understand by it what the worker was doing.

One very unusual illustration of recording of processes I should like to quote from the record of a family which a charity organization society has been supporting for several years through a series of illnesses of the man. The man is becoming more and more dependent on this support and more and more demanding. In July, 1910, the worker records an interview with him to the length of two pages and a half. First she lets him rehearse his whole life from the early care-free days before marriage, when he dressed as he pleased and had enough to spend for a good time besides, through the responsibilities of early married life, when children came rapidly and he had to sacrifice in order to pay doctor's bills. She lets him express his bitterness at his poverty and the things he has to go without to the full. And when some of this bitterness is out of his system she begins to come back in an effort to make him see himself in perspective. The interview should be given in full but there is time for only part of it.

Other people's children have good clothes; other people's wives dress up. Yet on the other hand Mr. B. has to confess that he himself is the dressiest member of the house. He is wearing this morning a silk shirt and a well tailored suit, silk stockings and a decent pair of shoes. He sees the humor in the situation but says he has not bought anything for himself since he has been ill. He "bought a bargain" when he got this suit, paying \$2.00 a yard for the material and \$14.00 for making the suit. Yet he sees that when he had any extra money at all it went into providing himself with a silk shirt and a good tailored suit and that his wife and children had no such supply to fall back on when their income ceased. He owns that he is selfish and yet his reaction is this: if visitor sees a dress that is better than her own, does she not immediately want to purchase something that is better looking herself? It is hard for him to see that there are many other things more worth while than appearance; that the satisfaction which visitor would get in living within her own income, no matter if she is more poorly dressed than some other people, is a satisfaction more real than knowing we have outdressed someone else; that after all the fun of making things meet is a real satisfaction; and that to make things meet one certainly must look ahead. It is

doubtful whether he sees, although he is frankly told, that one of the troubles with him is that he has grown to a man's responsibility with more or less of a boy's attitude. His reaction to this is a rather bitter feeling that there are so many people in the world that have money and that he has not. When he was well he worked hard from early morning to late at night; he loves his children and yet he hardly sees them; he gets home often so late that they are in bed, and yet work as hard as he can, he earns only enough for his simple maintenance, while other people roll about in automobiles and have much extra time; a working man ought to get more than just enough money to barely live on; it makes him "mad" that he has no brains to fight with people who have money; he has no education and they can do things to him and he never knows what it is, and if things continue in the future as they have in the past he will not have enough money to educate his children to be anything different. He expresses his attitude with a great deal of feeling. Visitor tries to make him see that this antagonistic spirit toward things as they are does not get us out of our difficulties. That he is mistaken about the fact that he does not have a brain and that he still can become a much better educated man and in this way he will be able to think out his problems to a more satisfactory solution. He then says he has gone to night school and if he remains in town he will go to night school in the fall, realizing that this is the way to accomplish things rather than waste his energy in bitter feelings.

One wonders why this sort of recording is so rare in family case working agencies. We are so meticulous about recording any understanding that has to do with financial arrangement or with definite material steps to be taken.

I have come across a marked difference in the practice of recording of these processes of re-education between some specialized agencies and that of the family agencies. I have not read by any means enough records to generalize on this difference but offer the contrast as far as it goes as interesting and possibly significant. The two specialized agencies whose records I have studied are handling individual behavior problems, one of children, one of older girls. Both series of records show a very consistent effort to record the process. An illustration from an agency for girls will show this method. The worker is trying to give a new start to a bright, happy-go-lucky, attractive child of sixteen, who has had a shocking sex experience in her own home.

The girl tells the worker she is going to New York with a boy. The worker says, "she could not hear of such a thing; would not have her do it for anything." Alice said she would come in next day and tell her all about it. Next day Alice came in and gave a long story about Frank and the hoped-for trip to New York. Said she "had no faith in the future and did not think there was anything in it for her. Had made up her mind that for all she had suffered in the past, life owed her something. She planned to take everything as it came along and not miss anything. Intended to go the limit and just stop on the side of safety. Craved any excitement and must have it."

Worker told her that we were afraid that if she took that tack she would not get very far with her education. Alice did not resent visitor's attitude and acknowledged that the visitor had no authority over her except what she herself chose to give her.

Next day Alice came in office again wanting to know what she ought to do and if visitor would be angry with her if she decided to go to New York after all. Told her we would not be angry, in fact that we would rather have her go if, after having thought it over, she still thought it was the thing to do, than to stay at home simply because we said so. Alice was highly delighted at this and suggested that she would like to have visitor meet Frank. Makes plans for bringing him to see visitor and for getting a new hat. The visitor shows no disapproval though she still continues to feel strongly that the trip is unwise.

As I said before, I have read too few records to know whether this type of recording is peculiar to these two agencies and these few workers or whether it is characteristic of records dealing with specialized individual problems. We will agree, I think, that all case work is still in a very personal stage of development. The factor that we call *personality*, which I prefer to think of as the level of development or the adjustment which the worker herself has reached, is admittedly of as much importance as training. The worker's point of view, her philosophy of life, her own adjustment to

life, are an essential part of her equipment and constitute part of her method in every case job. But we are still in the stage of regarding these as personal factors in equipment and of wishing to exclude any recognition of them from our case records. A hang-over of self-consciousness restrains us from mentioning ourselves in the case record. Is not our refusal to recognize and analyze these personal factors an indication of the subjectivity and not the objectivity of our present level of case work and of record writing? We will never succeed in objectifying these personal factors by ignoring them but by trying to record and analyze them as impartially as we do all the other factors that enter into treatment. Only when we have objectified and analyzed them to the same extent that we have the methods by which we manipulate the environment, and when by so doing some of these processes have become standardized can we afford to eliminate them from our records.

PROBLEMS OF ORGANIZATION IN SMALLER COMMUNITIES

A. THE FIELD WORK SIDE

David H. Holbrook, Executive Director, American Association for Organizing Family Social Work, New York

What problems? What communities? What is the field side? If I sense correctly the theme before us for discussion, it concerns, primarily the missionary aspect of family case work. What progress is being made in bringing to communities less socially conscious the professional case work experience of other and usually larger communities, a little farther ahead on the road?

At the outset let us not delude ourselves into imagining that these other communities, where resources of leadership, science, skill, and local support have been marshaled definitely, intelligently, and aggressively in the interest of more normal family lives, are free from problems of organization and concerned only in a further refinement of methods.

Neither should we overlook the very practical motive for extension work in such an interdependent field as family work. In supporting field work the vigorous, progressive community has not only the inspiration that goes with the sharing of ideals and experience but the added incentive of thereby improving in service and economy the work among its own families. Better case work in the smaller communities means some happier families in Milwaukee, Chicago, Pittsburgh, Louisville, Baltimore, Denver, and New Orleans.

The first and lasting impression made on everyone coming in contact with field work is: each community as individual as a case, with each its peculiar background, its characteristic tone and spirit, and its own expression of ideals. Says an early field report of one worker, "There seems to be no common problems of outstanding importance in these eight places." And one agrees as he catches glimpses of societies waiting for secretaries to be trained; others trying to get along with underpaid, superannuated souls in charge of limited relief programs; in a city calling itself "the richest of its size in the world" one organization attempting to do practically all of the social work in the community, including institutional, and doing none of it well; another

in the throes of a centralization-of-agencies program; societies led by untrained workers of native ability and courage, but handicapped by lack of training; a departmental society with a loosely articulated program; a society facing a crisis due to the disbanding of another organization that had always provided the funds for relief; a community considering the establishment of a confidential exchange; another perfecting relationships with the county officials; another keen for a thoroughgoing survey, etc.

Truly this is a confusing picture alike to us and to the field worker as he first encounters these situations demanding attention. Instinctively he feels his need for a technique in approach, diagnosis, and treatment of communities as carefully worked out as that of the case worker. And when he undertakes his diagnosis of existing case work organization, then indeed does he summon all his ingenuity in the effort to approach most sympathetically those who must be assured sooner or later that the function of the outsider is not one of interference, but is rather to assist in a co-operative effort to join soul and vision with system and efficiency. The value of the advice and treatment will naturally vary in proportion to the experience as well as the ability of the field worker. It is hard enough to tell what is the matter, but it is still more difficult to know what needs to be done. Only constant dealing with field problems develops the ability to recognize real rather than superficial symptoms, and the knack of getting all concerned to take the next step with confidence.

One other early impression of the field worker that speedily develops into a settled opinion and later determines a policy is the influence of family social work established in one city, particularly if it be a large one, on the social work in neighboring communities. It is common experience to find organizations curiously similar in construction in certain parts of the country, whose names and structure may be traced to the society in the larger city in this particular area. Furthermore, the fundamentals and spirit of case work suffer if the work of the nearest large society is poor.

This very natural reaction between communities is at once a justification for organized field work and a basis for its strategy. For the interest of one community in the experience of others means fundamentally a desire to do things in the best possible way, and the true mission of the field worker is so to organize and direct that interest as to make it serve its real purpose. A settled policy of field work, therefore, particularly in the newer sections of the country, is to devote a considerable proportion of time to strengthening and undertaking the initial development of family social work societies in communities which are strategic centers of influence over large areas of country. In a very real sense the problem of the small community must first be met in the neighboring large city.

Usually the field worker is limited to observation and consultation visits, but frequently nothing short of a thorough survey of all social agencies in the center city will serve the needs of the surrounding area.

An interesting experiment in community neighborliness in the interest of better family social work is the recent organization of the Ohio Council of Family Social Work Societies with its special reciprocal arrangement for field service by a staff member of a national agency. In Tennessee the program for better family social work centers around Memphis, Nashville, Knoxville, and Chattanooga, with the societies in these cities enlisted in a plan for quietly stirring the interest in the neighbor-

ing smaller communities, inviting executives and others interested to make to the center cities visits lasting from one day to several weeks, and generally urging the importance of training and community education. The relatively smaller distances in the eastern states have made possible meetings of societies in regional groups. All these plans testify to progress made in organizing the influence of communities on each other, whether they be large or small. The Wisconsin State Conference of Social Work, whose director is to lead in the discussion of this paper, represents still another type of state organization for better social service. From the family social work viewpoint it is pioneering in its earliest stages—trail-blazing as it were.

Sometimes social service is booming instead of business.

Just at present there are many communities where neither business nor family social work is booming. Such a combination—industrial depression and low grade case work—is apt to mean an opportunity for reshaping a hitherto hopeless organization. The shock of the unemployment crisis reveals the organization's total inadequacy as a relief agency and makes possible the attempt to develop a full grown family work society. From the former to the latter in a few months was the experience in E—, where an emergency citizen's committee, made up of key people, gave a field worker carte blanche, asking only recommendations as to how to handle the present problems and at the same time build for the future. The swiftness of the transition is unconsciously revealed in the preliminary report of this citizen's committee. A single page is large enough to contain both an appreciative recognition of the faithful labors of two "experienced ladies" who for years have distributed relief to less than a hundred families in a city of 100,000 population and also the conclusion that the Associated Charities is now "far beyond its depth." When the newly appointed secretary arrives—"experienced and with an established record of success"—he will come to a community that, according to one of its citizens, "never fails to do its part but always waits for the emergency before acting."

This story of sudden development in E— gives only half the picture, for, without the presence of several farsighted people in positions of influence, including the president of the Associated Charities, the executive secretary of the Red Cross, and a few public spirited citizens, no adequate plans would have been a likelihood. And if the field worker had not been thoroughly acquainted with the situation through earlier and apparently fruitless visits no such constructive planning would have resulted. "I spent strenuous days trying to discover a leader," says the report of the earlier visit. "The men have let social work alone" was the early diagnosis. And yet these men are among the leaders who finally study the situation, enlist the services of the field worker, provide for a budget increased many times beyond its original figure, subscribe to the proposition that social work has evolved along definite and scientific lines, express the hope that what they call the temporary emergency organization shall grow into a permanent work redounding to the benefit of the entire community, and secure a person from whom they can reasonably expect competent leadership in realizing their ideals.

Other influences rather than emergencies create opportunities for field service to societies in need of reshaping. A society at H— applies for membership in a national organization, and its truly thoughtful board members are thereby impressed not only with their ineligibility due to the presence of an untrained and untrainable secretary, but also with their need for a radical change in policy if they are really to

meet the community's needs. A chance meeting between a field worker and an energetic and able secretary of a chamber of commerce committee on charity results in plans for a democratic organization at R— with an opportunity for further training this summer. Wherever through accident or by design comes the break in the status quo of a society suffering from arrested growth, incompetent leadership, unrepresentative board membership, and unprogressive standards, there lies the opportunity for joining to the community's own resources of leadership the experience and wisdom of the trained field worker.

New construction is another field task—how to aid the few determined pioneer souls to enlarge their group; how to secure and present a body of local facts as a basis for enlisting community effort; how to organize a steering committee; what publicity to use; how to answer the stock objection against a trained worker; how to make clear the relation to the nurse, other agencies, and the public department; when to bring in the outside person to assist; the budget; the first board of directors; the organizing meeting; the raising of funds; the securing of a trained secretary; these questions and many others claim the interest and tax the ingenuity of all concerned. It was so in the city of C— described above, with its group of social service boomers. It was so in F—, where a small nucleus of newly arrived but influential citizens determined that an air-tight, close corporation of older families should be deprived of their visionless monopoly of social responsibility. G—, with its community split in factions in religion, society, and politics, had its own peculiar set of organization problems, and J— never did get started.

Running through experiences already referred to are many threads that might themselves serve as the main pattern about which to weave our thoughts. Merely to mention boards of directors brings at once to mind the unwieldy board of fifty members, the unrepresentative board, the one man board, the no man board, the no woman board, the board that is too far away from the work, the board that insists on settling every administrative detail, and most encouraging to find, the well organized board that is alive to its problems.

Another group of problems is suggested by each mention of the secretary or worker. One of the most hopeful aspects of field work is the constant discovery of the diamond-in-the-rough type of worker. Reference has been made to several such, but complete, if you will, the picture by assessing the following possibilities for leadership. Says the field worker:

It seems worth while to spend a little time describing the much-maligned Miss W. She owns to fifty-nine years, but a close observer would credit her with forty or forty-five. She is quiet, unassuming, intelligent, with a keen sense of humor. She is essentially human, with a large amount of shrewd common sense. She lets other people do most of the talking, but listens with keen sympathy. As to her work, she let me read some of her records, chosen at random. All the records showed over-visiting without any definite plan for family rehabilitation; but they also showed a keen knowledge of human nature and an earnest desire to bring out the family's possibilities and to do constructive work. There seems to be no question but that the Associated Charities occupies a perfectly dignified position in the community, but it is essentially a one man job. The directors leave everything to Miss W. The directors are re-elected from year to year, and there seems little hope of getting new blood on the Board. Miss W. is beginning to realize the danger of the situation, but I doubt if she will be able to energize the community. It is there that her lack of training shows—she just doesn't know how. My one hope is that she may eventually seek our help and advice in some of the problems I discussed with her.

Still more encouraging are prospects in an eastern small town which is reported by a rather critical field worker as being "justly proud of the work the Associated

Charities has done in the last four years. The secretary, though untrained, is a woman of ability and courage. They have raised their budget without undue effort, and are actually meeting the needs of the community. The secretary and board seemed favorable to my suggestions of training for her and a wider use of committees."

Not for lack of illustration need we fail to mention the field worker himself as an organization problem. Every successful worker is haunted by the specters of his own failures that return to plague him as organization problems. Too ready acceptance of the wrong person's viewpoint; failure to do plenty of listening rather than talking; inability to disguise, when necessary, his ignorance of unessentials; lack of adaptability in meeting different types of people; unwillingness to bide one's time. These and many other defects in personality, training, or experience have prevented or delayed otherwise promising plans for treatment. Assume a fundamental knowledge and enthusiasm for family work, there still remains to be tested as among the *sine qua non* of a prospective field worker many qualifications without which he will indeed become his own outstanding organization problem. The ability to make quick contacts, unhesitatingly and willingly to efface one's own personality, to suspend judgment, to seize the real opportunities, to endure physical inconvenience and even hardship, to encounter ignorance, lethargy, self-content, and still retain an abounding faith in human nature and the possibility of its better adjustment, to safeguard the spirit of growth in the midst of the disciplinary influence of organization—these are some of the tests to be met by him who seeks to assist communities in solving organization problems.

DISCUSSION

Edward D. Lynde, Executive Secretary, Wisconsin State Conference of Social Work, Madison

I am going to assume that by a "smaller community" we mean every town and city from 40,000 inhabitants down to 200. Let us not exclude the town of 200. It has problems of tremendous importance to us all.

The Wisconsin State Conference of Social Work has received communications from 300 towns in the state in which each correspondent cited certain social needs in his town. The most commonly recognized was that of a community center, some form of recreation or of community organization such as a parent-teacher association. But in addition the correspondent has sometimes cited the case of some child that was diseased, or blind, or crippled, or dependent, or delinquent, or feeble-minded. In a town of 500 inhabitants there are likely to be but five or six individuals so afflicted, and problems of this sort are for that reason in danger of being overlooked.

We cannot expect the small town to have local specialized agencies for family social work and for each of its other social problems. But even the smallest town may care for its deserters, its delinquents, its widows, and its neglected children through a volunteer committee, provided it may have the direction of a county family social worker or trained county probation officer; it may have certain recreational activities which center around the village school, even though it depend for its leadership on a county play leader; and it may devote special care to its undernourished children and children suffering from mental and physical defects, although it should depend for leadership here also upon a county nurse or a county health officer.

But what are these small towns going to do, if, for instance, there is no county probation officer or family social worker? Out of 71 counties in Wisconsin, for instance, only 19 have a county family social worker, and only 21 have any county probation officer, and of these 21 only a very few have had any special training. The small town or rural county has usually taken refuge in the erroneous idea that family social work is needed only in the city—and the city has made little effort to correct this false impression. The cities, large and small, have been so busy looking after their own social problems that they have no even stretched out their hands to help the smaller towns and rural districts even in their own county.

As a result of this shortsighted policy, these same cities are supporting the product of their neglect in jails, asylums, orphanages, sanatoria, and almshouses. We must, for our own protection financially, develop further the plan of county organization.

And there are other cogent reasons why we must give attention to the small towns. Many of our social ills can be remedied only by legislation. How long will city social workers be content to struggle for social legislation against the opposition of legislators from the rural districts, when by spreading the knowledge of their program in rural communities they could secure their whole-hearted support?

Not only in the small towns, however, but in the small cities as well there are problems of vital importance that are being neglected. There is often to be found side by side a complete development in one field of social work and an absolute neglect of some other social work which is most urgent. In one town of about 25,000 the health officer and nurses acknowledged that in a certain case, through careful health precautions, they had saved the lives in one family of six feeble-minded children who would otherwise probably have succumbed to the unsanitary conditions in which they were born. As a result these children have each lived to be a separate burden and menace. We cannot ask public health workers heartlessly to allow such children to die, but we can supplement health activities with eugenics and mental hygiene. We can prevent the birth of such miserable, menacing human beings.

Another work frequently neglected is the care of children suffering from nervous troubles. A recent survey of Wisconsin, conducted by the National Committee of Mental Hygiene and the State Board of Public Affairs, reveals 1,200 children in our public schools who are handicapped by a psychopathic personality. They are showing in childhood the danger signals of mental disease. But the nervous child who is thus making a failure in school and will later be a failure in life may prove to be the child of exceptional ability if his case is carefully studied by a psychiatrist, who discovers the causes of his condition and applies the remedy. It is largely in our small cities and towns that we find the costly neglect of such preventive measures.

Now let us revert to the question how we can best persuade these cities and towns to organize to meet their social needs. The very heart of the whole problem is this: How shall we develop in every community the desire on the part of some group to interest itself in each neglected social need?

One important factor in stimulating better organization is the local social worker—whether she be a family worker, public health nurse, or an industrial welfare worker—provided she is the right sort, one with proper equipment and broad vision.

Social workers in one field are usually in possession of convincing proof of the need of development in another new field. Those who wish to extend family social work out into the county, for instance need the support of the county nurse and of the people back of her. What better way is there of assuring ourselves that all social workers will have this breadth of interest than through holding such conferences as this—nationally and locally—where all phases of social work are discussed and the interrelationship between various fields made clear?

But something more is needed even than a conference of professional social workers. We should have a central co-ordinating movement in which we all, whether we be state workers or local, whether we be public health workers or family social workers, can unite in attacking the heart of this whole problem, the stimulating of some group of laymen in every city, town, and hamlet to care for each social problem. Wisconsin has struck upon one method of meeting this need.

Up to March 1, 1920, the Wisconsin State Conference of Charities and Correction or of Social Work had been but a conference once a year of all interested in social problems, similar in its purpose to this great body and to the conferences in 41 other states. But on March 1, 1920, it engaged a full time secretary and embarked upon a new program of all the year around activity, and now has representatives in over three hundred towns of the state. But even now we are reaching only 97 communities out of a 1,000 in the state.

We selected, therefore, a district consisting of three counties which altogether had sent only three delegates to our state meeting—a rural section in which no town has over 4,000 inhabitants and which, according to the testimony of the state agencies, has been less interested in social problems than nearly any other part of the state. Through systematic advertising, in which all the agencies united, we secured an attendance of 456, including the leading people from 39 different towns in those three counties. And as a result—and this is the final criterion—work that had never before been done has already been organized in many of these towns. Travelling libraries have been started; classes for undernourished children have been instituted; and other projects for the benefit of men, women, and children in these communities have been inaugurated.

Through district conferences of social work such as this the social agencies working together are accomplishing what no one of them could ever have accomplished alone. This conference method has

other agency, which is doing an unusually fine piece of work, was stimulated by this recognition to increased effort. It is perhaps unnecessary to add that this has to be carefully done so as not to arouse antagonism.

Finally we may help an agency to develop a steady growing program suited to local needs. Sometimes when a paid worker plans as well as carries out the program there is a break in development when she leaves, the agency then choosing a local worker with a resulting lowered standard of service. The parent organization, keeping in touch with the local board of directors, can give them a sense of the permanency of work independent of the comings and goings of paid workers.

Thus by helping the community to study its local needs and guiding it in the development of plans for local activity, centralized supervision can prove itself of permanent value to a community.

Its value to the worker.—While service to the community and to the paid worker are really one, we may for the sake of clearness outline separately the way in which a field worker can be of assistance to paid workers:

First, serving as an interpreter between the worker and the organization which employs her. He may assist the worker to have a better understanding of the local community situation and the way in which that determines the character of her work by helping to make a brief study of local conditions or by contributing his previous knowledge of the local situation. Especially is this service needed when professionally trained workers from the city undertake to develop community work in rural districts, since the methods of the large city organization call for marked adaptation if they are to be successful in the small community. Recently the head of a large organization in an eastern industrial city went to work in a pioneer town in one of the irrigated sections of the West. The population in the county seat is about 3,000, and in the outlying sections of the county are families presenting acute social problems but different in nature from those in the eastern city. A field worker who knew the state and its resources and who had previously helped the community make a brief study of its problems, met her on her arrival, introduced her to people, and discussed possible activities with her. He will visit her from time to time, helping her to find a solution for these novel problems. A new worker too, finding that local people do not wholly understand her purposes and her methods, may become disheartened and need to be shown that this very process of community education is one aspect of her job. He may, on the other hand, interpret the worker to her organization and to her community, showing the significance of her standards and helping to increase local understanding of her plans for a developing program. He may make clear to the local organization its responsibility for thinking through the program for raising the money, for securing adequate publicity for the work, for providing certain tools which will help her to do her work efficiently, such as the clerical help necessary for keeping records, a car which will enable her to get around the county, etc. As an outsider he can also more easily suggest the responsibilities of the organization to her in such matters as salary increases, vacation standards, attendance at conferences, etc.

Second, helping to develop the worker's own standards. This is probably the most important single service which centralized supervision can render. The future of our workers is in danger if we feel that a worker who has had perhaps two years' experience in a large city is completely trained and needs no further guidance in improving her work. She does indeed need constantly to be stimulated to study her own work

and gauge the success of her customary methods. She needs also to gain a perspective for her own work by comparing it with what is happening in other communities, and to be told of successful experiments which she can incorporate in her own plans. The field worker thus becomes a traveling mine of information constantly enriched by cumulative experiences. This teaching process is of course of maximum importance in the case of not very highly trained workers. In such cases a field representative will aim to raise the level of her work by discussing with the secretary her handling of particular problems. We may plan from time to time conferences of neighboring secretaries so that they may compare notes concerning their difficulties and achievements. We may also suggest reading courses, may provide supplementary training courses, and may send in specialists to advise concerning new developments.

Third, assisting in organization problems. Unless the secretaries have had unusually good training in organization problems they need guidance in the process of organizing committees, developing volunteer service, and securing community support a service which can best be rendered on the ground by someone who is skilled in organization work. Often an outsider is the very person to work out problems of organization. In one Red Cross chapter the chairman, a man who had carried on war activities with great vigor, was very busy and had not recently taken any interest in the local Red Cross. A number of the branches having read of the possible peace time development were anxious to organize local activities. The field representative asked him to call a meeting in his office which was well attended by branch representatives. He recognized that he could not undertake this responsibility but was able to interest some very worthwhile people in undertaking it. The chapter has now secured a public health nurse, has renewed its services to soldiers, and will probably undertake later the extension of this service in civilian families.

Fourth, putting the secretary in touch with available state and national agencies. A rural county because of its limited financial resources and the scarcity of social workers can probably have only one or two general social workers. It has, therefore, a special need for guidance from specialists in the various fields. For instance, I attended a very interesting session of a rural county court in which for the first time a juvenile case was brought in by a social agency on the basis of the protection of the child. The local worker there has the opportunity to develop eventually a good juvenile court, but she needs guidance from experts in that field in order that the work may be properly planned. In Kentucky local executive secretaries have been helped to take advantage of the offer of the state board of health to conduct trachoma clinics in remote counties. Illustrations of the importance of securing such expert service could be multiplied indefinitely. Some workers will of course be able to make these contacts themselves. The number of possible resources is, however, increasing rapidly, and a field worker who makes it her business to keep in touch with such developments can greatly assist the local secretary.

Fifth and finally, but not of least importance is the simple human value of these visits to workers in rural districts or small towns. One field representative visited a chapter secretary who was 312 miles from any other social worker. The first thing she did when the field representative arrived was to put her head down on her desk and cry from sheer relief at having someone come in with whom she could talk over her difficult local problems. Thus we may tie together scattered pioneer workers through field visits so that they may feel that they are part of a strong organization

which does stand back of them and stimulate them to develop increasingly effective local service.

What are the methods which a national organization may use to secure these results?

First, correspondence. The assistance which may be given by correspondence in solving individual family problems is limited. The Red Cross war experience was unusual, since we were of necessity in this emergency using volunteers with limited training for a special type of service. Through a careful system of correspondence it proved possible to help chapters render intelligent service in connection with government claims. While the division correspondents did suggest to the chapter other services which it might render to the families of soldiers they could not give adequate guidance especially because the facts provided formed an insufficient basis for consideration of the problem. Many chapter workers, however, in this way did get a conception of the possibilities of family service which is now bearing fruit. While correspondence on individual family presents great difficulties, there are many other ways in which a national or state organization can assist its local workers through correspondence. Especially can information be given concerning state laws and state agencies which can be made use of by a local community. We have found that correspondents, to be of any help, must know something of the characteristics and resources of local agencies so as to meet the people with whom they correspond. By reading the field reports they learn the amount of training the secretaries have and something of the social development of the community. To advise an organization to use resources which do not exist irritates them. It is equally fatal to send very simple concrete suggestions to a trained worker.

Second, visits by field workers are obviously the best way to carry out the suggestions made above. To be of value, however, they should be fairly frequent. Our representatives try to visit a worker soon after she goes to a new place, helping her secure knowledge of the community and to make her initial plans. Later she often gets discouraged when she realizes the number of problems she has to solve. She gets stale on the job and needs a new vision of what she might accomplish. Then it all grows monotonous, and she may slump, though neither she nor her community may know it. Always she desires to talk over problems with someone who understands and to get new ideas. Centralized supervision, to be of real value therefore, must be systematic and not be limited to crises in the development of the work. We believe that we can help to develop good work if the same representative visits chapters regularly three or four times a year. He gets to know the community, and the organization comes to have confidence in his judgment.

Third, supplementary services are important, such as carrying on special training courses for paid workers and local volunteers, the exchange of suggestions through formal letters, such as a news letter which one division sends to a group of rural chapters, reading lists, group conferences, arranging for chapter secretaries to visit each other's counties, etc.

These suggestions seem to me by no means adequate or final. I have merely outlined some methods which the Red Cross has found useful alike in its war service and in the initiation of its peace time program.

All those national social agencies which are now entering the field of rural work need, I believe, to unite in an effort to formulate the results and experience in this

field. They find in the smaller communities potential leadership but not so clear a conception of the functions and methods of social work. The natural resources are also more limited, so that experiment as to possible local activities cannot be so freely indulged in. Guidance from without is therefore called for if these communities are to develop the type of service best suited to their needs. Without such guidance their steadily growing interest in social welfare may result in unwise and ineffective action.

National and state agencies must therefore devise some method for supervising the work of local units without hampering unduly local initiative and autonomy. I hope that the very simple practical suggestions made in this paper will be further developed by the speakers who follow and may thus provide a nucleus for later discussion.

DISCUSSION

Mary F. Bogue, State Supervisor, Mothers' Assistance Fund, Harrisburg

The corner stone of the Mother's Assistance Fund in Pennsylvania is the volunteer. The fund is administered by unpaid county boards of women trustees appointed by the governor. They are for the most part unprofessional women, mothers of families, generally inexperienced in social work before their appointments as trustees, but with wide civic interests, many of them members of the Federation of Women's Clubs, with social vision and with tremendous earnestness and zeal for service.

As only twenty-two counties out of the forty-eight now organized have sufficient funds to employ paid workers, the majority of these boards are still and will at least for two years longer perform, themselves, all of the work of investigation, visitation, and supervision, as well as all clerical work; and even in the twenty-two counties employing workers many of the trustees are giving a vast amount of service in visiting and supervising families, in clerical work, and in the tabulation of statistics. In several counties for example, one or more of the trustees take full responsibility for studying and charting month by month the household account blanks filled out by the mothers under their care. In other counties certain of the trustees are planning to analyze and chart the school records of the children. In another county several trustees direct the activities of a volunteer child welfare committee.

The law knits these boards to the state in a close and coherent system. First, the state legislature fixes and makes the biennial appropriation, which the counties match on the fifty-fifty basis. The counties are therefore entirely dependent for the amount of their allotment upon the state appropriation, the initial amount to be asked for being determined by the state supervisor in conjunction with the county boards.

Second, every petition for a grant passes through the hands of the supervisor on its way to the auditor general, who makes an order on the state treasurer for the payment of the state grant to the beneficiary. There is thus in the state office at least a face card for every grant made; for all counties employing paid workers, and for many which do not, there is in addition a summary of the investigation. As the monthly pay-rolls, which are the lists of the beneficiaries with the amount of the grant, are also checked in the state office, changes in the amounts of the grants and cancellations can be followed from month to month and offer multitudinous opportunities for suggestion and advice. Finally, the law provides that the state supervisor "shall have general supervision over the boards of trustees, shall formulate and issue rules of procedure by which they shall be governed, and shall visit at least twice each year the boards of trustees of each county."

It was the purpose of those who were responsible for the creation of the office of state supervisor to make of it primarily an agency of education. It was not to be merely a bureau of inspection; nor did the law contemplate by the state staff any active participation in the local administration as is true in Massachusetts and other New England states. In a limited sense, of course, it does serve a function similar to that of a central office in a large city charity organization society: face cards with case summaries are filed there; statistics for the state are tabulated; grants are approved and policies are formulated by the state supervisor. It also serves as the intermediary between the counties and the state treasurer on all questions of finance. However the quintessential function of the state office is the establishing of standards, and the chief means to that end is the instruction of the county boards in the methods and technique of family case work and child care.

In the relation between the state office and the county boards we have consciously tried to apply Mr. Burns's maxim that responsibility is conditioned upon effective participation, or, according to Froebel,

development is dependent upon self-activity. We have acted on the principle that in a democracy efficiency should be evolved not so much by an order from the top but as the result of an energized creative impulse having its origin in the group itself. The boards thus have been encouraged in the widest and most independent thinking, and in the development of local responsibility and initiative. The results are that while standardization has been achieved to a surprising degree in view of the pitifully inadequate appropriations, the individual boards are within the framework of a unified and coherent state program developing special methods and forms of administration suited to their local conditions. For example, in one rural county where there are few medical resources the County Medical Society assumes full responsibility for all medical work entirely free of cost; in two other counties local committees have been formed to help in the work. The boards have also developed special interests. Some are most interested in vocational education; some have given most thought to dietetics and household budgets; some have made most headway along health lines, others along school supervision; still others have given great attention to recreation and extra-school educational opportunities. This has not meant that undue emphasis has been placed upon one field of activity at the expense of all-round supervision. It is with boards as with individuals, a proper balance does not exclude hobbies and special interests, and the completer the development the wider and more diversified are these interests.

It is, of course, impossible to completely standardize work among groups with widely different equipment of administration. The same standards cannot be imposed, for example, upon boards doing all of the work themselves as upon boards with a staff of highly trained workers. It is possible, however, to develop equally among all boards a consciousness both of ends to be sought after and of the fundamental machinery for attaining those ends. Thus in Pennsylvania there are few boards which do not appreciate the fact that the all-round well-being of the child is their responsibility, and that this involves supervision over at least health, education, dietetics, and home care, and that the minimum of supervision requires a monthly visit to the family.

In counties where no paid worker can be employed and where consequently the trustees as volunteers perform all of the work, we have found that our most effective means of help is in the visiting of families with the trustees—not primarily for the purpose of inspection or investigation of their work, but to show them what kind of information is important, how to secure it, how to write it up in a case record, and what to do with it when one has it. The ability of many of the trustees with such a start to grasp intelligently the fundamental processes of case work is an amazing tribute to their response to the demands placed upon them. Without reservation I should say that the most important single piece of work which any agency supervising untrained groups could lay out for itself is this kind of demonstration on the round, this actual visitation with the person responsible for the family, this grappling of her problem with her, getting the facts and thinking them through side by side with her. Besides the teaching value which this clinical method has, it immediately establishes a level of equality and a conviction that the state or national officer is a partner and co-worker and comes with sympathy and insight to help in the working out of a concrete task.

The organization on such a state and national scale of this love of one's neighbor, this passion for service, this releasing of the social instinct to the uses of human society, especially of the less privileged members of society, through the instrumentality of the state is one step towards a living democracy. It is groups like these whose members are citizens, mothers, participants in the community life before they are social workers, who are the real sources of power. No higher task could be entrusted to the professional social worker than that of aiding in directing and developing such manifestations of the democratic spirit, giving them "a body and a name" and a correlated part to play in the machinery of the state, the socialization of which these volunteer groups in growing measure are helping to achieve.

PROBLEMS OF MENTAL SUBNORMALITY IN FAMILY SOCIAL WORK

A. APPLICATION OF MENTAL TESTS IN FAMILY CASE WORK

William Healy, M.D., Director, Judge Baker Foundation, Boston

Under this title there might be included the whole range of discussion of mental defect as it applies in family case work to the problems of heredity, eugenics, conduct tendencies of the defective, earning powers of the feeble-minded, and so on. But

one cannot undertake justifiably in a short space any of these. On the other hand, there is much that should be understood about mental tests in general, and certain salient points I should like to cover for you. You hear a good deal about mental tests, you are being told about the results or findings from testing, and you have learned to use the various terms that have become common in this field. I should like to present a few important facts concerning this whole situation.

You are often interested in the mentality of adults, and you sometimes speak of this in terms of the mental age-levels of children, but there is considerable question about the fairness of this. A prime fact to be considered is that the mental tests themselves have been built up upon the studies of children (not that even these systems of tests are anything final—there may be and probably will be within a very short time many modifications and new systems even of age-level scales). We have learned that there is quite a high correlation between achievement in school life and the findings on these tests, but about achievement in adult life as correlated with the findings on such tests we are not at all sure. We must remember that many adults have departed far in their walks of life from anything like the practice in mental agility. Adults frequently cease reading as they did in school life, they may have forgotten words that they once knew, as well as arithmetical problems, just as we ourselves have all of us largely forgotten our algebra and trigonometry.

There are other tests, some of which are of great value—tests for various types of talents or abilities—which are not to be classified under the head of age-level tests. Some of these may be more adapted to the evaluation of adult abilities, or may be more highly correlated with ordinary success in life. Anyhow, the facts are that age-level tests have never been standardized for correlation with success in life with working adults, and that there are other tests, some of them having a good common-sense point of view, which can be made.

In family work one of the main problems is discrimination of those children who should go to institutions for defectives. You all realize that not all defective children, as measured by any scales whatever, can be taken care of by institutions even in states which take care of most. There always will be left in the community a considerable number of defectives. From any ordinary standpoint, except possibly that of eugenics, it seems true that the large share of the defectives need not go to institutions. In discriminating those who ought to go, there is much more to it than the giving of more age-level tests, such as the Binet Scale. This has already been pointed out by others as well as myself. Dr. Fernald, for instance, considers much more in his selection of cases to be taken into the institution. We ourselves consider even our own mental test work under four headings, as follows: first, age-level findings by what at any time has been considered the best modification of the age-level test; second, findings on other tests which are important, such as tests with concrete material and the like; third, results on educational tests in proportion to the individual's educational opportunities; fourth, the results on common-sense tests, showing the reactions of the individual towards the world at large, the result of his contacts outside the schoolroom as judged by his information, etc.

But if one is selecting individuals who are not quite obviously able to take care of themselves in the community there is another main line of inquiry. It is concerning the problem of mental control, self-control, mental balance. This makes a huge amount of difference in the outlook. A person can be feeble-minded and stable or

ignorances, its financial difficulties, its pressure for quick decisions, its inevitable compromises, its deep and sound common sense. We talk little and write less of just what we, as practicing case workers, are working out these practical applications. We say we are too busy, that we lack the necessary perspective; we allege that we long for the time when we can get away from the pressure of our office and "think things out." And yet every day we individually arrive at diagnoses and make plans, see the immediate results of these plans, and have to bear the onus of the community reaction to their success or failure. Is it not absolutely necessary for us to take the time to record our experiences, to state our convictions, and thereby to help standardize the new profession?

In no field is this truer perhaps than in case work, which involves the problem of so-called high grade feeble-minded individuals. There is a very definite, very practical, very human contribution that we, as case workers, have to make to this problem, and yet it is one in which we have been markedly content to leave the whole question to the eugenicist, the psychologist, and the institutional superintendent. Only thoughtful case workers who meet other family problems with elasticity and originality that is born of wide background and much practical experience seem to stop thinking when they approach this problem, to assume a hopeless attitude, to take it for granted that good case work is impossible in this field, that the only thing which can be done is to work for better custodial provision for such subnormal persons.

It is of course the popularization of the psychological tests that was partly brought about through the war, together with the published results of the army tests, that has led us into a different attitude. As it became routine to test our families, we began to realize that what the army tests had shown for the country at large was true for our own communities—that a surprising proportion of our families contained subnormal persons, and that these subnormal clients differed as much among themselves as so-called normal people do, and that many of them had a definite share in the world's work. The increased work opportunities also brought about by war conditions, the willingness of employers to utilize uncritically any sort of labor power, made possible such experiments as Miss Bigelow's in the rubber factories in New Haven; and the conviction grew on us that many of our failures with the feeble-minded had not only come from our generally unintelligent and prejudiced attitude toward these people, but especially from the poor work we had been doing with them vocationally. And along with these convictions came an understanding of how unintelligent is it to deal with these clients on the basis of intelligence alone, how important it is to reckon with the equally important factors of emotional quality and will power.

Then, on one hand, the extension of the machinery of social work in the form of a great increase in the number of out-patient clinics, both in connection with state institutions for the feeble-minded and in connection with general clinics, was a tremendous stimulus and help to home supervision of this group. (It may be noted here that a wilder interest in psychiatric problems has tended to emphasize problems of mental instability rather than problems of feeble-mindedness, and that clinics not only will go to give psychological tests and general recommendations based on them, but with facilities for re-examination and continuing expert advice, are still all too rare.) And on the other hand, the carrying of case work into rural communities, so splendidly aided by the Red Cross, put case workers on their mettle not to depend on machinery

for the solution of their problems but, where no such machinery existed, to try out instead novel and individualized kinds of personal adjustment.

I happen to be working in the heart of New York City, and we metropolitan workers have this bond in common with the county workers in a so-called backward community, that it is practically impossible to obtain custodial care for a feeble-minded woman, particularly if she is married, if she has a fair measure of health, can earn money from time to time, and is not a proved lawbreaker. Her children may be taken from her on the same grounds on which children may be taken from a normal mother, but she herself is left to go on being a community problem. It is waste of time, therefore, to seek commitment for most of our feeble-minded women. Carefully supervised employment in the suitable institution on a regular pay basis is the nearest approximation we can secure to segregation, and the instances of home supervision that I would like to discuss with you this morning are instances where we have been forced to undertake supervision because there was no other course open to us.

Before taking up the problems that are definitely problems of subnormality let us remind ourselves that there are many of our clients who, without due consideration on the part of the psychologist to the full history that a thorough case worker can give, might be given a very low I.Q. indeed. There are so many factors that, singly or together, may cause a deterioration similar to feeble-mindedness, such as long continued physical abuse of any sort, years of fear and anxious dread, even when due to imaginary causes, long continued underfeeding, syphilis, alcoholism, and endocrine conditions. We are always hoping, with these borderline women, that fuller inquiry will show that there is some such definite cause for the low grading, that originally our client was a normal woman, and that patient treatment will make her at least approximately a normal woman again.

But this hope eliminated, there are certain great principles that every worker with the feeble-minded knows by heart. These subnormal people are creatures of habit. Like a street car, they go fairly easily and smoothly and without too many jolts and jars on their accustomed track. Once off the track, they flounder wildly about and probably run into something and smash. There is very little power of initiative and no elasticity. The problem is to find what simple things they have been trained or can be trained to do, and then seek no further. To be successfully supervised while living freely in the community, these clients must be of docile temperament, with no complication of insanity. More than that, they must have a certain readiness to meet the worker half way, be willing to "co-operate," as our somewhat hackneyed phrase goes. Their immediate environment must be favorable for treatment. The most important factors in such a favorable environment are (taking for granted adequate shelter, food, and medical attention) first, opportunity to do enough routine work which does not require planning to keep them busy and out of mischief by using up their surplus energy, and, second, kindly people in their personal environment, people who have the character to command the respect of these clients, and who will give steady encouragement to weak-willed, suggestible women who are only too accustomed to discouraging and unfavorable criticism. It goes without saying that the feeble-minded woman who is markedly promiscuous sexually cannot be given successful extra-institutional treatment. But as we arrange for psychological tests, not because of the anti-social behavior of the individual, but as routine, we find many feeble-minded individuals becoming dependent from time to time whose sex

behavior approximates the normal. Others have had a poor sex record in adolescence, but have "settled down" after marriage.

The visitor who undertakes the supervision must be one who is on the staff on a long time basis, who is not carrying a heavy case load, and who is by temperament interested in problems involving time and patience. To be successful this visitor should be a person of truly democratic and friendly ways, who knows how to combine a gentle and kindly attitude with an occasional stiff dogmatism, who will try to win the simple affection of her subnormal client, and who will not grow weary in hammering upon a few specific points that especially need to be stressed, and which, early in the plan, it has been decided to stress. The old Wordsworthian phrase "We live by admiration, faith and love" is just as true for our subnormal clients as for our normal ones. Once a personal loyalty is secured, it is very lasting.

If the emotional factor is tremendously important in the lives of these people, their physical well-being is equally so. The uneven temper, the general "contrariness" that makes it seem impossible to fit the poor client into any groove, may again be due to syphilis, to an endocrine condition, to a pelvic irritation, to ulcerated teeth or tonsils, and adequate treatment may make the difficult woman comparatively co-operative and docile, to an even greater degree than in higher grade people. These physical difficulties corrected, the supervising of a feeble-minded woman is twofold: it is a problem of the focusing of suggestion, by case work methods, and it is a vocational problem. The visitor of strong personality who relies on her own ability to influence her subnormal client will sooner or later lose out. In some way or other the co-operation of the client's group must be obtained in suggesting the same ideas that the visitor is trying to put over, or the individual social worker's work will be of no permanent value.

A successful handling of the vocational problem goes back very definitely to an exact knowledge of the early history of the client. How often Dr. Pearce Bailey's words come home to us: "An individual with a mental age of eight years who has definitely acquired habits of industry, obedience and regularity, is a far more useful member of society than a high grade moron who has never acquired such habits."

How often the case worker has taken a subnormal client away from a job which she has held for eight or ten years, as, for instance, that of a "shaker" in a laundry, because it seemed to the case worker so deadly monotonous, and because there was not opportunity for advancement, and placed her in a pleasing position at, say, wrapping and packing fine china, and later was bitterly disappointed because the client wended her way back to the old job in the steaming laundry. It is just the sort of work whose monotony would drive more highly organized women insane that appeals most strongly to these women, and it is on this basis, the possibility of lessening of labor turn-over for monotonous jobs, that we can best get the co-operation of the employer in these vocational experiments. And yet we must not forget that this type of client frequently manifests special abilities, the opportunity to exercise which is always important to her general happiness and contentment, and may be economically important as well. The subnormal man with a mechanical gift, the subnormal woman who is a good dressmaker, or a fine ironer or a gifted cakemaker, are known to every case worker.

Miss Bigelow's experience in New Haven and the experience of other people who have worked along similar lines, has been that some very anti-social behavior tends to disappear when the right vocational adjustment is made, along with a general

environmental adjustment. The workers have simply not the surplus energy or time to get into mischief. That vocational guidance of this sort involves a friendly and honest understanding with the available employers and their foremen goes without saying.

Better state provision for segregation must remain the only satisfactory solution for the difficulties presented by many of these people. But are not our psychiatrist friends, indifferent though they are inclined to be to this particular problem, always reminding us what bad mental hygiene a wishful attitude is, how necessary for our minds' health it is to sturdily face life as we find it. And so, since custodial care is not to be had, and we *are*, frankly, opportunists, we rejoice that with these cases of moron women an adjustment can be made that is socially useful; that in the actual world which these handicapped families and we have to face they, to paraphrase Louis Blanc's old saying, have received according to their need, and are now contributing according to their ability.

C. EXTRA MEDICAL SERVICE IN THE MANAGEMENT OF THE MISCONDUCT PROBLEMS IN CHILDREN

M. E. Kenworthy, M.D., School of Social Work, New York

It is my purpose to present to you some of the outstanding opportunities through which extra medical service may be of indispensable use in the management of conduct problems in children.

For two years we have had a mental hygiene unit in connection with the Vanderbilt Clinic, under the able leadership of Dr. Bernard Glueck, the primary aim of which has been to furnish a practical teaching center for the training of psychiatric social workers engaged in study at the New York School of Social Work. The results of this work are gratifying from two points of view.

First, through this clinic medium the workers have received adequate experience in handling cases of maladjustment and misconduct. The facilities of a clinic of this kind furnished a varied type of cases with all gradations of maladjustment, ranging from the very simple problem of faulty parental understanding to the more serious grades of mental disease. You will readily see then why a field of training presenting such a rich variety of problems supplies the student worker with a more comprehensive understanding in the field of mental hygiene than could be supplied by a state hospital which deals largely with the end results of mental disease rather than maladjustment in its incipency. In the pursuit of these studies in adjustments of cases, we often have found that the situations met with were not only germane to psychiatric practice as such, but the conditions existing paralleled those found in all case work dealing with human problems—those of the family, child placing, etc. Thus we were led to appreciate that in all case work one must recognize the presence of the mental hygiene problems.

Second, we found that in the adjustment of the patient the continuous and co-operative assistance of the social worker became a forceful therapeutic agent in carrying the case to a satisfactory conclusion.

It might be well to ask ourselves, then, before entering on the discussion of actual concrete situations, "What are the aims and tasks of the social worker?" And by

s term I mean all social workers, for I feel more and more strongly convinced that this field of psychiatric inquiry, containing a wealth of mental hygiene principles applicable to every branch of case work, should become a basic foundation in the training of all social workers. It is to be hoped that before many years we will no longer ride social workers into specialized groups, accepting the psychiatric branch as an entity apart, but that included in every social worker's training there may be furnished a thorough understanding of the problems in the field of mental hygiene, in order that every case worker through the medium of her mental hygiene equipment may be able to understand and adjust the problems which she meets in actual practice.

What then shall we conceive as the fundamental task of the social worker engaged in the handling of cases of maladjustment? The first principle in the consideration of this problem of human endeavor is the necessity of determining the motive behind every act, that is to say, we must seek to find the key to each problem of misconduct. In order to do this, it is the purpose of the worker to discover and interpret with the help of the psychiatrist all the data.

The first step towards this goal is the collection of all available material, in order to furnish a complete knowledge of the elements in the child's life which tend to shape and influence his development. By means of this the worker will be enabled to gain new insight into the concrete forces making for success and failure in every case.

In view of this consideration it would seem pertinent to ask what are the requisites needed for the successful understanding and management of cases of maladjustment. In order that we may be enabled to satisfactorily direct the progress of any given problem to the best advantage we must have a complete understanding of the situation through the study of the personality of the patient, so that we may estimate man values aright. This involves a knowledge of the individual's native and acquired equipment, an understanding of his inherited traits, an evaluation of his special aptitudes and handicaps, and a carefully made estimate of his family.

If we are to attempt to modify or reshape the original desires and strivings of the patient through our efforts at education we must perforce recognize some of the possible sources of conflict or failure in his attempts at adjustment to life. Thus we are early led to recognize that dissatisfaction which becomes reflected in the patient's attitude may be a result of a specific reaction to his surroundings.

In the consideration of the possible sources of these dissatisfactions let us first discuss those which may emanate from the home. Here it would seem that the social worker has a unique opportunity to gain a better knowledge and insight into this side of the problem than the psychiatrist himself, through her many possible contacts with the home.

I feel sure that it is a rather common experience for us all to find occasional cases where the child either fails to recognize the true source of his dissatisfactions, or if perchance he does recognize the key to his difficulty he withholds the distressing information through a false sense of pride, which makes him feel that discussion of family relationships is dishonorable, or he fears possible punishment by the parent, who is perfectly willing to concede that his child is nervous and in need of mental care, but who utterly refuses to accept any personal responsibility in the matter.

In the consideration of the possible sources of dissatisfactions arising from the home environment, we are frequently forced to recognize the potency for evil lurking

in the extreme dependence of the child upon the parent. The end results of this relationship we find in the adult neurotics, where we discover evidences of an early father-daughter or mother-son dependence which has continued to exert its influence throughout the life of the individual and which has through its unconscious force determined the choice or non-choice in marriage with its consequent unhappy dissatisfactions and the resulting train of neurotic symptoms.

It is thus pertinent that we recognize in the adjustments of these children the necessity for the early establishment of a well balanced relationship which permits the possible individual growth and gradual emancipation of the child.

We are led further to recognize that in the relationships that exist between children in the same family, situations may arise which furnish food for dissatisfaction. Consider, for example, the problem of the eldest child, if perchance he has been the sole interest of fond parents for a period of four or five years; the advent of another child in the family furnishes a distinct insult to his ego, and he finds that he must make some fairly radical adjustments to the new scheme of things.

We are next led to consider the problems of the middle child, who perforce compares himself with the eldest, to whom falls the recognition of superior age and knowledge with its concurrent responsibilities in matters of conduct among the others, including himself, in consequence of which he conceives his position as being that of the under dog and less enviable; then, too, he finds that in his relationship to the youngest there is much to be desired, for does not he (the youngest) receive greater care and attention than was ever accorded to him (the stepchild as he comes to believe)?

In the study of the cases belonging to this group it is essential that we seek the motive behind the conduct, and often we will be forced to recognize that the utilization of this behavior is a distinct means by which the child puts himself across, for he finds that through this display of conduct he does receive attention, and we all must recognize that it is attention of one kind or another for which we all blindly strive.

In the problem of the youngest child we have two forces at work: First, the struggle of the child to emulate the standards set by the other members of the family. A common example of this is the desire to follow in the footsteps of a brother, possibly to attain success in athletics which has been accorded the brother. If perchance he is handicapped by some physical weakness and is unable to gain this satisfaction for which he strives, there are two directions towards which he may turn: the constructive one by means of which he finds adequate compensation through achievements along some other line, or the destructive one through the failures of which he gradually increases his sense of inadequacy; and the consequent sense of inferiority which he may develop because of his inability to make satisfactory adjustments will often produce a varied train of reactions from the simple expressions of dissatisfaction through misconduct to the more severe grades of mental maladjustment.

As the second potent force at work in the successful adjustments of this youngest child we are led to accept the importance of the influence exerted by the mother in her unconscious attempt to retain her baby. The retention of the child in this essentially infantile state of dependence furnishes eminently more satisfaction than can be gained by losing him through allowing him to grow up. Often the mother says when faced with this problem: "But what shall I do without a baby? I'll no

anger be needed in the world." It is the task of the social worker in these problems to show the parent a happier means of gaining satisfaction and by so doing free the child from a possible fixation at a level which will tend to prevent his functioning in later life as a successfully integrated individual. Another powerful source of dissatisfaction in the home is the problem of sex.

What then are some of the principles of treatment that must be employed by the worker in meeting these problems in the home?

In a consideration of these problems of misconduct arising from the dissatisfactions emanating from the home the question naturally comes to your mind, If it is the home environment which is responsible, why not move the child into new surroundings and give him a chance?

On the surface this would appear the simplest solution, but there are some very serious objections to this method of treatment, in consequence of which it should always be reserved as the last resort: first, it may always be possible to readjust the same situation through the education of the parents and the child; second, by retaining and adjusting the child in his home surroundings you assist and educate him to make a more difficult adjustment in life rather than accept a simple solution; third, in removing the child from his home into surroundings possibly higher in the economic scale you must always bear in mind the possibility of his return at some time in the future; if this should come about you will have furnished him the necessity of making a twofold adjustment, often accompanied by a new dissatisfaction, that of the low economic standards of his family.

Further in the consideration of the principles of the treatment we conceive as one of prime importance the problem of education through an attempt to cultivate in the child better habits of adaptation to the realities of life.

Another great problem of education is that of teaching the parents of the child. They must be made to realize that in order to train the child they must first train themselves, for from the viewpoint of social psychiatry true education involves every member of the immediate household. They must be made to realize that their personal sentiments may seriously hamper the child's development, inasmuch as they are bound to fail to hold an objective impersonal viewpoint in meeting the issues in the child's everyday life if they make decisions according to their subjective feelings rather than through objective reasoning.

We must always bear in mind that the problem of the child may be due largely to the nature of his reaction to an unintelligent home situation, and we often shall be forced to recognize that the nervous manifestations of the patient may be a vicarious attempt on the part of the child to adapt himself.

The second broad source of dissatisfaction, which I will consider very briefly because of lack of time, may be found in the neighborhood setting.

The child may for reasons physical or personal fail to put himself across with the other children. He may find that he is on the outside of the ring and may react to this unfortunate condition either by becoming antagonistic and a bully, spoiling the fun of the others, or withdraw himself and gradually find that his own thoughts which he peoples with dream children make the most satisfactory playmates—a condition which only portends trouble if not satisfactorily adjusted.

Then there is the child who reflects his mother's attitude, who refuses to fight or be the aggressor, and in consequence earns the name of "Sissy," "Lizzie," and other

epithets not conducive to the magnification of his ego; then too there is the child who is the smallest of the group, and whom the others may habitually put it over on—he may be satisfied with the rôle for a time, but gradually the spirit of resentment may creep in and the worm slowly turns, and he will react to this situation in an asocial manner, often taking out his irritation on a still younger group or brother or sister.

Through this sketchy outline of possible sources of maladjustment arising from neighborhood conditions again it will be seen that the problem resolves itself into one of education. Who is better fitted to cope with this situation than the worker who has the opportunity of knowing these groups and observing the child in his original setting?

Through the establishment of new interests and recreational outlets the worker will often be able to displace the old sources of dissatisfaction and furnish new constructive interests of a happier sort.

The third great source of dissatisfaction is to be found in the school life of the child. First, the child may be faced with failure. Through lack of equipment this problem has for a long time been a well recognized field for social intervention; the second source of failure in school progress with its concurrent dissatisfaction may be the loss of time through illness; third, the child may fail to use his native equipment to the maximum either through bad habits of study or disinterest on the part of the teacher or parents.

In conclusion, what shall we conceive as the broad aim of every social worker? She must first obtain a full knowledge of the principles of mental hygiene. From this knowledge will come a broader insight. It is then the special task of the worker dealing with these problems to translate this insight into influence; through the medium of this new-found influence to assist the parents in gaining a broader vision, to enable them to be more open-minded, less bound down by tradition, to create in them a willingness to let the child grow and develop in surroundings that do not tend to repress and confine him. Through this new parental understanding the child may be permitted to work out his problems with the assistance of a co-operating household.

Secondly, through this influence the social worker may assist the teacher to recognize the problem of the growing child, so that she may see that education fails when it is confined only to the realms of education; expressed in terms of physical and intellectual development, each child must be given an opportunity to gain self-expression, that he be free to develop his own individualism in the intellectual sphere rather than to expect to turn him out at the end of his school career stamped with the trade mark of the general mold. Through the efforts of the social worker the teacher must be furnished with some understanding of the numerous pitfalls awaiting the growing adolescent child, tossed about on the restless tide of his emotions, and through this understanding the teacher herself may be enabled to furnish constructive help and guidance.

The worker should conceive as her fundamental task that of furnishing the child with whom it is her privilege to work a better understanding of himself and his relation to the family and his associates.

And further we should conceive as our aim in every case of misconduct the careful examination of all the elements entering into the case, and through the medium of this knowledge we should attempt the reconstruction of the child's environment,

nizing that no concrete rules of the game can be laid down, for each case requires a specific plan of action, fitted to the especial needs as determined through the careful study of each individual case.

THE RESPONSIBILITY OF A FAMILY AGENCY AT A TIME OF INDUSTRIAL READJUSTMENT

Stockton Raymond, General Secretary, Family Welfare Society, Boston

The primary purpose of family social work is the promotion of sound family life. The evils as ignorance, unrighteousness, poverty, and disease are attacked at the most strategic point—the home—by promoting the opportunity and incentive for education, health, recreation, industry, and spiritual development.

Seventy-five years ago in Massachusetts persons unable to care for themselves were farmed out to whoever would provide for their physical needs at the least cost to the community.

Today family social work is essentially constructive. It seeks not only relief from prevention and more than either of these the development of capacity. Every family has both assets and liabilities—is both rich and poor. Family social work on the negative side seeks the relief of distress and protection against hazards; on the positive side the development of assets. The attitude is that of a father toward his son. It combines protection against adverse conditions with opportunities and incentive for the development of capacity.

As the family agency stresses more and more positive values it finds itself inevitably concerned with social and industrial conditions. Sound family life is dependent upon regular employment, a living wage, good industrial conditions, leisure time for recreation, family duties, and self-expression.

The family agency must recognize the relationship between case work and industrial standards. Certain specialized agencies have been charged with failure in their treatment of the individual to consider the welfare of the entire family group. There is great danger that the family agency, engrossed by intensive work with families, may fail to recognize the relationship between case work and the larger aspect of the industrial situation. This must not be. Young workers are coming to the family agencies full of interest in social conditions. Case work must be done in such a way as to increase rather than diminish that interest. Unemployment, violent reduction of wages, decreasing prices, and frequent labor controversies are the factors in the present industrial situation which most seriously affect family life. All of them except increasing costs result in applications to the family agency.

Under such circumstances what is the responsibility of the family agency? First, it must maintain its own standard of work; second, it must square its policies with the social and industrial situation; third, it must interpret its everyday experience in such a way as to lead eventually to conditions more favorable to the full development of family life. These tasks are so closely interwoven that it is difficult to consider one without reference to the other.

Shall applications due to unemployment, underpayment, and strikes be accepted by the family agency? Under normal conditions such applications may be accepted by the family agency without lowering its standard of the work or adversely affecting industrial standards. Applications are relatively few and not likely by sheer numbers

to swamp the agency. Resources exist for dealing with the unemployed as long as there are enough jobs to go around, and with the underpaid when there is reasonable opportunity to find work more adequately compensated. Even the striker can be dealt with when it is possible for him to find work in some employment which is not involved in the strike. As long as jobs are obtainable at a living wage, the unemployed are underpaid, and strikers have the power to solve their difficulties, and thus the problem of adjustment may be approached from a case work angle without unfavorable effect upon industrial standards.

But an entirely different situation exists at a time of industrial depression, when unemployment is widespread because there are too few jobs to go around, when the underpaid has no alternative except unemployment, and when no work for the striker is available in industries not affected by the strike. Under these circumstances the standards of the family agency are imperiled by an avalanche of applications with which it is without the resources to deal. The remedy is not one of individual adjustment but lies in the industrial and economic field entirely beyond the control of the individuals involved or of the family agency.

Shall the family agency accept applications due to industrial factors beyond its control, or that of the individuals concerned, with which it is without the means to cope successfully? The answer to this question involves serious difficulties. Can such applications be accepted without impairment of standard? Will refusal to accept them involve useless suffering? Will refusal result in the establishment of emergency relief organizations which will be badly administered? Should acceptance be conditioned upon adequate public support and a bona fide effort by the community to deal in a constructive way with the problem involved? Does a public agency exist which should assume responsibility? Should applications be accepted in order to secure first-hand information which may lead to progress in dealing with the problem? Will refusal to accept applications occasion the loss of support necessary to conduct the usual work of the agency? In general, it may be said that applications due primarily to industrial factors should not be accepted unless public support sufficient to maintain standards is assured, and at the same time an earnest effort is made by the community to deal constructively with the problems involved.

The family agency, if it attempts to deal with the unemployed, the underpaid, and the strikers, must square its policies with the larger aspects of the situation. It may be useful to state some of the principles which should govern the family agency in formulating these policies. To supplement regularly the wages of an able-bodied worker employed on full time tends to undermine industrial standards by decreasing the pressure for a living wage. To provide material assistance for the unemployed relieves industry of a responsibility which it should be encouraged to assume. To aid a striker aligns the agency definitely on the side of the strike without regard to its merits. Unemployment, underpayment, and strikes are economic and industrial problems and must be treated as such. The adequate treatment of unemployment, underpayment, and strikes requires regular employment, a living wage, and some acceptable method for the settlement of industrial disputes, all of which, especially at a time of industrial readjustment, are clearly beyond the scope of the work of the family social agency. It is often sound case work to advise a man whose morale is weakened because of unemployment to accept work at less than a living wage. But this policy cannot be justified from the point of view of its effects upon industrial

standards. Nor can it be justified upon the grounds that it will not affect industrial standards, since it involves comparatively few individuals.

From the experience of agencies which have attempted at a time of industrial depression to deal with unemployment and its hand-maiden, underpayment, certain conclusions may be reached. Central relief funds and the central registration of the unemployed involve great dangers. Where central relief and registration have been attempted numerous applications have made case work impossible, and the result has been indiscriminate relief. Bundle days, bread lines, and soup kitchens should be discouraged, since they tend to distract public attention from more fundamental considerations and are likely to do more harm than good. The unemployed should be carefully distinguished from the unemployable. This is necessary for a correct analysis of the problem, as well as in order to insure proper treatment.

All agencies engaged in relief work should use the registration bureau. Registration with a reliable employment bureau should be insisted upon as a condition to the granting of relief. Made work is as likely to have a demoralizing effect as is relief.

To employ a man in moving a sand pile from one place to another is surely more demoralizing than to give relief outright. Relief employment should approximate employment under normal conditions, with regard to the utility of the work done, and should be organized under the direction of agencies accustomed to deal with similar problems. The unemployed man must be stimulated to be constantly on the lookout for other work, and for this reason relief work should not be given on a full time basis. It is unwise ordinarily to provide work for women who are not usually employed instead of for their jobless husbands, but the unemployed man should be expected to do the things he can do in his own home. Employment is the only adequate remedy for unemployment. Relief may lessen suffering but is no solution of the problem. The family agency in meeting its responsibility during a time of industrial adjustment must continually urge the necessity for making every effort to promote real work.

In view of the factors involved it is not surprising that some family agencies have refused during the period of industrial stress to accept responsibility for dealing with the unemployed, the underpaid, and the striker. Nor is it surprising that some of the agencies which have attempted to deal with such applications have been criticized on the grounds that their policies have tended to undermine industrial standards.

The difficulty which the family agency encounters in the effort to adopt policies which will not undermine industrial standards arises out of the fact, already indicated, that it is impossible to deal on a case work basis with factors which are essentially industrial and economic.

The family social agency, whether or not it accepts applications due to industrial adjustment, is responsible for interpreting the facts of its everyday experience in such a way as to throw all possible light upon the situation. Knowledge of the facts entails the duty to bear witness to them.

The family agency assumes no authority for community organization. This fact, however, does not lessen its responsibility for making known the facts about conditions which affect family life. Even in communities in which council of social agencies or federations exists there remains with the individual agency the responsibility for bearing witness to the facts about social and industrial conditions for the purpose of stimulating constructive community action.

The public at the time of industrial readjustment may insist that no crisis exists. The fear that unwise action may follow should not deter the family agency from the effort to arouse the community to a realization of facts. The ostrich policy of burying the head in the sand must be avoided at all cost. The feeling that nothing constructive can be done to meet the situation should be combated in every possible way. The American Association for Labor Legislation will supply material which can be used effectively in showing that constructive measures for dealing with unemployment on a long time basis are not only possible but entirely practicable.

The view often expressed that there is no real unemployment, but that those out of work are either on strike or refuse to work at a fair wage should be met by a plain statement of the facts. Fluctuations in prices at a time of industrial readjustment result in misinformation and uncertainty regarding the cost of living. The publication of periodic statements showing clearly the facts about the cost of living is a constructive service which the family agency can render in the interest of a living wage. The family agency should continually bear witness to the importance of regular employment and to the demoralizing effect of unemployment on the worker and his family.

Immigration is a factor in the industrial situation upon which the family agency may throw light. The unskilled Italian workers living in the north end of Boston were the group hit first and hit hardest by the present industrial depression. Yet before the new immigration law became effective shipload after shipload of their countrymen arrived to swell the number of unemployed. If the facts about the labor market were available through the operation of an adequate national employment service the flow of immigrants might be regulated, at least to some extent, upon the basis of the demand for labor. This might be done on the present percentage basis by vesting in some administrative body the authority to increase or decrease the percentage within prescribed limits according to existing industrial conditions. In this way a logical relationship would be established between immigration and the possibilities for the industrial assimilation of the new arrivals.

The family agencies at a time of industrial depression must point out the need for additional facilities for the vocational training of young people who are unemployed and who will become either more efficient industrially or less so according to whether or not the opportunity and incentive for vocational training are provided.

The family agency should know something of economics. It should be able to show, not only how subnormal industrial standards affect family life, but how decrease in purchasing power tends constantly to widen the circle of depression.

The spirit of family social work is expressed by the axiom, "For every wrong there is a remedy." Unemployment, underpayment, and strikes are wrongs which have a pernicious effect upon family life. The family agency is justified in demanding action on the part of the community which will prevent industrial standards from falling below the point necessary for normal family life and for the development of individual powers. It can best perform its function by maintaining its own standards, by squaring its policies with the industrial situation, and by interpreting the facts of its everyday experience in such a way as to arouse the community to the necessity for dealing on a long time constructive basis with the industrial and economic problems presented by industrial readjustment.

DIVISION VI—INDUSTRIAL AND ECONOMIC PROBLEMS

WOMEN'S WORK AND WAGES: THE WOMEN'S BUREAU AND STANDARDS OF WOMEN'S WORK

Mary Anderson, Director, Women's Bureau, U.S. Department of Labor, Washington

The Women's Bureau of the Department of Labor was created as a war service. It was found from its work during the war and the demand made for the kind of service rendered that it would be expedient to make this war service a permanent bureau. On June 5, 1920, just a little over a year ago, Congress passed the bill making this bureau permanent. As the Department of Labor is the youngest department in the government, so too is the Women's Bureau the youngest bureau in the Department of Labor. As the industrial workers grew stronger and stronger, a more insistent demand for a department of labor was made until finally it was created. And so it was with the Women's Bureau—as the women workers entered into industry more and more, there also became an insistent demand that there should be created in the government a bureau concerned with the problems peculiar to women in industry.

The function of the Women's Bureau is twofold: first, to develop policies and standards which shall promote the welfare of wage-earning women, improve their working conditions, increase their efficiency, and advance their opportunities for profitable employment; second, to investigate and report upon matters pertaining to the welfare of women in industry and publish the results of these investigations.

While the Women's Bureau is charged with these responsibilities, the federal government has no legal power to enforce any regulation. That is left entirely to the several states. Practically speaking, the entire enforcement of the regulations or laws pertaining to wages and conditions of work for women in industry is in the hands of the various state departments of labor. Therefore, the enunciation of standards and policies by the Women's Bureau is a guide rather than a law, and serves also as a guide toward uniformity in legislation in the several states. No two states out of the forty-eight have uniformity in legislation. Eight states have the eight-hour day, but this eight-hour-day legislation does not mean that all the women in these eight states are working eight hours according to law. It may mean that the laws cover only manufacturing establishments in one state, mercantile establishments in another state, and restaurants and hotels in another state. It all depends upon how fortunate those have been who have piloted this legislation through the various legislative halls. Often they have been obliged to compromise to gain anything, and have not achieved their ideal, but have only done the best they could under the circumstances.

The pointing out of the inadequacy and the more or less haphazard way in which the states are legislating can best be done by a federal agency because the state agencies have no adequate way of getting this all-around information. In addition to its advisory and policy-forming activities the Women's Bureau recommends certain

hours, low wages, and improper working conditions, all militate against a strong, womanhood. The working women themselves as well as the employers are apt to be content with a sentimental or idealistic appeal that is not based upon facts and if the facts are presented strongly and clearly, I am sure that action will be taken. But facts must be collected and must be presented in a fair and impartial way. The door is open and there is crying need for a more scientific application of health education as well as for more industrial engineers. The social organizations and social workers come in contact with the industrial problems in their work, and there should be more available information than we now have for this most important work. Social workers should at all times inform themselves on the industrial question. They should come in contact with it in the different communities. Low wages and long hours create poverty and distress, and it is this end of the problem that faces the social workers when they go out on relief cases. It is very important that the social workers inform themselves and have information at their disposal in regard to the conditions of the industrial life of the nation. They cannot possibly deal adequately with the situation unless they know what is wrong in the nation's life that causes poverty and disease. Unless we know the fundamental reasons for this, the work is only half done.

The biggest question today and the most important is the industrial question, and the citizens of this country should interest themselves to know and understand the problems so that we may have a just, fair, and lasting solution. The Women's Bureau is trying to do what it can in this field, but is handicapped both from newness of the situation and from lack of sufficient appropriation to make larger and more extensive studies.

CHILD LABOR

A. WORK OPPORTUNITIES AND SCHOOL TRAINING FOR COAL-MINERS' CHILDREN

*Ellen Nathalie Matthews, Director, Industrial Division, Federal
Children's Bureau, Washington*

Probably no industry has a greater influence upon the future of the children of the community in which it is carried on than mining. By the very physical circumstances which the industry must develop, it limits narrowly opportunities both for industrial and social achievement for all who are obliged to live within its environment, and to a unusual degree it determines the fate of the growing child. Until recently little was known or thought about the child of the mining town. Living for the most part in communities practically never reached by any branch of organized social work, and rarely visited even by the casual traveler, it is not surprising that this should have been so.

Within the last few years, however, the general awakening of interest in the work of the coal-miner has resulted in opening the eyes of a few to the unique conditions between the miner's life and the opportunities open to the miner's child.

The Federal Children's Bureau has lately completed two field studies of the conditions affecting children in representative coal-mining communities, and it has seemed worth while to present briefly certain of the most significant facts which have

been brought out by these studies with reference to the opportunities for work and training which the mining town lays before its children. The first of these studies made in the summer of 1919, centered at Shenandoah, a town of about 25,000 population in the anthracite coal fields of eastern Pennsylvania. The second, completed a year later, covered eleven mining towns or "camps" in Raleigh County in the mountains of West Virginia.

Mining, being rough work, is done in large part by immigrants or the sons of immigrants. In Shenandoah almost two-thirds of the children interviewed in the bureau inquiry were of foreign parentage, Lithuanians and Poles predominating, and 5 per cent were themselves born in foreign countries. The population of the bituminous coal camps in West Virginia, Kentucky, and southwestern Virginia, on the other hand, is still predominantly of native birth, though foreign races are beginning to come in.

Child labor in the anthracite area.—Children in the anthracite towns begin work at a very early age. Over half (1,652) of the 3,136 children between thirteen and sixteen years of age had already begun to do some kind of work, while two-fifths had already entered "regular employment," having made a final break with school. Many of those, moreover, who had commenced regular work were among the younger children. Over one-tenth of the thirteen-year-old children in the area had already entered permanent employment. Over 600 of the children in the Shenandoah district who had gone into some kind of work had done so before they were fourteen, and over 400 had left school for a regular job before that age. This proportion of children at work increased with each year of age, so that by the time the sixteenth year was reached seven-tenths had started regular work. Boys were more likely to go to work than girls, for of all the boys in the area who had reached sixteen years of age, 86 per cent were employed in regular work, as compared with a little over one-half the girls of that age.

Nine-tenths of the boys from thirteen to sixteen who had definitely left school for work had entered the mining industry as their first regular job, a number of them, by the way, according to their own statements, having gone to work in underground occupations even before the age of sixteen, in violation of the state law. An even larger proportion were at work in or about mines at the time of the study, and only 67 boys were found at the time of the inquiry to be employed in other industries. In almost every instance the boys in these industries were engaged in errand-boy or helpers' jobs which paid them much lower wages than the work in the mines and likewise offered no training at all for more lucrative and responsible work.

As for the mining industry itself, the majority of boys when questioned reported that they felt that it offered no opportunity for advancement. Only 4 boys out of 100 might expect by the time they reached middle age to earn as much as \$1,850 in a year of abnormally high production. The conditions and hazards of the work, moreover, further affect the boys' opportunities in that they run a special risk of being killed, crippled, or otherwise physically handicapped.

The girls in the area enjoyed a somewhat greater variety of work opportunities than boys. Most of them (422 out of 453) found work either in nearby factories or in personal and domestic service, the former employing indeed almost three-fifths of all the girls doing regular work.

Child labor in the bituminous field.—In the mountain coal camps of the bituminous fields opportunities for employment are still more meager. Mining is not only the principal but practically the only industry. Outside the settlements there is practi-

cally nothing for a man to do except to work on a rough mountain farm or to join a lumber gang if there happens to be one nearby.

There are no breakers at the bituminous collieries and the only occupation in which a considerable number of boys are used is underground. This work a boy cannot do legally until he is sixteen years old. But even including those who could legally be employed in the mines, the number of boys thirteen to sixteen years of age who had started regular work in the West Virginia camp was small—one-fifth as compared with almost three-fifths in the anthracite area. For women and girls the only possible employment in the West Virginia camp is in domestic service or in clerical work in the company stores and offices, but opportunities for such work are few. Most women in the mining camp do their housework unassisted, and there is but one company store to a camp. Only 4 per cent of the West Virginia girls between thirteen and sixteen years of age had been regularly employed, as compared with 29 per cent of the girls in the Shenandoah district.

Early school-leaving and its causes.—Fewer chances for work ought to mean that the boy's or girl's school life is prolonged and that the child is better equipped for vocational life before becoming a wage-earner. It is true that the proportion of children remaining in school after the age of fourteen is reached was found to be greater in the West Virginia than in the Shenandoah area. Nevertheless, a great many children in both districts left school between the ages of thirteen and sixteen, even when they did not go to work. In West Virginia the number of children of these ages who had left school was almost twice as large as the number who had gone to work, so that about one-tenth of all the children thirteen to sixteen years old in the West Virginia camps were neither at work nor in school. In the Shenandoah area 391, or 8 per cent of the total number of these ages, and 18 per cent of the sixteen-year-old children were neither regularly at work nor were they attending school.

Over three-fourths of the West Virginia children who reported the grade completed before leaving school had not considered it worth while or had not found it possible, to go beyond the sixth grade. Almost a third of these children who reported their age at leaving had left before they were fourteen years old, and before the age of sixteen was reached all except one-sixth had deserted the schoolroom. In the Shenandoah area, almost one-fourth had left school before they were fourteen. No doubt some of these children became fourteen during the summer vacation after leaving school so that not all of them were violating the state law which required attendance up to that age.

The ease with which compulsory education and child labor laws can be evaded is probably an important factor in early school-leaving.

Probably the most important underlying cause of early school-leaving in the mining community is to be traced to the failure of the schools to provide the child with a training which appears to him or to his parents to be in any way related to the life of the community in which he lives.

Educational opportunities for miners' children.—If work offers little to the child of the mining town or camp, school, in the child's estimation, at least, offers but little more. Almost a third of the children in Shenandoah, when asked their reason for leaving school, said that they were dissatisfied with it. Slow progress in school was certainly a factor in breeding discontent with school. Even when children are not obliged by poverty or other circumstances to leave school as soon as the law permits,

they are of course more likely to leave school at the earliest possible moment if they are older than the other children in their grade, or if they have been obliged to repeat the same school work year after year. By the time a child is fourteen years old he finds the school work and discipline of the fourth or fifth grade entirely unadapted to his needs, and he is anxious to escape and will if he can, even if he has to combat parental opposition in order to do so. In spite of the much smaller proportion of children leaving school for work than in the anthracite field, retardation was much more marked in West Virginia, especially among school-leaving children. Of the 89 children who had left school for whom age and grade were available, only 19 per cent had been in normal or advanced grades as compared with 28 per cent who remained in school. In Shenandoah 65 per cent of the children thirteen to sixteen years of age still in school were in normal or advanced grades. Thirteen of the West Virginia children who had left school, or about 1 in every 8 who left, were unable to read and write. In Shenandoah 1 in 10 was unable to read and write.

In the larger mining towns, that is, towns in which the population is 2,000 or more, high schools as well as schools covering the grammar grades are maintained. In the "camps" or "patches," however, the schools are rural in type, often having but one room and one teacher to the five or six grades which are given. The fact that a child must go to town in many cases to complete even the elementary course probably accounts in part for the large number who drop out at the fifth or sixth grade. The completion of the last grade in the school appeals to the child as an excellent time to stop. Some of the smaller communities have no schools at all. This does not mean in all cases that a child has absolutely no school which he may attend, but a 2-mile walk to a school in another camp is not uncommon on the roads which in winter or muddy weather become impassable. Because of distance and weather, the children, as one West Virginia father expressed it, can attend school only on "picked days." This is doubly unfortunate in view of the short school terms which prevail. The term varies from five to nine months in the Appalachian area. In the West Virginia camps it is usually only six months, the term required by law, though some of the mining companies supplement the county funds in order to lengthen the school term a month or two.

In order that children may learn anything in so short a time, the most skilful teaching is necessary. But as a matter of fact, except in rare instances, the teachers in the schools of the mining camps are uniformly poorly trained. Here, too, the mining company in some cases steps in and pays a higher salary to secure a better teacher, often of their own selection. In Raleigh County, 34, or exactly half, of the teachers in the mining camps in one school district reported their education had never even been to high school. Nor have many of them had much experience to offset their lack of training, at least one-eighth of these teachers never having taught before the year of the survey.

Needless to say, these teachers have had no instruction in methods of teaching English to foreigners, and have in most cases little or no sympathetic understanding of mining-town life. The lack of suitable rooming and boarding places in the average mining town makes it not only more difficult than it would otherwise be to obtain teachers of the right kind, but results in the teacher's living entirely apart from the community, so that the school is not the center of the social activities of the camp which it could and ought to be.

The situation is rendered worse by the large classes which the teachers are obliged to handle and by the very general overcrowding of classrooms. One teacher in West Virginia had 73 children enrolled, another 100, another 81, and from 45 to 60, including several different grades, was common. A fourth of the schoolrooms in the school districts of West Virginia covered by the Children's Bureau survey had too few seats for the average number of pupils attending and at least five had no seats at all, or from three to seven single seats for classes of from 18 to 55 pupils. Pupils had to sit two or three in a seat, and one parent said that her child had to sit on the floor, so that she was glad when the teacher sent him home saying that she could take no pupils under eight years of age. A number of the children covered in our survey were obliged to stay away from school because there was no room for them. Few mining-town schools have any playgrounds and many have no play space, except the streets and railroad tracks, where crap-shooting, smoking, and card-playing are frequently the favorite forms of play.

The school curriculum, too, is meager and unsatisfactory, and is confined to instruction in the three R's. Vocational courses are rare. Only about one-tenth of the Shenandoah children had had even any manual training or homemaking courses. In only a few of the schools in the West Virginia area had even so much as a sewing class been introduced. Continuation classes offer an excellent opportunity to give vocational work, but even in Shenandoah it was found that no continuation classes in any subjects were being conducted in the area, though attendance at continuation school is required of working children under sixteen years of age in Pennsylvania in districts where 20 children are eligible to attend.

While short-unit trade-extension courses for men already employed in the mines are beginning to be given in a number of places, usually under state auspices, day vocational schools for children from fourteen up are practically unknown except in the few large cities in which mining is only one of a number of important industries. Of the six most productive coal states, four (West Virginia, Kentucky, Ohio, and Illinois), in answer to an inquiry from the bureau, report no, or practically no, vocational work in coal-mining towns for children under sixteen. Indiana, in 6 mining communities (all except one town of over 2,000 population), however, has established all-day courses in one or more vocational subjects, generally agriculture or home economics, for children between fourteen and eighteen. In Pennsylvania, trade preparatory work is given in the full-time day schools of 3 school districts in which mining is the predominant industry, and vocational home economics in 23.

Deprived of a proper schooling, without opportunity for wholesome play, driven early into the routine of unskilled labor in mine or household, or more rarely into the factory, what future lies before the hundreds of thousands of children who are growing up in our mining towns today? In the isolation of their lives the majority of the boys will probably in any event follow in their fathers' footsteps and become the miners of the next generation, and an even greater proportion of the girls will as wives of miners spend their lives in the physical and social isolation of the camp. Nevertheless, it is only fair that both boys and girls should be offered as broad a view as it is possible to give them of vocational opportunities outside as well as within the mining community and should be able to obtain practical training at least for all kinds of work carried on within and about the community. Home economics training for the girls and women, and agriculture and home gardening for all the population in the more rural areas, are of special importance. Day vocational schools, continuation and evening classes

should offer these opportunities to the girl and boy in the mining camp, as they are now doing in other industrial communities.

But the most immediate and pressing need is obviously for a type of education so available, and so adapted to the child's life and interests, as to combat the influence of family tradition and the lure of wage-earning long enough to insure to him at least the rudiments of a sound elementary education.

Legislation effectively administered should keep out of work and in school children who have not received this minimum, and scholarships or pensions should be provided for those whose families cannot unaided afford to keep them in school. Proper supervision should be given to boys and girls during their first years of work. Five of the six most important coal-producing states now have continuation-school laws, which provide an excellent opportunity to put into effect an adequate program of supervision for working children in mining communities, including supervision of their health, recreation, and further vocational training.

B. ENFORCEMENT OF PHYSICAL STANDARDS FOR WORKING CHILDREN

George P. Barth, M.D., Director, School Hygiene Bureau, Milwaukee

Fancied economic necessity or desire determines about twenty million children of the United States between the ages of ten and fifteen years to engage in some industrial pursuit. Whether or not the labor of children is necessary for business growth and development is still a matter of contention at least in some parts of the country. The fact remains, however, that this vast army of children is drafted into the maelstrom of industry at a period of life when most of them should be enjoying a fruition into healthy manhood and womanhood unhampered by the hazards and untoward influences of daily toil.

Inasmuch as the greatness and welfare of a state depend on the quality of manhood and womanhood which it rears, it would seem to be but ordinary business foresight for the state to protect the child from influences which might mar the perfection of its citizenship.

It seems but reasonable that assurance be had that the child is physically fit to undergo the strain of industrial life before it enters it; and yet the laws of twenty states still make no provision at all for a physical examination even when the child accepts his first job.

The reason for requiring a physical examination before issuing a working permit to the child is to prevent children from going to work before they are physically fit or from allowing them to engage in unwholesome, dangerous, or unsuitable occupations. Reliable data on the influence of employment in industry on the health and welfare of children are still sadly lacking. The sickness surveys conducted by the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company in 1915 to 1917 in Pennsylvania, West Virginia, North Carolina, Pittsburgh, Kansas City, Boston, Rochester, Trenton and Chelsea, New York City, show that 11 out of every 1,000 persons under fifteen were incapacitated from work and 125 out of 1,000 between the ages of fifteen and twenty-four; but these statistics are of small help to us in the present problem. The amount of incapacity for work increases rapidly with advancing age. This, of course, is to be

expected but is it not worth while to find out whether this increasing incapacity has not its foundation in the earlier years of strife and toil, and if so, to what extent?

MORTALITY STATISTICS OF TUBERCULOSIS OF ALL FORMS IN THE
UNITED STATES FOR 1918

Years	Deaths	
Under 1.....	2,501	
1.....	1,967	
2.....	1,107	
3.....	829	
4.....	657	
5 to 9.....	2,128	
10 to 14.....	2,872	
15 to 19.....	9,167	
20 to 24.....	15,798	67,568 deaths
25 to 29.....	16,047	
30 to 34.....	14,184	55.75 per cent of the total
35 to 39.....	12,372	
40 to 45.....	10,020	
45 to 49.....	8,447	
50 to 54.....	6,509	
55 to 59.....	5,167	
60 to 64.....	4,093	
65 to 69.....	3,094	
70+.....	3,848	
Age unknown.....	307	

These figures must not be misinterpreted, however, as indicating that work alone is responsible for the enormous increase in deaths from this disease, at what should be the most vigorous and productive ages, but it should awaken a desire for more specific knowledge. Ten states and the District of Columbia have a law permitting the certificate-issuing officer to require a child who does not appear to be in fit physical condition to go to work to be examined by a physician before he can secure an employment certificate.

While better than nothing, it is obvious that merely sizing up a child, as it were—and that by a layman—will fail to disclose even very serious defects of internal organs or of the special senses or of the nervous system, to say nothing about defects in an incipient stage which are still amenable to cure if treatment and supervision is exercised. Eighteen states only have a mandatory requirement of a physical examination by a physician for every child securing an employment certificate.

The terms usually employed in the laws are "Normal development" and "Physical fitness for intended work." These are very elastic terms. The Children's Bureau of the Department of Labor, with the aid and advice of a committee selected from those actively engaged in child health work, have formulated tentative standards of normal development and physical fitness for children about to go to work. These standards are based on such data as could be obtained, but these proved to be very meager and often inaccurate.

Child bodies do not vary to any considerable extent among the various states and it is sincerely hoped that these standards will be universally adopted that there may be uniformity in method of examination. The committee has also devised a form for the recording of findings in the examination. With the adoption of uniformity

of procedure, normal development as used in the laws will have a definition; and physical fitness for a specific occupation can be determined by a precise and definite knowledge of the physical condition of the child; and, by a repetition of the examination, definite data can be obtained as to the effect of the various occupations on the growth of the body and on the health of the child.

No state now requires that every working child be examined at regular intervals. With the establishment of continuation or vocational school, a splendid opportunity is afforded to provide for re-examinations of children at work and to gather much desired data on the influence of occupations on growth, health, and development.

Twenty-two states now have in force a compulsory continuation school law, i.e., Arizona, California, Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Kentucky, Massachusetts, Michigan, Missouri, Montana, Nebraska, Nevada, New Jersey, New Mexico, New York, Ohio, Oklahoma, Oregon, Pennsylvania, Utah, Washington, and Wisconsin; all except Indiana, Kentucky, Ohio, and Washington have provisions requiring schools to be established and children to attend under certain specified conditions. These four have no compulsory provisions for establishment.

In Milwaukee two school physicians and one nurse are assigned to duty at the continuation school. Health supervision is conducted at this school in exactly the same manner as it is in the other schools, the teachers sending all children who seem to be ailing in any way to the doctors. Besides this the children are given a physical examination at as regular intervals as may be. These physicians also examine all children who desire a working permit if such examination has not already taken place at the school which the child last attended. It is the practice, whenever possible, to have the child examined in the school which he is attending so that the advisability of permitting the child to go to work may be determined by a consultation of principal and school doctor, i.e., those who have had the child under observation for a long period of time. If the child's application is considered favorably, his entire health record since his advent at the school is sent to the physicians at the continuation school for their enlightenment as to the health of the child during his school career. Because this close supervision is possible, it was determined to issue several kinds of permits, as follows:

A provisional permit.—Issued to children who have a correctable physical defect but who must pay for the correction of this defect from their own earnings because of poverty in the family. Such permits are issued with the proviso that the defect be corrected within a definite period of time, usually one month for defects of vision, for other defects up to three months as the judgment of the examining physician may dictate. Of 1,070 such permits issued from October 8, 1920, to June 1, 1921, 594 secured corrections within the time specified, 350 required one extension of time, 107 required two extensions, and 19 required more than two extensions. No extensions are granted unless definite proof is offered that the child is receiving regular treatment. If proof of treatment is not present, revocation of the permit is recommended.

Temporary refusal of permit.—If correction of a defect was recommended while the child was in attendance at school, and the parents were financially able to secure correction, the issuance of a permit is not recommended until correction is had.

Permit limited as to job.—Permits are recommended for definite kinds of work only, because of some untoward physical condition in the child. Permits are not recommended when, in the judgment of the principal and the doctor, the health of

the child would suffer by entry into industry. Revocation or suspension of permit is recommended when sufficient diligence is not shown in securing correction or if work is proving detrimental to the child.

Unreserved permits are recommended when the child has met all educational and physical requirements. This method of procedure is only possible because of the splendid co-operation of the State Industrial Commission in requiring children to report to the doctor at the time set. This is done by means of a postal card notice sent to the employer or to the child. It is distinctly stated on the permit that it is a provisional permit only, giving the reason for the proviso. Thus the co-operation of the employer is secured and he frequently insists that the child secure treatment as quickly as possible.

C. NOTES ON STREET TRADES DEPARTMENT AND MILWAUKEE NEWSBOYS' REPUBLIC

Perry O. Powell, Supervisor of Street Trades, Milwaukee Public Schools

The Wisconsin Street Trades Law, forbidding boys under twelve, and girls under eighteen years of age, and licensing all newsboys, bootblacks, bill boys, and street vendors from twelve to seventeen years of age in cities of the first class, was enacted by the legislature in 1911, and took effect January 1, 1912. The law was made statewide in 1918. The Industrial Commission of Wisconsin established the enforcing agency January 2, 1912, to license all street traders within the city limits of Milwaukee. The duty of enforcement was transferred from the Industrial Commission to the Milwaukee Board of School Directors in June, 1913.

The Wisconsin law is progressive and practical, but additional power is given the enforcing bodies by virtue of the Wisconsin Workmen's Compensation Law, which stipulates that the employer will be assessed triple damages in case the child was unlawfully employed at the time of the accident. Two-thirds of the assessment must be paid by the employer, while the ordinary assessment or one-third can be liquidated by the insurance company. The Supreme Court has upheld this clause in the compensation law, hence strengthening the street trades law.

The Milwaukee Newsboys' Republic was founded October, 1912, for the purpose of enforcing the street trades law and carrying on a general program of constructive welfare work. The constitution of the Republic, which followed the plan of the United States Constitution, was adopted.

At present, there are about 4,200 licensed street traders on record, classified as follows: 1,000 inactive and irregular street traders, 400 bill boys, 950 sellers, 1800 carriers, and 50 miscellaneous street traders, including bootblacks and guides. Bootblacks and guides must secure special permits, to be extended every three months. The granting of a special permit to shine shoes is conditioned upon satisfactory school work and the previous good record of the applicant.

All applicants for street-trades badges and permits are required to present their age record, school record, promise of parent to co-operate, agreement by the newspaper company to employ and a promise by the newsboy to obey the law, which is all provided for on the application used by the department. The office system enables us to follow up each street trader by the number of his badge, the school that he attends, and the alphabetical arrangement of his name.

All newsboys in the public and large parochial schools are organized into clubs in charge of a teacher who acts as club advisor. Inspections are made by the club advisors once a month and checked over by the Supervisor of Street Trades at least once a year. A city-wide clean-up of miscellaneous violations of the law committed by boys outside of the rank and file of licensed street traders is conducted in the schools twice a year. About five hundred violations a year are checked in this manner.

The law is enforced by seventy-two newsboy officers, who wear badges of authority and report violations of the street trades law on a regular complaint blank. Upon receipt of the complaint at the office a summons is sent to the parent in accordance with the nature of the violation.

Nine forms of summons are used by the department, ranging from an ordinary notice to appear, to a summons requiring speedy action on the part of the parents. The attendance of the trial board is very satisfactory. About 30 per cent do not respond to the first notice sent out, but usually make their appearance upon receipt of another letter which conveys the importance of the violation. It is presided over by three newsboy judges who are assisted by the Supervisor of Street Trades.

The trial board has disposed of over five thousand cases involving the many sections of the street trades law in addition to cases such as smoking, swearing, petty stealing, and first stages of delinquency among newsboys. The aid of the Juvenile Court has been invoked in approximately fifteen cases.

Our direct control over the money-earning privileges of the newsboy and the present limitations of the Juvenile Court law are the reasons that the large percentage of street trades violations are handled in the trial board in preference to the Juvenile Court.

The first technical offender is usually warned and dismissed, but a record is kept of the case in the current file for future reference to be used in the event that the street trader becomes a chronic repeater. About 25 per cent become second offenders and the percentage of chronic violators is reduced to 2 per cent. The street trader who appears in trial board three times or more, loses his badge for a period of from two weeks to six months, which is equivalent to a fine, because he is prohibited from plying his trade during the period of suspension. We have our own reporting system, but do our best to refrain from using the terms of the regular court and, therefore, do not call it a probation system.

In 1911, 76 out of 143 boys from Milwaukee County at the Industrial School for Boys of Wisconsin were newsboys. In 1916, of 55 boys from Milwaukee County, 3 were newsboys, showing the decrease in the number of newsboys in Milwaukee County that had been committed to the industrial school.

Principals and teachers report less truancy and a higher standard of deportment and scholarship from newsboys than that achieved prior to the enactment and enforcement of the present street trades law.

The Republic is divided into states and the congressmen from each state are supervised by a deputy who must report to the president of the Republic and the Supervisors of the Street Trades as to the condition of his state and the work accomplished by the congressmen. The newsboy officers include president, vice-president, cabinet members, judges, deputies, senators and congressmen, who are elected annually by popular election in all the schools. The congressmen and officers of the Republic are presented with bronze and enamel buttons as a token of honor for services rendered to the Republic. Carfare is paid to all officers of the Republic.

The Republic publishes a regular magazine known as the *Newsboys World*, conducts social center clubs and has established a character-building scheme known as the Knights of the Canvas Bag, for group clubwork in the social centers. Scholarship, sick benefit, and athletic funds are created by small contributions from general Milwaukeeans. The Republic conducts the usual program carried on by agencies working with boys, using the social centers for meeting purposes.

The enforcement of the street trades law in Milwaukee by self-governing methods has raised the standard of Milwaukee newsboys and decreased juvenile delinquency among street traders, all being the objectives of the law. The Milwaukee Newsboys' Republic is a permanent social agency of the city.

Although co-operation with the newspaper men was difficult to secure when this department was created, at present every circulator in the city is anxious and genuinely willing to do all in his power to aid in the enforcement of the law, because a practical law helps to eliminate the undesirable and non-producing newsboys from the ranks, and serves to act as a control or balance-wheel for those who become incorrigible and have gone beyond the control of the circulation department. We are fortunate in having an excellent corps of circulators in Milwaukee, and have sufficient data on hand to verify the splendid co-operative relationship with all the publications in the city. Co-operation with the newspaper men is one-half the battle and must be secured in order to obtain satisfactory results.

The enforcement of the law in Milwaukee has proved that the street trades problem is an educational one and a burden for the public school system to assume. The law, by requiring school attendance of all licensed street traders, eliminates the element of child labor and in its place presents an educational problem, and, as such, the public schools should assume the responsibility. It is the duty of the public schools to place in charge of the work a person who has a social vision, coupled with the knowledge of, and love for, boys, because the street trades project, as a schoolboy problem, should be engineered by a worker in charge who uses boys' work methods to accomplish the purpose for which the street trades law was enacted.

D. JUNIOR EMPLOYMENT PROBLEMS

Mary Stewart, Chief, Junior Division, U.S. Employment Service, Washington

We listened last night to an able educator discussing the problems of the schools and lamenting the vast amount of illiteracy in the United States. He lamented, and properly, the menace of this ignorance to good citizenship. However, I am not nearly so much concerned about the ignorance of the illiterate as I am about the ignorance of the literate. With the age-long emphasis on the three R's, we are wont to confuse intelligence with information, education with refinement, and culture with learning. If a person spoke good English, did not eat with his knife, and read the classics, he was likely to be considered cultured, however dark his ignorance in relation to life-forces and life-values. The ideal of the old culture seemed to be to translate life into terms of learning and not learning into life-values, as if contemplation rather than living, were the end of life. Social progress has for twenty years been restating, or attempting to restate, these values which formal education has rather grudgingly and slowly con-

our attention with startling emphasis, and which we have come to realize can be met only by active interest from many sources. The little red schoolhouse has long faded away, and even the modern high school and college, efficient as they are, are inadequate to solve the whole problem of public education.

The Junior Division of the United States Employment Service is a new federal agency toward this end. It was instituted to aid in one of the most serious problems of reconstruction—the replacement in school or in industry of its young war-workers. Historically speaking, it is an outgrowth of the Boys' Working Reserve, a war emergency effort to bring organized boy-power to the aid of agricultural production. The need of this work is so apparent, and the possibility of its extension so tremendous, that what was effected in its organization and co-operation, was transformed into a plan to carry on the work and extend it by means of the Junior Division of the United States Employment Service.

This genesis, however, is only apparent and incidental; actually, the Junior Division is the outcome of the growing realization that the schools must function in a new manner to meet the demands of new times; of a deepening conviction in the minds of our best school men and business men that we must not only educate, but educate to meet the complexities of modern life; and that America owes her boys and girls a debt which is not paid when she merely provides schools, which they, in large numbers, may be unable to attend, or which, if they do attend, may fail to equip them for the life they must lead as citizens in the new America.

The Junior Division thus offers a contribution on a national scale in the solution of the combined problems of school and industry, as they touch boys and girls from four to twenty-one. It aims to effect a co-operation between the two which will, in the first place, insure to the child the maximum benefit from both school and work, and which will, through the wise adjustment of trained vocational and employment agents, assist the school in planning its curriculum, and insure to the world of business and industry the maximum benefits accruing from the proper worker at the proper job. It recognizes further the responsibility of the state in the education of the majority of workers who leave the schools at about the age of fourteen. For the census of 1910 shows that 51.3 per cent of our total boy and girl population from fourteen to twenty-years of age, is in wage-earning occupations. The recent census may properly show an even greater number.

The fact that the schools were inadequate in some way to meet either the economic or personal needs of these children, does not mean that the state is relieved of obligation in their education, or can shift the consequences of this neglect.

Schools unlinked with industry are yearly dropping by the way tens of thousands of young workers, undirected, and unable to meet the absolutely essential adjustments to the conditions of the industrial world in which they find themselves adrift. And industry, finding these workers unfit, wastes much time and energy and eliminates a large amount of good human material in a manner which we find appalling when we realize that it is human material.

This, then, is the function of the Junior Division—to form a link between the agencies which prepare this human material and the agencies which utilize it, for the benefit of both, and to form that link in so personal a way that every one of the million sixteen- and fifteen-year-old boys and girls leaving school each year to go to work

should have help to make this adjustment in the best possible way, and that this should be continued throughout the early work experience, helping them to make the best use of their talents and abilities and their ultimate opportunities.

Not only are 51 per cent of our boys and girls of fourteen to twenty-one at present entitled to this vocational guidance, but the 49 per cent in school are equally entitled to a kind of education that will fit them to meet the needs of life as useful and happy citizens. Vocational guidance is just as much a part of education as mental, moral, or religious guidance. When we consider that one's vocation takes up one-third of one's mature life—yes, at least one-half of one's waking hours—and determines largely how the other half shall be spent, and whether the sleeping third shall be spent under wholesome conditions; when we consider all this, vocational guidance will well seem to be the most important part of one's education.

This, in brief, is the scope of our work; but our department is very young and our caution and vision for the future, as well as limited funds, have demanded that we build slowly and surely. At the present time, we have functioning offices under the direction in a number of cities. Trained personnel, working as joint officers of the school system and the Junior Division and in close co-operation with the vocational departments of the schools, maintain employment offices in which every person under the age of twenty-one may receive help. We keep school records on file, we take advantage of everything that the school can tell us in regard to our potential worker; and we keep, also, in close touch with the employers of the city. We have on file lists of the jobs we know from personal contact the special needs, demands, and conditions of labor in every institution employing junior workers. Supply and demand come together in the office of our trained counselor. There child and parent meet with someone who understands, as they do not, the mysteries of working papers, the benefits of part-time work, continuation schools, the value of extra training, the needs of employers, and the physical and intellectual demands that will be made on the young worker. This adjustment is a personal adjustment, and the junior is encouraged to return as soon as need be for additional help, for encouragement, for replacement, if necessary, for the best adjustment in the economic world.

Our vision is such an office, functioning at its best, within the ultimate reach of every junior who needs it. For the present, we regard our offices, mainly, as training centers for new workers, as demonstration plants toward the ideals for which we are striving. And in the process, may it not be possible that we shall help both schools and industry to so modify their opinions of their own demands, as better to fit the human needs for which both school and industry primarily exist? This may be our contribution to the new culture.

UNEMPLOYMENT AND ITS TREATMENT

A. PREVENTION AND INSURANCE

Professor John R. Commons, University of Wisconsin, Madison

Why do wage-earners take to the idea that "labor," as a class, can manage industry better than business men? It is this idea that supports the Marxian socialism of Europe, the guild socialism of England, the Plumb Plan of America. Early economists and socialists, astonished by the industrial revolution, beginning at the close of

eighteenth century, emphasized capital and labor as productive, meaning by "capital" stored-up labor and by "labor" the producing power of workers. But these do not produce wealth. Modern capitalism arose from the business revolution of the seventeenth century which displaced feudalism by security of investments and liberty of business. The credit system is simply that confidence in the future that springs from fulfilment of contracts and private property. "Capital and labor" might produce a few things without credit, but it would be the hand-to-mouth production of feudalism or communism.

Labor, as a class, breaks down on discipline depreciation accounts, on obsolescence of plant, on cash reserves that protect profits. The Knights of Labor was labor's last grand attempt to manage industry on a co-operative basis. Even profit-sharing fails with the psychology which expects profits each week as wages, before it is known whether profits are earned. Labor, as a class, cannot manage industry. Individuals rising out of the class can do it, but then they become business men. Labor, as a class, includes young workers coming in, men and women coming and going, individuals who have failed in business. They can manage industry only by popular election of bosses. But democracy never would have elected, or at least re-elected, Andrew Carnegie or John D. Rockefeller to manage the steel or oil business. Successful business men elect themselves by "natural selection" in the struggle for profits, through ability to "hire and fire" subordinates and thus command the confidence of investors.

But modern capitalism fails in giving that security to jobs which it gives to investments. Socialism and the excesses of trade unions arise mainly from unemployment. Early economists found the elasticity of modern business in the rise and fall of prices and wages through demand and supply, on the assumption that labor was being continuously employed. Karl Marx rejected the theory of demand and supply and found the elasticity of capitalism in the "reserve army of the unemployed." Trade unionism runs on the theory of most wage-earners that there is not enough work to go around, and the workman must "make work" by spreading it out, in order to take up the slack of unemployment.

In times past, security of investments has been important in order to get "capital." Strangely enough, it gets too much capital, and brings on a collapse. Today, it is more important to maintain security of jobs. As the industrial system grows, wage-earners, without investments, become a larger part of the population. In England they are perhaps four-fifths; in America not yet one-half. England and Europe waited too long before starting their remedies for insecurity of jobs.

It is twenty-five years since the Canton of St. Gall, in Switzerland, started the experiment of unemployment insurance. The experiment failed. Fifteen years ago it was tried again in Belgium, on a different plan. Denmark followed. Then England started with another plan, on a large scale, in 1912, and enlarged it in 1920. Italy, in 1920, copied England. The first American proposal, differing from the European plans, was that of Senator Huber, favorably reported and considered in the recent session of the Wisconsin State Senate, but finally abandoned on disagreement over details. The hearings and debates on the Huber bill, and the various revisions and amendments to the original bill, furnish a clue to the provisions needed to fit American conditions and opinions.

Insecurity of employment is not merely the result of war. It is inherent in the credit system. Credit cycles have recurred every 8 years, on an average, during the

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two million workmen to twelve million, the particular rules and regulations were revised, with minor changes, thus indicating their practicability. A worker, under British rules, is not entitled to compensation if he quits of his own accord or is charged for inefficiency or misconduct. He is not entitled to compensation if the employment is caused by a strike or lockout, either in his own or related shops. He is not denied compensation if he declines to accept a job where there is a strike. Otherwise he is required to accept a job offered to him through the public employment office, if competent and available, as determined finally by an umpire. He is required to apply at the office and to inquire for a job, or forfeit the compensation. The job offered must be substantially equivalent in compensation and conditions to the one which he had. Of course, a worker cannot literally be compelled to take a job, but if he refuses it, his compensation ceases.

At every employment office there is a board of referees, meeting once a week, representing employers and employees, to whom appeal may be made from the decision of the employment officer. Then, above all, there is an umpire for the entire system.

During the first five years in England, with 2,000,000 workers insured, only 1,500 appeals were taken to this umpire, and his printed opinions reveal the operation of the law in all its details. This experience indicates that the rules applying to individual claims for compensation are practicable and these were adopted in the Huber bill.

The defects of the European systems are twofold. The state goes into the insurance business and subsidizes the trade unions. In St. Gall the workmen alone were required to contribute to the state insurance fund. Workmen began to leave the canton, and the law was repealed. In Belgian cities, if any voluntary association of workmen makes contributions for the relief of their unemployed, the city reimburses the association to the extent of one-third or more of the amount paid out. Since the trade unions, with their out-of-work funds, are the only organizations to take advantage of the law, the city, in effect, subsidizes the unions. After this system, adopted in Denmark, had resulted in abuses, the revision of the law in 1920 provided that no longer should the unions decide whether an unemployed person was entitled to the state aid. A public official is now the umpire and decides between the workers, the union, and the state. When England followed in 1912, a third party, the employer, was required to contribute to the state fund, but the subsidizing of trade unions was continued.

These policies go on the theory that unemployment is something that cannot be prevented, and hence the philanthropic thing to do is to set up a state insurance fund. The Huber bill abandons the idea that either the state or the trade unions can operate successfully an insurance scheme, if the purpose is prevention. It places the responsibility solely upon the employers, or rather upon the associated employers, without contributions from the state or from employees. A state-wide employer's mutual company is created for the prevention and insurance of unemployment. The duty to pay unemployment compensation is placed on the individual employer, but he is required to insure. In this respect, the Wisconsin accident compensation law is read into the unemployment compensation law. The difference is that the employment office takes the place of the doctor and the employment manager takes the place of the safety expert.

Ten years ago, when the accident compensation law went into effect, many employers were alarmed by the increase in insurance rates. One firm was asked by

ceded. In fact, they are very far from conceded yet, though some progress has been made.

A new culture appears on the horizon, somewhat vague as yet, but bright enough to be the unmistakable evidence of a new day. New political and economic systems are demanding different educational values. For a long time schools seemed to determine their cultural standards in inverse ratio to living facts. Learning was learning, and it was the business of life to conform to a preconceived standard of living. With a devotion to this standard almost as blind and irrational as that of the Chinese to their classics, the American school system tried for many years to mold all boys and girls who entered their halls according to this form. If they could not be molded, so much the worse for the boys and girls. Though I am personally grateful for the power and the general enhancement of life secured by a classical education, I freely admit that I became truly educated after my college days. Up to the time I had taken a B.A. degree, I knew very little that had happened since the birth of Christ, though I was very much at home with Greek columns, Egyptian obelisks, Assyrian temples, and Babylonian tablets, all valuable in their way, but obviously not the *only* way to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.

The inability of the schools to meet the life-needs of average boys and girls has been a matter of much concern and discussion among school men for the last twenty years, and more particularly for the last ten, with the result that public school systems have been enriched lately by industrial and vocational education. This was probably done, to begin with, to meet the immediate needs of modern industrial and economic life; but it has brought with it a recognition of the cultural value of work and the duties of both schools and industry to so modify their operation as to serve this end, if a healthy and happy people should be developed.

We are up against facts, not theories. We are living in an industrial age. There is a vast amount of work to be done with the hands as well as with the head. Obviously somebody must do it, and quite as obviously we must either find a way to give this work a cultural value or frankly admit that culture is outside the possible attainment of a vast majority of our people. Think of the absurdity of a compulsory school system that would serve so-called culture at the expense of the individual's needs, or else force him to meet these practical needs by withdrawing outside the pale of any recognized culture. Yet, that is about what we have done. The kind of education that has the stamp of popular approval and is placed before boys and girls as the worthiest aim of all youthful ambition, has been, in the very nature of the case, not only outside the practical attainment of most of them, but the capacity or taste as well. That is what I mean by saying that if a democracy is to survive at the present stage of industrial and scientific development, we must remold our ideas of culture.

If it is possible for the schools to enter the world of industry, may it not be possible by the same process of evolution, for industry to enter the world of the humanities? In short, if modern civilization is to survive, and democratic government to become more than an experiment, public education must find some way to meet both the needs of daily living and the urge of human life, to get the work of the world done efficiently and to satisfy the individual need for joy and self-expression. The work of the world is multiple, and human joy has many sides. May we not evolve a culture big enough to meet the double need? This is the task of public education, a task the war has

be met in full only by introducing the system gradually. Certain transitional measures are required. A preventive measure cannot prevent a condition already existing. Hence a revision of the Huber bill provided that the law should not go into effect until a finding should be made by the Industrial Commission that business conditions are improving and workmen are being re-employed in reasonable numbers. It is the time when companies begin to set aside their reserve funds for investors that they may also set them aside for unemployment. Then they may begin to pay their contributions to the mutual insurance company.

Further than this, there is no actuarial experience on which to base premium rates. The best statistics are from Massachusetts, which show that in the factories of that state, over a period of twenty-five years, the amount of unemployment averaged about five weeks a year. It went as high as 30 per cent in the years 1893 to 1897 and as low as 2 per cent in the best years. The average was about 10 per cent. That is almost the only existing basis for calculating premium rates. Consequently, an initial period of three years is provided in the Huber bill, during which the maximum period of compensation is fixed at six instead of thirteen weeks. And further, if, during this initial period, the reserves of the insurance company run low and menace the solvency of the company, the Industrial Commission is authorized to shorten the period to not less than six weeks, in order to protect the solvency of the company. This feature is taken from the insurance plan of the Dutchess Bleacheries.

With these initial provisions, it is necessary to create a single Employers' Mutual Unemployment Insurance Company, to which all employers are eligible, rather than leave the field open to competition. The company is both a prevention and an insurance company, managed by the employers. During this initial period, the premium rates can be worked out, under the approval of the state Insurance Commissioner, and the rules and regulations can be worked out under the approval of the Industrial Commission.

For the purpose of working out the rules and regulations, a state Advisory Board of employers and employees is provided. This has been the method, in Wisconsin, by which the safety and sanitation orders of the Industrial Commission were made. Out of three hundred labor laws in the state, only one hundred pages were enacted by the legislature. The other two hundred pages were framed by advisory committees of employers, employees, and experts, serving without compensation, and then after public hearing, were issued as orders having the effect of law. So the unemployment compensation bill provides a framework, and leaves the details to the employers' insurance company and the advisory committees of employers, employees, and employment managers, under supervision of the existing state authorities. The duty of the latter is simply to see that the law is carried into effect and to decide disputes. The employers themselves make the rules and the state acts as umpire. The twelve state free-employment offices are already managed by these joint committees co-operating with the state commissions, and no material change is needed in their administration. They become, mainly, recording offices for the unemployment compensation law, since the employers will do the job-finding themselves through their employment managers and their state-wide insurance company.

The question of public policy depends on practicability, but also on public opinion. One person may think unemployment insurance desirable; another that it is untimely; another that it pauperizes labor. One person may agree that it is desirable for the em

past 120 years. Prices rise, profits increase, everybody is confident, speculation over-reaches itself; then comes the collapse. Many workingmen and farmers think that the present depression was brought about by a conspiracy of financiers. But the causes occurred two years ago. It was the over-expansion of 1919 that produced the contraction of 1921. There was no conspiracy then. To prevent unemployment the over-expansion that precedes it must be prevented. Work must somehow be spread out, much as the unions try to do it, but in a way more business-like.

There are, indeed, other causes of unemployment besides the credit cycle. The "labor turnover," up to an uncertain point, is useful. It is liberty to quit the employer and look for a better job, or liberty to dismiss the worker and look for a better one. Consequently, in the Huber bill, following the British example, the first three days of unemployment are not counted as such. Unemployment compensation begins the fourth day.

Summer and winter seasons bring unemployment, but seasonable industries are adjustable. The cycle of seasons comes regularly and can be discounted, or one industry can be dovetailed with another, like coal and ice. The best work that has, so far, been done in stabilizing employment has been that of stabilizing seasonal employment; as when the Dennison Manufacturing Company, by many well-known devices, succeeded in spreading out their original seasonal industry into a steady all-round employment covering many dovetailed jobs. During the war this company took the next step by making provision against the unemployment of business depression.

When attention is focused on the credit cycle, it is the banker, more than the employer, who becomes the stabilizer of employment. During the recent over-expansion of business a certain manufacturer came to his banker asking a loan of \$250,000 in order to enlarge his plant. The banker turned the application over to the "industrial engineer" recently added to the personnel of the bank, who showed the manufacturer that, by better labor management, he could get along without the loan. Six or eight months afterward the manufacturer was profuse with thanks to the banker. The banking system, which is the center of the credit system, more than the employer, must be looked to for the mechanism of stabilizing employment. The difficulty is that one employer or one bank cannot do it alone. It is a collective responsibility, of the credit system, and uniform action is necessary. If one manufacturer is prevented from overexpanding, he sees his competitors get the business. But, if competitors are prevented, he is more nearly content.

This uniform pressure of the credit system is invoked by the provision of the Huber bill that when an employer lays off a man he shall pay him a dollar a day for a period of thirteen weeks, or less if another job is found meanwhile. This, with an added 10 cents for support of employment offices, creates a possible liability of \$85, taken on with every man employed, and maturing when he is laid off. Under such circumstances it should be expected that when an employer goes to the bank for seasonal credit in order to expand, the banker will seek to assure himself that the employer will be able to continue the employment or find the man another job when the season ends, or else pay him that possible \$85.

Two questions arise: one regarding the practicability of the rules of unemployment insurance; the other regarding the public policy.

On the question of practicability we have the experience of Europe accident compensation laws. When the British law was revised in 1920

arious states are not performing this function as well as they should. Only a few states have a well-organized system of employment offices and no state has anywhere like an adequate number of offices to handle the problem, and even in those states that have done most in providing offices, we do not find the pay or personnel adequate for the important work they are doing. The public offices should be extended and the need for fee agencies would disappear.

When it comes to seasonal unemployment, public employment offices can, by a careful study of industries, aid in dovetailing demand and supply of labor. I am convinced that employment offices are far from perfection in this type of service. In most states the information necessary for efficient service of this character is not available. Control records are just as essential for effective work here as in private business, and there is great need for intelligent organization in the public employment offices along these lines. If the cause for unemployment is due to the more deep-seated influences mentioned above, the employment offices can do little to relieve unemployment. Like other agencies, they have to mark time till a normal balance between production and consumption, between investment and spending, has again worked itself out in industry.

Among the remedies for unemployment, an argument for regularization of industry is frequently advanced. We are told that any program should aim to prevent unemployment. So far as this objective is attainable, prevention should play a large part in the plans for dealing with the problem. Our experience with workmen's compensation and accident prevention is made the basis for an argument for the prevention of unemployment. May I advise, in passing, caution in the use of this argument? In the case of industrial accidents, the installation of safety devices and the inauguration of "safety first" campaigns are within the control of the managers of the individual establishments. The economies from the reduction of industrial accidents are immediate and direct. In the case of unemployment, the conditions are by no means so controllable by the individual concern or establishment. It is true that intelligent management can dovetail different products and give continuous employment to a much greater extent than is now done or thought possible by many business men. We have so many illustrations of successful regularization of a plant by such methods as to give confidence in the belief that similar business intelligence applied to the problem in other lines would bring similar results. However, every student of the problem recognizes the limits to regularization by an individual establishment. More is hoped from collective action by industrial groups. However, there are influences outside of an industry, which are beyond the control of the combined group that affect its continuity vitally, and distinctly limit the possibility of regularization even where collective action is possible. This fact should be definitely recognized in any planning for the prevention of unemployment.

So far as a charge on industry based upon unemployment experience is unable to prevent unemployment, it becomes a means of distributing the burdens resulting from lack of work. No doubt this added charge would stimulate an interest in ways and means of economizing on this item on the part of the management. When a shut-down in industry becomes necessary, the management of a plant would exert itself to find jobs—if any were available—for its working force. How far they would be able to avoid the charge by preventing unemployment is the point I am raising and offering as a word of caution in discussing a program for unemployment. I would

ployer individually, but to require it by legislation is a needless burden on employers. These differences, in the long run, must be settled by good judgment as to the future of the state and nation, and by an understanding of the causes of labor unrest. If the labor problem is a serious problem ahead, it is because it gets its bitterness from the inability of business to safeguard the security of employment. American states, with the approval of most employers, have removed from the struggle of capital and labor the bitterness of uncompensated accidents. Labor spokesmen formerly could, with justice, stir up hatred of employers with the accusation of profits taken out of flesh and blood. No longer do we hear that indictment. But we do hear that capital gets its profits out of the reserve army of the unemployed—and there is no effective reply. For the sake of capitalism and even of a civilization which, like capitalism, depends on confidence, capitalists should look ahead and assume legal responsibility for security of jobs parallel to their legal responsibility for security of investments.

B. PUBLIC EMPLOYMENT OFFICES IN RELATION TO UNEMPLOYMENT

Professor F. S. Deibler, Chairman, General Advisory Board, Illinois Free Employment Offices, Chicago

Unemployment is the most serious industrial risk that comes to the man or woman who is working for wages. The burdens resulting from unemployment fall not alone upon the individual worker, but are borne also by his family. The worker is helpless at such times as there is little that he can do to avert the effects which such a period brings. In other words, the causes for unemployment are entirely beyond the control of the worker. He can do nothing but seek work. The by-products of long-continued unemployment are discontent or degeneration, both of which are socially bad. The importance of these by-products is the cause of the general public interest in the problem. When the stability of our social order is threatened public opinion becomes aroused and constructive measures can be more easily developed and put into effect as the result of the general discussion and the awakened realization as to the importance of the problem.

In laying plans to cope with unemployment the causes should receive consideration. Previous studies have shown that unemployment may be (a) local, due to maladjustment of the local supply and demand for labor; (b) seasonal, due to the irregularity in industry; (c) national, due to serious disturbances in the balance between production and consumption. Over-investment in particular lines, or a rapid change in investment, or even a marked change in the nature of the demand for commodities, as is being witnessed at present in passing from a period of war consumption to one of peace consumption, may so disturb the equilibrium of production and consumption as to cause widespread unemployment.

When unemployment is local the public employment offices are the most important agencies in adjusting the supply of labor to the existing demand. The function of the employment office at this point is to furnish information concerning opportunities of work to persons seeking employment. What is needed is a better organization of the labor market. I need not argue for the extension and general improvement of public employment ex-

adjust his person into the ethical structure of America. His assimilation has been fostered by economic and social experiences favorable to his disposition.

Within the past seven months I have talked with about three thousand immigrants of various nationalities, in groups or singly. My activities in the past kept me in constant touch with them. Thus I am able to compare the status of the immigrant during the war with that of the present. His value, while the war lasted, was determined by the usefulness he represented as a contributor to the contingent of the army, as a union worker or employee of other industrial plants connected with war work, as a subscriber to liberty bonds, and as one who donated to the Red Cross and War Relievement.

The moral-self of the immigrant found or expected support and verification in his war activities in lofty principles, such as saving the world for democracy, or to be instrumental in establishing the independence of his native country.

He felt that he was important. A conviction developed in him of being necessary to the life of America. The immigrant-Punchinello liked to imagine that he could do without someone pulling the strings. Captains of industry set value upon him, the press spoke and newspapers wrote about him, he was suspected of being dangerous, he was also praised as being desirable. Whether he was denounced or praised, he was in the limelight, because he was considered necessary. In fact, scores of immigrants confided to me that their interest in America, their desire to attend night school after a heavy day's toil, their intentions to be acquainted with American history, to understand the essentials of American politics otherwise than as imposed upon them by ward leaders or their henchmen—that is, their eagerness to see the soul of America—was a reciprocal outcome of their consciousness of being important from an American angle. "Being important, I have to live up to it," was one of the most concise statements I obtained.

When the war ended, all of a sudden the immigrant's glory of importance vanished. With the increase of unemployment, his restlessness gradually grew. He began to sense the veil of pre-war obscurity. Theoretical references to the transitory period of reconstruction appealed to him as a vague encouragement. Actual conditions shaped his judgment, and the slice cut from his savings account to keep on living made him inclined to believe that the present situation needs a speedy operation to be performed by a business surgeon. His fear of pre-war times, of losing a job, is now multiplied by the trembling anxiety of not obtaining work in the near future. For some time he took cognizance of the often repeated statement that the restoration of normalcy must find its way, but with the increase of unemployment his docile patience and desire to understand present difficulties began to weaken. Although he may not know very much about Samuel Gompers as a labor leader, he would rather trust in his statement that five million persons are out of employment in the United States, than the report of the Labor Department that the number of unemployed has not yet reached the figure of two million. It is easier for him to believe the former statement, as he sees the majority of his friends and neighbors wandering aimlessly around without jobs. He is not panic-stricken as yet, but he is undoubtedly embittered.

On one hand the contrast between the immigrant's prosperity during the war and his present economic depression, on the other hand his ethical standard heightened by stressing his importance then and the seeming or actual lowering of it now is so prominent, its effects so big, that the immigrant, in measuring his relationship to America, is apt to form an irrational judgment. Now what is the reaction of this state of mind?

The immigrant's mentality harbors grievances, based as fictitious chimeras. He is like a person with one molar ach teeth are aching. Of course, to have one bad tooth is unpleasant in time it may infect the others too. The immigrant is morbid outlook toward his existence, and consequently toward give him an approximately definite time in regard to betterment tions. He does not gain by this attitude, but neither does America adds to the general confusion, and unnecessarily intensifies which unquestionably possesses valuable physical and mental quality element will be needed soon would betray a credulous disposition foundation for such optimism.

The knowledge of the immigrant's present state of mind gives the and actions on his part, the real significance of which we could not other hand. It would be silly to accept that comfortable prejudice as a series that anarchism, bolshevism, or any other "ghostism" is the magnetic the immigrant is drawn in his poverty. But he is liable to yield to a few may call an awkward metaphysical obsession of his mind, that he is insidious circumstances. Lacking a sophisticated imagination, he responds eagerness and credence of a primitive person to rumors of a lugubrious instance, he tenaciously sticks to the belief that the present industrial dead result of a systematically devised plan directed against the worker whom the of war made all too powerful. As the overwhelming majority of the immigrant unskilled workers, he feels this action directed especially against them. having essential evidence for this belief, in his adversity he gives unhesitating to it.

The penalty for the immigrant's impressionistic and hasty judgment price of his disillusion is pathetic. His wretchedness, strengthened by his dissipation, by the dwindling of his savings, and his calculations based on the difference of money-exchange, actuates him to deeds which sometimes have tragical consequences. For example, to avert spending his entire savings, he decides to re-emigrate. Considering the restriction bill of immigration recently passed by Congress, his chances for returning to America are very small, as only a minor percentage are naturalized. Besides this, the lack of funds complicates his difficulty. The greater number of those who re-emigrate under the impulse of the moment because of unemployment, expecting to find abroad the desired job and tranquillity of mind, under fairly normal conditions would have remained here. They are the ones who long ago settled the question of staying in America. They patiently bore the hard work in the foundries, munitions plants, mines, etc., anticipating the joy of being re-united here with their families, or if the family happened to be here with them, to live without undue worries hereafter, and as their mentality began to take root in this country, they were an asset for America. Thus it was sad, but not surprising news to me to read letters sent by immigrants of this type who went back to Europe, and who did not find the economic satisfaction they were seeking, nor did they feel any longer at home there. They are calling for America from a distance of several thousand miles. At the same time I am not astonished to observe the phenomenon, that despite these discouraging missives, re-emigration is still continuing, or the desire to do so has not abated. Evidently despair reasons not.

It is an exaggeration to state that my experiences make me believe that the immigrant has reached the limits of his resources. He still has money, and to the type of the pioneer, he was foresighted and thrifty. That superstition of what the mysterious tomorrow may bring, is the source of his anxiety. To be explicit, I may say that the crystallization of his materialistic philosophy is the keenly developed instinct of self-preservation, which in his terms means that as an immigrant—in other words, as a person who does not feel the security of being born in his country—he cannot afford to be extravagant.

The demoralizing influence of unemployment upon the immigrant is of a nature more serious than the actual economic disaster it causes. Naturally, as long as he has his savings, no matter how restricted his expenses are, he can endure the pressure much easier. But the fear that his financial resources may be exhausted, which is the case with many of his kinsmen, and the waste of energy which is the result of being out of work, makes him irritable, cantankerous, and impatient. As the immigrant's savings have been used up, the demoralizing influence of unemployment is growing more extensive. What does he see?

He sees men begging who could not be accused of being professional mendicants. He sees men buying meat and groceries on credit, and hears the threat of stopping it, so that the keepers cannot carry them on indefinitely. He witnesses the breaking up of families where the husband has left for other towns in search of employment. He sees men going out to clean and wash for others, and thereby being forced to neglect their children. He hears of instances where men committed suicide for being out of work for months. He encounters people who are unhappy because they are unable to help their destitute relatives abroad, and are unable to do so. He sees men living in boarders or doubling up to reduce expenses, which, through the often influence of close proximity, frequently ends in loosening of morals. His attitude of cynicism, commences to lose faith in the character of his industrious fellow-workers whose unsuccessful hunt for employment reacts in their dissipation, which is often followed by reverting to abominable habits discontinued for years, such as over-indulgence in liquor, or beating their wives or children, as if thus wreaking vengeance for the adverse situation in which they find themselves. He knows of fellow-workers eloping with other men for economic advantages.

The immigrant may have experienced this in the past, but on a much smaller scale. Now, the present situation seems to appear normal in its undesirable aspects, so that he is prone to see the shadows of sufferings even on occasions when the sufferings may be without basis. Yet to mock at him for this would be a cheap and a condition for which he is not responsible. He seems to display a more courage than the unemployed native-born worker of similar intelligence, who is unconscious of it, for the apparent reasons that he is not linked with America by a tie as if he were native born.

To perceive it, the honest way to meet the issue of unemployment as it affects the immigrant would be to try to see the features of it as clearly as possible. Any concealment of plain truth would be detrimental to public good. If we do not apply the high ethical standard of a normal human being to the average immigrant at a time when in some industrial centers unemployment has reached almost fatal dimensions, we ought not to delude ourselves by thinking that Americanization has no motives too. However, if we maintain the view that the immigrant's demo-

cratic education is identical with the progress of his political and social culture, which, after all, should be the kernel of Americanization, and for this reason we favor the immigrant's staying in America, then his present mentality, together with his justified or unjustified restlessness, has to be seriously considered and closely analyzed.

The business side of the issue is that America will need the immigrant in the future. I am convinced that this is not a haphazard prophecy, and of course, I look upon the restriction of immigration as an emergency action.

In the future the problem of Americanization, or to be more exact, the diminishing of the mental gulf between the immigrant and America, will be less difficult, if we convince him, by trying to understand his present situation, that he is not only useful, but esteemed and valued for all his human qualities.

People will come to our shores whose kinsmen here will tell them that America can be liked for her humane principles too; the latter as yet are not entirely discredited, but the danger of it is in sight. It seems to me what the native-born and the immigrant alike needs is this: that in an epoch of new and contradictory economic and moral valuations the only justification of democratic philosophy lies in its practical—that is, its humanitarian application. The admission fee to Americanism, if that means anything, is insight into human nature, inspired by the wish to understand and help wherever that person's cradle may have rocked. To be heedful of this in these critical times of unemployment, and when fate juggles with other similarly important questions, this conception of Americanism may not be called a travesty neither from a rationalistic, nor from an ethical point of view.

LESSONS LEARNED FROM THE GOVERNMENT EXPERIENCE IN HOUSING

Harlean James, Secretary, American Civic Association, Washington, D.C.

Because of the reluctance of our citizens to see the government embark in business, and because of the further delay in securing congressional action, it was not until March of 1918, almost a year after the United States entered the war, that the Shipping Board was authorized to spend money for housing purposes, and not until July of 1918, after we had been at war nearly sixteen months, and less than four months before the signing of the armistice, that the United States Housing Corporation was permitted to disburse funds. For this reason, the demonstration by the federal government that decent housing of employees is good business was less effective and useful than if houses had been built and occupied during the war work.

By the time that the government did enter the field, it had become apparent that only quantity production of houses would make any impression on the housing shortage in war industrial communities. The original estimates of time required for planning, ordering, and erecting the various classes of housing had to be revised.

Because the government only undertook housing after it had become absolutely impossible for private enterprise, except for a very unreliable and sometimes conflicting authority to secure materials, shipments, and labor, it had no advantage over private enterprise. The government, therefore, was not in a position to make any demonstration in the way of low-cost production of houses.

The United States Housing Company, which had in hand on November 11, 1918, housing for twenty-one thousand families at an estimated cost of nearly \$150,000,000, and for nearly twenty-five thousand single men and women at an estimated cost of nearly \$120,000,000, only completed housing for about six thousand families and accommodations for about eight thousand single workers. Some of the dormitories completed were never occupied and others were occupied but a short time before peace did away with their need. The housing program of the Shipping Board was reduced in like manner at the signing of the armistice.

We now ask ourselves what was accomplished by the building of these government houses, few of which were actually occupied during the war. Undoubtedly any man was kept on the job because he saw visible evidence that he would be provided for, even though he might be sleeping in shifts in a bed occupied by others while he worked and took his recreation. But this service was psychological and ended with the war.

Counting the lessons learned which hold over into peace times it may be said that the permanent houses were, on the whole, a good example in the neighborhoods where they were built. The government housing, even in its by-product for peace, cannot be said to be wasted effort.

But when we scan the whole field of the present housing shortage, when we analyze causes and recommend remedies, what shall we say of the future? How can the government be effective in the present situation? Shall we follow the example of England and involve our government in an expenditure for housing which Mr. Thomas Lamont has estimated will reach a net loss of \$100,000,000 each year for the next twenty years, in order to provide less than half the houses we need now? Shall we subsidize the builders and occupants of cottages by a general tax in a time when high taxation is automatically limiting production of houses?

If we believe the policy of subsidizing tenants, home-owners, and builders to be effective and wrong in principle, shall we drift with the tide and allow the housing shortage to multiply social iniquities until finally, in a frenzy of building, we hastily erect thousands of inadequate houses, illy planned, poorly constructed, designed definitely to lower the standard of living already achieved? Or shall we recognize frankly that the government has had a hand in producing the housing shortage and should, therefore, take a hand in ending it?

While much of the decline in home building in the years before we entered the war may be traced to increased costs due to expanding opportunities for export of commodities, the present deadlock has been due in large part to governmental interference with the established channels of investment. From the time when government bonds were made exempt from tax and the federal income tax on mortgages was cut at war levels, the flow of money into building enterprises has been obstructed. During the war, of course, all building not for war production was first discouraged and then forbidden. The embargo on the manufacture of many articles used in construction of houses limited building supplies and in many instances our post-war troubles with transportation, coal, and labor have led manufacturers to await a more propitious time to resume operations on a pre-war scale.

For the dislocation of credit and the new channels of investment, for the interruption of physical production of building supplies, and for the arbitrary transfer of labor, the government has been primarily responsible. However justified we may believe

the government to have been in its to the responsibility of correcting create.

The problem then resolves its accomplish this result. Most of us shortage. Most of us agree that go to subsidize wage-earners, we must arrangements at a price which wage-tied up with the pay envelope.

Let us take, first, the wastes w

The war experience in building specialists have known—that there hardware and mill parts were suffi house, like a Ford car, manufacture without the least necessity of maki cars as we do our houses we should a car. Savings could be effected th

Building codes often require i scientific; but practically all the i such experiments as are carried o effected through determination and construction is under a handicap b for determining fire insurance rates methods and materials acceptable tions and processes might be used i

Those who have built homes and suffered discomfort if they re the building of a tall apartment ho stone cutter, a Chinese laundry, c appreciate the protection to home Those who have paid taxes on ne streets will appreciate the saving t suffered from lack of sufficient ligh or their neighbors, will appreciate could certainly be effected throug

So much for the building of hor the government experienced fewer ing them, whether as landlord or l

ent, the landlord and tennant relationship was further complicated by the and employee relationship. The government hotels can only be justified measure and as a demonstration that the essentials of healthful housing, a hearty, balanced diet, contribute to efficiency as well as human happiness. possibilities of contributions to the housing problem must be recognized who have analyzed the situation. It is proposed by the Calder-Tinkham (S. 522—H.R. 5227) to establish in the Department of Commerce a division to and make public the best information of the experts of private enterprise on these problems, in order that builders may be in a position to construct houses cheaply, that home-owners may know how they may protect their investments, tenants may acquire standards by which to measure their rentals and their obligations. No one will deny that the Department of Agriculture, by just methods, has been able to make the business of farming of infinitely greater to the farmers and to the consuming public. There is no more reason for the government to enter the housing business, as a competitor with private enterprise, than it to enter the farming business. The service which the federal government can, with reasonable certainty of producing beneficial results, is one of research, information, and distribution of valuable information. This is just what the Department of Commerce proposes to do.

One may object that you have heard of all these possibilities for years but that little has come of it. True, little has come of our private talk. That is why this bill should be undertaken by the federal government. Only the federal government commands the resources to secure and disseminate reliable information which will be noted by the general public. This is a service peculiarly fitted to our theory of government, a service which should be helpful to all the people and yet with no hint of compulsion. The bill is based on the theory that if the people know the facts they will be intelligent enough to act on them.

The activities of the Department of Commerce should be supplemented by government action to extend legitimate credit on real property. Through the Home Loan Bank bill (S. 797) and an amendment to the Federal Reserve act (S. 1836), it is hoped to make it possible for home-owners and home-builders to secure sound credit without the obligation of paying prohibitive fees for securing loans in addition to all the law permits for interest.

The establishment of home loan banks would prove a very valuable extension of credit, but the passage of the bill has been delayed, possibly because of its tax exemption provision. Tax exemption is a charity, but, as Mr. Franklin T. Miller so aptly says, when justice is not done, charity becomes necessary. The government and the courts of the country have been unjust to home-builders in penalizing mortgage investments. Unless they retrace their steps immediately and remove the ban on mortgage investments, it will be necessary for the government to extend the charity exemption, which is only a palliative for a disease contracted at government expense.

It is no permanent cure and no one can predict accurately how much actual relief will bring to a highly complicated disorder. It may be that the general purpose of the Home Loan Bank bill can be achieved by an amendment to the Farm Loan bill.

The amendment to the Federal Reserve act strikes more at the root of the trouble and would permit the national savings banks to make long-term loans on real estate

up to 50 per cent of the value for a period of six months. At the present time national banks are only permitted to loan on real estate. Formerly the national banks made short-term loans from their deposits of checking accounts, and long-term loans from their savings accounts. The savings banks, however, tempted by the profits of frequent turnover, have increased their short-term loans. Have you ever stopped to consider that the money deposited in the savings banks of the country belongs to the people? The deposits in town and country banks, particularly, represent the savings of the people of that community. Even if the amendment to the Federal Reserve act should be passed it would be necessary for depositors to exercise their authority before generous loans on real estate would become common. It is true, the banker could no longer assure the would-be borrower that, much as he would like to accommodate him, he is prevented from doing so by the law of the land. If only half of the \$2,000,000,000 of the people's money deposited in savings departments of national banks were released into housing, through mortgages up to 50 or 60 per cent of the value, nearly half a million new houses could be financed from this one source of credit. The example would undoubtedly release other credit. The Lockwood Committee in New York has drawn a comparison between the shrinkage in railroad securities held by a prominent insurance company and the safe and sound mortgage investments of another.

You can see how closely extension of credit is tied up with an economy of production which will make cost of construction represent real value. You can see, also, how this affair of credit is dependent upon maintenance of values by protection of neighborhoods through zoning, and upon economy of land lay-out and street improvements secured by intelligent city-planning. The wage-earner can never command a fair proportion of credit for home-building until his capital investment is squeezed dry from all those overweights of expense which he ought not to afford, and until it is protected from artificial and arbitrary shrinkage in value due to neighborhood changes.

We want to see our nation a country of home-owners. If our citizens are to be wise rulers of the republic, they must carry their share of the responsibilities which come from consecutive participation in community affairs. If the war is responsible for inaugurating a government service which will enable our citizens to become intelligent home-owners in well-planned, convenient communities, with pride in their local self-government and faith in their national institutions, the federal government will have made a reconstruction contribution of infinitely greater value than it was able to make by means of the war housing actually produced.

STANDARDS OF LIFE

A. PUBLIC CONTROL OF THE PACKING INDUSTRY, AND REDUCING THE COST OF LIVING

*Mrs. Edward P. Costigan, Chairman, Food Supply and Demand Committee,
League of Women Voters*

There can be no escape from the burden of high-living costs until the government is found to bring the producer and consumer into closer contact. Herbert Hoover is quoted as saying recently: "The margins between our farmers and the wholesaler in commodities other than grain, in some instances, even in normal times, is the highest in any civilized country, fully 25 per cent higher than in most European countries."

he recently published on the "Nation's Agricultural Problems," Senator Ne have developed the most complete marketing system ever devised lect but at the same time the most expensive the world has ever known. 1,500 miles to be converted into pork and lard to be again returned for o the community where it was produced. Is that good business?"

remedies.—On August 8, 1919, Woodrow Wilson, at that time president States, appeared before Congress and urged legislation to relieve the nd cost-of-living crisis in America. He asked legislation for: imposing profiteering; limiting the time during which goods may be kept in cold requiring the prices at which goods are placed in storage to be marked requiring goods destined for interstate commerce to be marked with the ch they leave the hands of the producers; and licensing and regulating engaged in interstate commerce, as a means of restraining such corpora-reaping "unconscionable profits." Practically none of the measures re enacted into law.

12, 1921, President Harding, in an address to Congress, said: "Reduced production has been recorded, but high cost of living has not yielded in on. For example, the prices on grain and live-stock have been deflated of bread and meats is not adequately reflected therein. I have asked the le Commission for a report of its observations, and its attributes, in the lure to adjust consumer's cost to basic production cost, to the exchange on by 'open-price associations' which operate, evidently, within the law, advantage of their members and equal disadvantage to the consuming

eply to President Harding, referred to by him, the Federal Trade Com-ested among other remedies: improved transportation and credit facilities; secutions under the anti-trust laws; positive encouragement of co-ociations of agricultural producers and co-operative consumers' organiza-ssage of measures aimed at the elimination of unnecessary reconsignment e operatives, including "gambling in futures."

1919, the Federal Trade Commission published an earlier report on the Marketing of Food" in which the compulsory licensing of wholesalers, ibition of reselling goods among wholesalers, were advocated as ways to cked channels of trade between producer and consumer.

ontrol by the five "packers."—In 1917, the President of the United States, y reports of increased population and decreased production of food, e Federal Trade Commission to "investigate and report facts relating to on, ownership, manufacture, storage, and distribution of foodstuffs"; rtain the facts bearing on alleged violations of the anti-trust acts, and upon the question whether there are manipulations, controls, trusts, s, conspiracies, or restraints of trade out of harmony with the law or the st."

ustive and intensive investigation resulted, and the facts brought out ng in the extreme.

ort of the commission states that five corporations—Armour and Co., ., Morris and Co., Wilson and Co., and the Cudahy Packing Co., known cers"—"not only have a monopolistic control over the American meat

industry, but have secured control, similar in purpose if not yet in extent, over principal substitutes for meat, such as eggs, cheese, and vegetable oil products, and are rapidly extending their power to cover fish and nearly every kind of foodstuff. According to the Federal Trade Commission, the "Big Five," in addition to meat "sold in 1916, through their branch houses alone, nearly 100,000,000 pounds of poultry, 90,000,000 pounds of butter, 75,000,000 pounds of cheese, and over 135,000,000 dozen eggs."

The packers are also important factors in breakfast foods, condensed milk, and canned fruits and vegetables. The canned goods business is now about \$16,000,000 a year. Recently they have extended their operations to include various staple groceries and vegetables such as rice, potatoes, beans, and coffee. The Trade Commission reports: "Here again the immense selling organization of the packers built up in connection with their meat business assures them almost certain supremacy in any line of food-handling which they may wish to enter. Armour's drive into the rice market in a single year is perhaps the most striking instance of the potentialities in this direction. Early in 1917, Armour & Company first undertook the handling of rice, and in that one year sold more than 16,000,000 pounds of rice, thus becoming at a single move, on the statement of the vice-president of the company, 'the greatest rice merchant in the world.'" During this period the wholesale price of rice increased 65 per cent. At the present rate it is estimated that the wholesale grocer business will disappear in five or six years. Incidentally, the commission mentions monopolistic dominance in sales of leather and wool, necessary for the production of shoes and clothes, resulting in unprecedented profits to the packers. The Big Five handle more than three-fourths of the hides and tan a large part of the leather in the United States. They deal in hundreds of commodities unrelated to the meat-packing industry.

The commission states: "In 1917, the Big Five's combined sales of meats and all other commodities totaled \$2,127,245,000; in 1918, they were over \$3,000,000,000." The report adds: "At the present rate of expansion, within a few years, the big packers would control the wholesale distribution of the nation's food supply."

Sources of control.—The Federal Trade Commission further charges that these conditions were originally made possible through combinations, rebates, and special privileges of the packers. It is stated they have resulted from the ownership of: "stockyards, with their collateral institutions, such as terminal roads, cattle loan banks, and market papers" (the packers own a controlling interest in nearly every chief stockyard company in the United States); "private refrigerator car lines for the transportation of all kinds of perishable foods" (90 per cent of meat refrigerator cars and over 50 per cent of the other refrigerator cars are owned by the same group); "cold storage plants for the preservation of the perishable foods;" "branch-house system of wholesale distribution"; the packers operate over 1,000 branch houses and about 1,300 peddler car routes; "banks and real estate" (the packers are interested in scores of the larger banks in fifteen cities from Boston to San Francisco).

The Federal Trade Commission's report recites that the result of this control has been forcing down the prices paid to producers at one end, and a rise in cost to consumers at the other. The packers can manipulate markets and dispose of their products without regard to supply and demand. The report says:

"Not only is the business of gathering, preparing, and selling meat products in their control, but an almost countless number of by-product industries are similarly

minated; and not content with reaching out for mastery as to commodities which substitutes for meat and its by-products, they have invaded allied industries and even related ones. The combination has not stopped at the most minute integration it has gone on into a stage of conglomeration, so that unrelated heterogeneous enterprises are brought under control.

"As we have followed these five great corporations through their amazing and various ramifications—followed them through important branches of industry, of commerce, and of finance—we have been able to trace back to its source the great power which has made possible their growth. We have found it is not so much the means of production and preparation, nor the sheer momentum of great wealth, but the advantage which is obtained through a monopolistic control of the market places and means of transportation and distribution. If these five great concerns owned no packing plants and killed no cattle and still retained control of the instruments of transportation, of marketing, and of storage, their position would not be less strong than it is. The producer of live stock is at the mercy of these five companies because they control the market and the marketing facilities and, to some extent, the rolling stock which transports the product to the market. The competitors of these five concerns are at their mercy because of the control of the market places, storage facilities, and the refrigerator cars for distribution. The consumer of meat products is at the mercy of these five because both producer and competitor are helpless to bring relief."

We learn that in 1917, a war year of patriotism, sacrifice, and suffering, though the sales of the packers had barely doubled, their profits were four times as great as in an average year prior to the war.

Suggested federal legislation.—Many interested and important organizations have joined in urging corrective legislation affecting the meat packing industry. Among them may be mentioned: The American Live Stock Association, whose activities inaugurated the Federal Trade Commission's investigation; The National Grange; The Farmers' National Council; The National Board of Farm Organizations; The American Farm Bureau Federation; The American Federation of Labor; The Wholesale Grocers' Association; The League of Women Voters; The Women's Trade Union League and the National Consumers' League.

As a result of many conferences and much discussion, two bills were introduced in the Senate: the Kendrick bill and the Kenyon bill, the latter being also introduced in the House of Representatives by Representative Anderson. The Kenyon-Anderson bill provided for a licensing system under the Department of Agriculture, designed to accomplish the following results: "(1) To remove the stock yards from the control of packers; (2) To limit the packers' control over other industries producing unrelated food products; (3) To put refrigerator cars on the basis of common carriers and make them part and parcel of the carrying system of the country and subject to such rulings as are made from time to time to prevent unfair competition and combines under inter-state commerce laws; (4) To establish throughout the country storage and marketing facilities that will permit competition with packers' branch houses."

This bill had the hearty support of the above mentioned organizations.

Of great interest to the consumer was the provision in the Kenyon-Anderson bill for federal authorization and encouragement of local efforts to establish food warehouses and retail distributing centers. This would assure small producers, municipal

and white employee, wages, hours, shop requirements, housing, transportation and many more have been issues in his assimilation to his new environment.

We are to confine our remarks to some of the outstanding developments since migration. The significant development is that certain anticipated difficulties did not develop. It was expected that discord and, in fact, open clashes between white and colored labor working in the same plants would of necessity occur. Surprisingly few instances of open hostility have been reported. Demands for separate conveniences and segregated compartments for the purpose of keeping the races apart were yielded to in a comparatively small number of cases.

When the migration began, it was conjectured and accepted that epidemics would be generated in every city to which newcomers from the South would go. Early prophecies of the physical inability of negroes to withstand the rigors of northern climate could be heard on every hand. Cities were to be visited with epidemics of pneumonia and tuberculosis. There was to be no end to smallpox. Crime waves would sweep the North and bread lines were to be numerous. It is interesting to note that while in 1919 and 1920 there were epidemics of pneumonia and influenza, they were neither brought about nor accentuated by the presence of negroes. In fact, the death rate among colored people during these epidemics was exceedingly small; and in no city has an alarming increase in morbidity or mortality ratios been discerned. In fact, in Detroit, the death rate has actually declined five or six points.

It is, of course, too soon to say whether negro labor has satisfied every demand. It would be unreasonable to expect such development in six years after an experience such as we have indicated for three hundred years. And, too, what a difference between the passionless cotton fields of Mississippi and Georgia and the engaging and uninterrupted existence of Pittsburgh, Philadelphia, Detroit and Chicago! Yet negroes actually "made good." Of course their turnover was high; in the beginning they were not punctual; they had difficulty conforming to northern frugality; in certain classes of work they did better, and in other classes, worse than whites; they jumped from job to job when no incentive or promotion was promised. In short, there were many inequalities, but when these are brushed aside there still remains the frequently acknowledged fact that negroes rendered satisfactory service and made gratifying progress in their new fields of labor.¹

But success was not instantaneous. Churches, clubs, agencies, and individuals united in a campaign of education. Placards and letters containing advice to newcomers were distributed. Pastors preached about efficiency, orderliness, and citizenship. Counsel and warnings of every conceivable description followed the new workers into the shop where noon meetings were conducted, as well as into the home where talks with wives and neighborhood meetings were held frequently. There is still the problem of trade training. In the North, negro boys and girls have not heretofore taken advantage of technical courses. Heretofore they have not been able to get jobs as mechanics and machinists and have, therefore, never acquired in the North the habit of attending trade schools. It is hoped that progress in this direction will be realized as opportunities for skilled workers appear.

Relationship between unionists and negroes, each of whom looked upon the other with mutual suspicion and fear, was regarded as one of the most serious potentialities

¹ Refer for details to two reports of the Department of Labor and the report of the Chicago Commission on Race Relations to be published soon.

the Secretary of Agriculture may prescribe uniform systems of accounts and ds. An amendment was adopted providing that commission men shall be ded in the provisions of the bill.

Though the amendments improve the bill, there is one great disappointment, use the bill as passed seems to terminate the power of the Federal Trade Commission to further investigate the packing industry. An exception is made in an ndment which would allow the Secretary of Agriculture in the exercise of his ies to call upon the Federal Trade Commission to make an investigation and report. s believed that this provision will make it necessary for Congress itself to pass new slation before it can order investigation by the Federal Trade Commission concern- business in which the packers are engaged. It may mean that important investi- tions now being made by the Federal Trade Commission will have to be abandoned. e bill will probably be referred to a conference committee composed of members m both Senate and House. It is hoped that the Senate amendments may be cepted and that something may yet be done to prevent the crippling of the Federal trade Commission.

Significance of pending legislation.—In whatever shape the bill may come from e Conference Committee, one principle at least has been established. It is that any usiness which practically controls any of the necessities of life is charged with public ise, and should be regulated by the government. Surely our nation is morally bligated to make it possible for nourishing food to be brought and kept within reach f every home and especially all growing children.

B. RECENT DEVELOPMENTS IN THE PROBLEM OF NEGRO LABOR

T. Arnold Hill, Executive Secretary, League on Urban Conditions among Negroes, Chicago

Until 1915 developments in the problem of negro labor were indiscernible. From the landing of the first slaves in 1619 until the outbreak of the world-war, negroes labored principally at farming and domestic service. In 1910 three-fourths of the gainfully employed negro population was confined to these two occupations. In the South where 78 per cent lived in the rural districts, 62 per cent of those gainfully occupied were agriculturists; while in the North, with two-fifths of its negro population of southern birth, 60 per cent were engaged in domestic and personal service. The negro's one labor problem has been that of combatting industrial handicaps both North and South. In the South, slavery, peonage, robbery, through a corrupt commissary system, and pilfering of crops, land, and wages; and in the North, a decisive exclusion from little except jobs as porters, janitors, waiters, and domestics, and a well-oiled system of poor wages and separation from benefits of organized laborers—such was the negro's industrial horizon when the labor conditions of the war gave him his first real opportunity in mechanical and industrial pursuits. Such an inheritance for the North when, pressed for workers and cramped with unfilled war orders, she called four or five hundred thousand negroes to industries untried by them before! The negro's exodus from the South and oppression marks his first real industrial development. It is not possible to discuss here all the problems involved in this transition. In the wake of his transference from the South to the North, problems of capital and labor, employer

leaders are still unagreed as to whether to encourage or impede unionizing of negroes. They remember unfortunate experiences with unions and distrust their invitation to extend equal privileges to members of the colored working fraternity. While the practical progress has been achieved, we note with relief a more friendly feeling on the part of white workers organized and unorganized—a feeling which will make impossible widespread discord such as was anticipated.

Of recent months the problem of industry for all has been that of unemployment. The practical and human question is how did negroes fare during the winter of unemployment just passed. Chicago increased its negro population from 44,000 in 1900 to 110,000 in 1920. How did the new increment of 148 per cent manage when work became scarce and factories shut down? Unemployment among negroes has been a problem. Negroes, the last to be hired, were, because of an industrial practice which gives preference to seniority in service, the first to be discharged. Moreover, because of their newness and consequent inadaptability to all varying conditions, numbers were failures and put on the toboggan as soon as depression set in. Others were poor workers and, of course, a way was found for their dismissal. Chicago at one time had approximately 20,000 colored people out of work. Many of these were roomers, for Chicago's population before the exodus was 30 per cent lodgers. Soon they found themselves on the streets of Chicago with no place to go. But their exodus from below the Mason and Dixon line, though occasioned by the opportunity to labor in the North, had other and far-reaching causes. Negroes would have left the South long ago if they could have found work, and they would not have left in 1915 in such large numbers for work, had not intolerable conditions in the South urged them on. Thus, though unemployment faced them in the North, they turned their backs on the South, refused transportation home, and openly avowed their preference for streets and alleys rather than return to friends and family in their native habitat. In Chicago, hundreds were found sleeping in doorways, halls, and poolrooms. Police stations, no longer able to accommodate them, turned them back into the street. Manufacturers and railroads brought them to Chicago but now offered them no aid.

But, strange as it might appear, unemployment did not deter their entrance into Chicago. The Chicago Urban League sent articles to southern negro papers, advising about the hard times and urging that for the present no more negroes come to Chicago. But this was of no avail; they came just the same. One young fellow who had been in Chicago three days was asked why he came. "To try to get work," he said. "Did you not know there was no work in Chicago?" "Yes," he said, "I also know that there is no work in Mississippi and I had rather be out of work in Chicago than out of work in Mississippi." Another who had been in town over night only said, "There is no use staying in Georgia. All of my last year's crop is still in the barn. Why stay down there and raise more, when I cannot sell what I harvested last year?"

Alarmed by the increase in unemployment, the Chicago Urban League organized ministers, social agencies, and club women into a special committee which undertook the feeding and sleeping of unemployed negroes, but not until public and private agencies had refused aid. Mostly single men were cared for by this committee, for the United Charities found itself unable to provide for them. Churches prepared and served meals for awhile, at their own expense and from a fund given to the league by the colored citizens for this purpose. Some clubs furnished lodging, and others, unable to feed or sleep, gave money.

In order to avoid duplication and to weed out undesirables, the Urban League was allowed to receive and record the meals and beds of all persons who were thus helped. Exception to this rule was permitted church members who could go to their pastor and receive aid without clearance. Donations of meats and vegetables in generous quantities were given daily by the packers, and a large baking company gave bread. Local merchants assisted. Colored people gave liberally and proceeds from entertainments were put into the common fund.

During the six months from January 1 to June 23, 41,074 meals were furnished and for 16,902 separate times men were given shelter. The extent of unemployment is seen from the fact that only 631 men were placed during this entire field of six months. Prior to this the league placed 1,200 a month, or twice as many monthly as were placed in six months during the period of unemployment.

Women returned to domestic service from the factories and their placements were double those of the men for the same period.

It should be borne in mind that the Salvation Army, the Young Men's Christian Association Hotel, the Dawes Hotel, the Christian Industrial League, and some other institutions which run lodging houses, deny negro men the privilege of sleeping in them.

In commenting upon the work for the unemployed, the president of the United Charities wrote the Urban League thus: "As the report showed such excellent work being done by the Urban League in organizing the activities of the various agencies on the South Side, the directors of the United Charities requested me to write to you expressing their thanks and commendation for the excellent and efficient services which the Urban League has been rendering during the past few months."

But the significant development in this matter of unemployment is the fact that negroes have retained their ratio in all the large factories and industries now opened. If the plants suspended operations, or curtailed force, of course the negro suffered along with others. Except in the case of a few small shops, no replacement of negroes by whites is noted. In fact, the negro has not only kept his own job but the jobs of others who would be glad to get them now when choice of occupation is no longer possible.

The answer to the often asked query "Will negroes retain their gains in industry?" is found in their retention now when idle white labor is seeking jobs on every hand. If colored workers who occupied positions that were vacated by whites during the war can retain these places now, when many of these same white workers are looking for employment, it is fair to assume that they have made very definite progress toward permanency in industry. Of course, immigration will be a factor, but the exact effect of foreign workers on negro labor is debatable. It will depend upon whether the immigrant comes to remain or to make money and acquire American experience with which to build up Europe; whether he brings with him anarchistic tendencies; or whether, tired of drudgery and wastage of war, he comes not for work but for ease and contentment. The advance made by southern negro laborers has exceeded expectations. Employers acknowledge their satisfaction and are still hiring them.

* The Wabash Avenue Y.M.C.A. joined with the Relief Committee referred to above and fed and slept a large number of men.

DIVISION VII—THE LOCAL COMMUNITY

STANDARDS IN LOCAL COMMUNITY WORK

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The possibility of clearly defining the best values in social work differs greatly according to the nature of particular types of activity. It is clear that great gains are to be made by the setting of standards, and by using those standards as a means of measuring progress; but in a field so varied, so complex, and in many ways so subtle as that of local community organization, the most we can hope for in the beginning is to get a more penetrating and conclusive knowledge of the vital ends in view in connection with each of the many branches of service included under that head.

It is also important that we should find the essential differences of purpose and method which exist between the different types of local social agency.

School and community centers can accomplish a great deal by providing on a broad scale the specific forms of education that are needed preparatory to American citizenship. They can bring into the crowded districts large-scale opportunities in general of education and of wholesome recreation. They can provide a local public headquarters as a base for all citizens in matters of local civic action, when the citizens are ready for such action.

The settlement finds, however, that all these efforts must be prepared for, sustained and followed up, at least in the less resourceful districts, by a great variety of penetrating and permeating acquaintance and influence.

There is of course a very promising field for the application of higher standards in connection with most of the "indoor" work of our local agencies—their clubs and classes, their dramatics and dancing, their lectures and discussion, their discipline and general administration. Here we can learn much from the work of progressive educators; and we need to have, as soon as possible, in all our working groups, trained specialists who can help us in setting right technical standards and in getting cumulative results by means of them. Such experts, however, will have to be much affected by experts in the neighborhood point of view; and I wish to emphasize particularly the meaning of that point of view in terms of its particular standards.

A special caution is necessary about the use of mere numbers as a measure of efficiency. Too many of our local centers stake nearly everything on the go-to-meeting habit. This habit seems to be on the decline. It is not only the churches that are finding this to be true. Practical politicians say that it is increasingly difficult to get people to go to indoor political meetings. The irregularity of attendance at the large classes of the school centers is very marked; and the turnover of their membership is a large one. The settlements reach people in small friendly circles, through hospitality, on the street corners, in their homes—find them where they are and approach them on the basis of a variety of interests.

What is the value of large statistics if you are not really building a social center, but are relying simply on certain forms of crude gregariousness? This whole question

of what is a local social center, and what kind of a center does appeal to people locally, is one that needs careful thought. We have been told, for instance, that the saloon was a social center, that the saloon was the workingmen's club. One of the recent phases of that thought was strongly expressed after prohibition was voted in and before it came into effect, when many organizations were making nation-wide financial drives in order to provide social substitutes for the saloon. We saw great armies of men driven out of the saloons, and demanding new places of resort. Settlement people were inclined to sit rather easy because they had a theory that the saloon was distinctly not a social center. It was a place where certain people ranged themselves on account of the appetite for a certain drug. The settlement theory was that without the alcohol, they would reclassify themselves on the basis of real interests. Has anybody heard anything since prohibition has come in about substitutes for the saloon? The best substitute for the saloon, indeed, is the home; and to a very surprising degree it has developed that when a man gets the alcohol out of his system, he rediscovers that he is a domestic being. In many cases, men must be reconsidered by our social agencies from that point of view.

The question as to what is the right sort of local social centers is one that has not been determined and cannot be determined by any sort of brief experiment. We hope that the school may serve in some degree. But there is an important field for study and experiment here, in which the settlement has rendered good service in the past and will be needed, as much or even more, in the future.

And the vital test of neighborhood organization is whether, in one way or another, persons actually on the ground, and preferably local citizens, are closely and constantly involved. It is increasingly clear that every effort, public or voluntary, to build up a local agency for community betterment must imply a large amount of continuous and thoroughgoing local re-enforcement. Usually such things have to be brought into existence through local effort. Local co-operation is necessary to their best working; and when this begins to fail, the end of the enterprise is usually in sight.

Settlement people have learned these truths by bitter experience. When they first got through legislation in regard to public playgrounds, gymnasiums, etc., they were told by more experienced friends that these enterprises would have to be persistently followed up; but they thought that in these matters that affected the people so much, the people would see that they were carried through to continuous success. We have lived long enough to see that that is not so. We have very fine playgrounds, but very poor administration of those playgrounds. After you get your school centers going, you have to get the local groups responsibly interested. Their interest must be kept at such a level as to secure good standards and a continuous response. Even if you have the most perfect equipment, you must have responsible groups representing local interest; and where responsible citizenship has been drained off, there has got to be some sort of process for having people go into the neighborhood in order that they may deliberately and continuously provide such constant re-enforcement.

The state of neighborhood sentiment, difficult as it is to sense, should be one of the ultimate measures of neighborhood work. Consider that it is of the inevitable nature of the case that every ill-favored neighborhood is not so in a merely passive sense—is not merely "neglected." It is a veritable complex of propaganda, some of them natural and wholesome, but not a few of them tending toward physical, industrial,

political, and moral chaos, all of these evil tendencies combining and re-enforcing one another. One of the wisest conclusions of recent years is that the I.W.W. is in the main the inevitable crop that must grow out of a certain type of industrial and living conditions—that it is the conditions that are un-American even more certainly than the kind of human being that they produce. The nesting-places of physical, economic, civic, and ethical morbidity in our cities must be thoroughly and continuously irradiated and disintegrated unless resourceful citizens are content, not only to have the inevitable result, but themselves to be responsible for it.

It was, indeed, a very wise man of old who said, "If I could but write the songs of a nation, I care not who should make its laws." If I could but shape the gossip of a neighborhood, I care not who should have its social centers. Carlyle in his *French Revolution* tells about the king fleeing from Paris in his coach, crossing the country, and coming to a frontier village in the early twilight, where as he was about to leave his dominions behind, he heard the murmur of the village, an "unnotable hum of sweet human gossip." To make the gossip of the neighborhood sweet, and gradually to freight it with the words of life, physical and spiritual, with all that is pure and lovely and of good report, and to do this in increasing fulness of knowledge and experience—this is the most distinctive privilege of the settlement, a privilege which on the average, the five hundred settlements throughout the country are exercising in a very considerable degree.

In the field of neighborhood recreation, different types of neighborhood agencies follow quite different methods, and their results must be estimated from different points of view. Mr. Whiting Williams has lately emphasized the importance of a consideration which is constantly kept before the mind of the settlement resident—the deep significance to the workman of maintaining the social standing and dignity of his family. At first we are inclined to smile at all the little snobberies that are no less conspicuous on the way down the scale than on the way up. The social worker is inclined to feel that he or she has got beyond all that sort of thing—a feeling which in reality never bears analysis. After awhile we begin to see that whether the attitude of social superiority has reality in it in the higher levels, it certainly has in the humbler ones. The individual spurns the rungs of the ladder that he has laboriously come over that he may the more surely hold the one he has attained and reach upward to those beyond. Under such circumstances, the very effort to secure a broad alignment of local people is likely to fail under such a program of direct action as is almost necessarily associated with the community center. The settlement is able to come into relation with various local types and groups, taking each at first in its own humor and on its own terms, and to lead each to the point where, without losing its own proper identity, it can join with all the others in general community loyalties. The creation of a high-toned, delicately adjusted type of society, as a medium of sound recreation and as a proper scheme and setting for the vitally important issues of courtship, is as truly important in the less favored neighborhoods as in the more, and it requires as careful and detailed consideration of psychological fact.

In not a few instances, a measure of the value of neighborhood work, sometimes in statistical form, has come from the police and the courts, especially the juvenile court. It is clear enough that an agency like the settlement is necessary in order to meet the problem of degeneracy. It sometimes seems as if the pleasant forms of work

that the settlement has devised are one after another to be taken away from it, and this is entirely right and proper. It is the business of the settlement to get itself out of business; the only caution is that it must very insistently and persistently stay at necessary tasks until it is a fact that those precise tasks are being responsibly done by other agencies. In any case, the less pleasant duties of the settlement remain longer. Among these is that of organized, penetrating, continuous surveillance to anticipate and intercept, if possible, the development of crime and immorality, and otherwise to bring the resources of the community to bear upon the problem of the treatment of offenders. It is a very interesting fact that the Chicago Juvenile Protective Association, which represents the most advanced methods in its field, was primarily an association of settlement workers; that it made the settlements its district centers; and that, in districts in which settlements did not exist, it proceeded to establish what was essentially a settlement for its purposes.

A network of neighborhood service and association is essential if we would properly receive back the subjects of probation into their home community and proceed intelligently and responsibly to integrate them back into a normal life; and this receptive network is none other than the weir which the settlement sets up so as to prevent, as far as possible, neighborhood boys and girls from passing through into the hands of the courts and the probation officers. It is one of the next tasks of our local agencies to form a close conspiracy with the field officers of the courts to do such work and to keep careful tabulations of the results.

With regard to the average standards of the working-class neighborhood in relation to health, the settlement finds many of the motives which it has struggled for a generation to express now being taken up and worked out by specialized agencies. The local health center gathers up under one head a group of services which in greater or less degree have been undertaken in the past by the settlement. In all their technical phases, the settlement clearly and unquestionably must be ready to pass them over to the health center. It is, however, equally clear—and this the promoters of the health center do not always appreciate—that all the values of acquaintance and influence which the settlement has in its various organizations, up and down the streets, in the homes and conversational groups, must continue to be of indispensable importance to any sort of comprehensive local health campaign. The fullest degree of co-operation between the two types of agency will not only secure increasingly impressive results, but the most thorough ways of testing different methods, of educating the communities involved, and of convincing the general public.

In a very different but not less significant way, our neighborhood agencies must continue to play their distinctive part in relation to industrial conditions and relations. Employment management and labor departments are increasingly creating centers of humanized administration in many commercial and industrial establishments. A pioneer in such work awhile ago suggested that such developments would ere long eliminate the need of the settlement house. But the very rise of labor issues and demands calls for a far greater amount of intelligent conference, on such a simple and definite basis as neighborly relations afford, between members of the educated classes and wage-earners.

This is particularly true with regard to those who, being a little below, or sometimes a little above the levels of trade unionism as a means of mutual aid. The settlement, in relation to a great body of employees of many scattered establishments,

and a quarter houses short. According to the standard, we are beginning to accept as a new normal, the shortage is very much less.

You will note that I say "probably" in estimating the shortage. This is because there exist no statistics in America which enable us to do more than make a very loose estimate. Practically none of our cities know definitely what their housing shortage is. Last year nearly all were persuaded that it was serious because every real estate firm had long lists of applicants and because expanding industries were unable to secure employees as the latter could get no dwellings for their families. Today many cities are persuaded that their housing accommodations are ample because the waiting lists in the real-estate offices have diminished and business firms are not expanding. Yet our population is growing faster than it was a year ago, due to the increase of immigration.

Apparently what has occurred and is now occurring is that existing accommodations have been and are being subdivided, each family accepting far less than it occupied in pre-war days. An intimation of the extent to which this lowering of our living standards has gone is given by the industries which supply bath-room fixtures. It is common knowledge that last year, 1920, saw the smallest amount of new residence construction that we have had in many years, estimated at less than 100,000 dwellings as compared with a pre-war normal of approximately 400,000. Yet last year the demand for enamelled iron bathtubs taxed the ability of the producers and 617,295 were sold. Back in 1912 this number was approximated, but it never has been equalled. Other bathroom equipment—lavatories, sinks, and small ware—also reached new record heights in 1920.

The explanation, of course, is that many thousands of single-family dwellings were converted into multi-family dwellings. Anyone who knows much about such converted dwellings knows that, aside from economic and social loss which follows the removal of a family from a home to even the best apartment, converted dwellings are usually unsatisfactory. Seldom do they provide adequately for light, ventilation, privacy, or protection against fire.

The figures I have given are indicative of the change in manner of living which has come to the large so-called middle class in America, the group which demands the means for personal cleanliness but cannot afford the more expensive potters' output. They are the ones at whom our "Own Your Home" campaigns mainly directed. They are now, by the tens of thousands, settled in makeshift apartments, and with every day that goes by are becoming more and more habituated to this cramped method of living.

The housing shortage probably has hit the members of this group harder than any other, and through hitting them it is most significant of permanent change for the worse in America, for it is not the rich, who can care for themselves despite the high prices, nor the poor, but it is this group who set American standards, who give us our norm by which we measure, to which we hope to raise all our people.

As for the poor, in whom we here today are primarily interested, the housing shortage, while it has affected them, has not made such a marked change in their manner of living. For them too there have been provided many converted houses—without bathtubs even of enamelled iron. But they were accustomed to cramped quarters before the war. For them there has always been a shortage of good houses. Before the war, however, we were making noticeable progress in improving the dwell-

even the casual laborer. Bad as the most congested districts of our cities in 1916 they were far better than they had been twenty-five years before. States (their number increased with every year) had adopted housing regulations and enforcing them more and more effectively. The old saying that the worst of the poor is dirt was by way of becoming antiquated. Sewers and water mains had extended in the old neglected areas, and houses were being connected. In a few cities where privy vaults had been banished and where every house had running water. In others notable progress was being made. Philadelphia, for example, was abolishing privy vaults and substituting sanitary flush toilets at the rate of \$8,000 a year.

The hardest fight was against overcrowding, for here we have to combat the short-sightedness of those we would aid. A dollar saved is a dollar earned and the dollar standard of values. So families crowded into two rooms who should have had at least four or five, and others took in lodgers, thinking only of added income at all of the moral well-being of their growing children. Rents were based not on need given, but upon ability to pay. Two small apartments brought more than one, so the landlord, quite as shortsighted as his tenants, encouraged rather than discouraged this overcrowding and when his tenants misused the property or did with rent in arrears, he inveighed against them individually and as a class suspecting that he had had some share in forming their moral standards.

When the war came and immigration practically ceased, wages went up. For the colonies this meant a change for the better. They could afford better housing and they moved. For a time in 1918 and 1919 our lower east sides and tenements were less densely populated than they had been within the memory of the oldest residents.

The worst houses and apartments stood vacant, their old occupants gone to other neighborhoods, while the stream of newcomers was dried up at its source. In the negro districts, of course, the opposite conditions prevailed. Migrants from the south crowded these districts beyond belief. Then came the great war which drew out of native whites to the war industry centers, until in them every room in use which would take a wage-earner was filled, while in non-war industry centers like St. Louis, there were many vacant houses until the government began to make contracts in accordance with housing accommodation.

Urban house overcrowding continued with comparatively little mitigation in 1919 and the greater part of 1920. Since then the business depression has not only caused a reverse migration of considerable proportions back to the smaller cities but also to the country. But there is no evidence that this has been comparable to the war migration. Consequently the cities are still sheltering a much larger population than they had five years ago, and that with a corresponding increase in housing accommodation.

Here are a few illustrative examples of the situation toward the close of 1920:

New York.—"The survey just finished shows that in the Borough of Manhattan, 10.6 per cent of the houses are overcrowded; in the Borough of Brooklyn, 11.6 per cent; in the Borough of the Bronx, 35.1 per cent—a total of 26.4 per cent for the three boroughs."

Cincinnati.—(Statement dated November 22, 1920.) "The evidence of the overcrowding of houses in Cincinnati is so inclusive that it would hardly seem that further action is necessary."

ly is true. We are faced with such facts as these, due to house and room overcrowding: in one large eastern city where the negro migration caused very great crowding, the number of illegitimate children among the negroes increased to an extent that the agencies dealing with it were swamped. In a middle western Cleveland, a health survey last year showed that the number of illegitimate in the first six months of 1920 had increased 100 per cent as compared with the same period in the first six months of 1919.

This is a condition that cannot be ignored. Like the death-rate, it is an outstanding and measurable thing, but also, like the death-rate, it is indicative of a menial condition which cannot be accurately measured. The exact relation between the condition and disease has not been definitely established, but it is not improbable that the conditions from which the patients recover more or less completely causes as much as 50 per cent of preventable deaths. So illegitimate births are indicative of a loss through lowered morality that affects us in a thousand ways beside those which find sexual expression.

Accepting this as fact and accepting also as fact that both physical and moral conditions may be somewhat lessened by subdividing our houses and so giving each a certain degree of privacy, should we adopt this expedient? Some of us think we should not. We believe it is better in the long run to struggle as effectively as we may with the undivided house and devote our constructive efforts to securing good houses than to accept a compromise which will be permanent.

On this our policy runs with constructive industry. Those who add to the wealth of the world, whose work goes to raise our standard of living; the builders, the manufacturers, the laboring men, all have long-time interests, both direct,—through increased demand for their services—and indirect—through greater efficiency, health and joy in living, that runs with this policy. To be sure, many of them, like many of the workers, are unable to see the long run because of their interest in the spurts of the moment. An immediate job on a tenement house today blinds them to the fact that they are killing ten jobs on single-family houses. Many of the manufacturers of bathroom equipment rejoiced last year over the unprecedented volume of their orders. This year they are mourning, for orders have fallen from 617,000 to a rate of only 326,000. And for the whole future their market will be narrowed because of this year's good business.

In fact the only persons who have permanent reason for rejoicing are owners of property in the districts that have become tenement-house districts. The value of their property has been multiplied. For the whole future they will levy a tax upon the community, while owners of good residences in these neighborhoods see the value of their property go down and owners of outlying land wait years longer for the coming of speculators.

As for the resources available in dealing with our housing shortage, there has been a change of considerable moment since last summer. Then there was a demand for a taxed supply for materials, labor, money. Today we have potentially adequate supplies of all for as much building as we can do. To be sure many plants have shut down, and if building does not begin soon they may go out of business permanently. The cost of money is still high. The cost of labor in many places and of some materials is still high. All of these, coupled with the expectation that costs, except for railroad freight rates, will reach a lower basic level in the near future, are holding up

building at present. But indications are that the period of waiting is nearing its close.

Prices will not go down to pre-war levels. But that is not essential. What is essential is that they become stabilized so that a house erected today will not have to compete with as good a house erected at smaller cost five or ten years hence. To this new price-level we shall adjust ourselves.

Meanwhile we must maintain our housing standards, as these are expressed in brick and mortar, in type and plan of building. We must secure the enactment of more good housing codes and the strict enforcement of present codes. For if we lose on these it will take us generations to recover.

One final word, necessary because there is such widespread misconception: the good house, the single-family house, is the least expensive house. Many people believe that the tenement or apartment house means lower rents and, faced with a serious economic problem, they favor this type of building while admitting its social disadvantages in the way of physical health, morals, and race suicide. It is not cheaper. It is more costly in dollars and cents. Rents for inferior accommodations are higher in tenement-house cities than in small-house cities, in brick New York and wooden-three-decker Boston than in Philadelphia, in tenement-house Paris and Berlin than in London.

THE SOCIAL REVOLUTION TAKING PLACE IN THE ORIENT AND ITS CALL TO THE AMERICAN SOCIAL WORKER

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In describing to an American the opportunities for service and the thrilling field of activity in China today I more and more sympathize with that redoubtable explorer and yarn spinner, Marco Polo. On his return to Italy, his stories of giants and dwarfs, of men who had ears as large as elephant's, of the precious jewels, the magnificent architecture, the culture, and the beautiful women of the powerful court of the great Kahn in Peking, were received with slight credence. Before such a group as this who already have a large vision of world service, I may perhaps expect a better reception.

Mrs. Conger, wife of the famous American Minister to China, who had lived in South America many years before coming to China, made the statement long ago that the attraction of South America and of Southern Europe was the pleasure they gave to the eye, the many beautiful things to be seen, but the challenge of China was to the mind, the many problems to be solved. Although in China today one may have a deep interest in ancient art and architecture, the great challenge, at least to such a group as this, who are primarily interested in the problem of human transformation, is the remaking of the whole social structure of China now in process of rapid change. As we consider for a moment four great epics in human history, four transformations taking place in different nations and in different periods—the Industrial Revolution, which took place in England in the beginning of the last century, and which has transformed the whole character of Western civilization; the Reformation, which gave freedom of conscience and religious liberty to the individual; the American and French Revolutions, which gave us political democracy; and finally the Renaissance

which released the intellectual powers of Europe—as we consider those four movements and then remember that in China, with its population of four hundred million, one-fourth of the human race in one generation, four similar movements are simultaneously taking place, we can perhaps form a rough picture of the rapid and significant transformation of the Chinese race.

Some of the leading social thinkers of the West have already discovered a large field for study in China. The pioneer discoverer of this fascinating situation from the sociological viewpoint was Professor E. A. Ross, of Wisconsin, who in 1910 in his *The Changing Chinese* depicted the medieval civilization of China then in the early beginnings of her social transformation. In 1913 Dr. Charles R. Henderson, of the University of Chicago, delivered the Haskell lectures throughout China. He said to me in Peking: "If I were a young man about twenty-five years old, I could think of no more fascinating field than that of social work in China today." Dr. John Dewey and Dr. Bertrand Russell, lecturing in the National Government University at Peking, are revealing to the world the kaleidoscopic transformations of political and social changes in China, while our own Robert A. Woods, from the more technical social worker's viewpoint, has recently held out again to American social workers the call of this fascinating situation.

There are a great number in this country who realize that things are changing in China, but a question often asked is, Of what significance is this change to us? A prominent social worker recently said to me: "I know these transformations are taking place, but they are not yet of interest to the American social workers." Before describing some of these changes I want emphatically to state my conviction that these transformations in China are of significance to us in America. It would be impossible for one-fourth of the human race to emerge from a medieval to an industrial civilization without affecting this country most vitally. Last year there were eighty-five new American industrial and commercial concerns opened up in one city in China—in Shanghai. People in this country are beginning to realize that perhaps our greatest future markets are in China. From the political viewpoint also these changes are extremely significant to us in America. The Chinese are strong physically, are capable fighters when led by good officers. They are in danger of becoming, in spite of their natural aversion to the soldier, a militaristic nation. Perhaps it will be a surprise to you to hear that the largest standing army in the world today is that of China, which country has one million men under arms. The conquest of China by one set of political ideals, the German-Japanese type, is at least a decided possibility. With Japan controlling China, having an access to the resources and man power of that nation, who could stand against her? On the other hand, with a strong democratic China, we would have nothing to fear either from her or from Japan.

The Chinese are not a barbarous people. They have an ancient culture of their own, and they are fast taking on Western methods of civilization. The America of the future is as sure to be influenced by China as she is to be influenced by any other modern nation. Dr. Conklin, a distinguished biologist, in his recent publication *The Direction of Human Evolution* says:

In virility, conservatism, and reverence for social obligation the yellow race, as a whole, is probably superior to the white. If the white race worships liberty, the yellow race defies duty. . . . By rigid laws excluding immigrants of other races, such as they have at present in New Zealand and Australia, it may be possible for a time to maintain the purity of the white race in certain countries, but with the

constantly increasing contacts between all lands and peoples such artificial barriers will probably prove as ineffectual in the long run as the great wall of China. The races of the world are not drawing apart but together. . . ."

Aside from all these considerations of the significance of China to America, of course the great challenge of China to the American social worker is precisely the same challenge that has summoned us into all other fields of social service, the clear call of social need. Whether this need be in war-stricken Europe or in rapidly changing China, where there are great human needs, the American social worker always finds a situation in which he is interested and a challenge which he must meet. The social needs of China are both those of medieval civilization and those which come as a result of rapid adoption on the part of China of new ideas, methods, and ideals.

A large part of the Chinese race in normal years are hungry. The rapid increase in a population in many sections of China, such as Shantung and Canton, which is greater than the land will support. There are of course certain religio-social reasons for this fact. So far, in no city or district in China has there been adequate study made of the poverty situation, or any scientific charity organization formed. There is in China vast mass ignorance of the elementary laws of hygiene, of elementary knowledge of geography or history, let alone of civics and government. In the vast hinterland of China the outlook is practically the same as it was three thousand years ago.

In China there is today the medieval guild system, which holds in a vise the whole industrial organization of the country. Practical slavery of apprentices still exists. But on the other hand modern industry is coming rapidly. The guilds are showing signs of weakening. The capitalistic class is beginning to appear. The mills of Shanghai are making 100 per cent on the investment a year. Thousands are coming in from the country districts, lured by the call of high wages, to find themselves in the sweat shops, where, although they receive more than they made in the country, the cost of food and lodging is proportionately higher. Instead of working in the fresh air they are from twelve to fourteen hours a day in unsanitary shops. Women and children are working side by side, the mothers often bringing their babies into the shop, leaving them beside the cloth weaving machine or the silk filature machine during the day's work. Sidney Webb remarked as long ago as 1909 on his trip through China that conditions then were the same as they were in England in 1840. With no labor legislation to speak of, little organization of the workingmen, and a low standard of value of human life, it is no wonder that the modern slums are making their appearance in China and Hankow.

Along with the rush of modern industrial life, the incoming of a new industrial organization, has come licensed vice. In such a city as Peking there are 3,000 licensed women in the great amusement sections of the capital. These women range all the way from the highest type of entertainers to the lowest type of prostitutes. The tea houses and theaters of the capital are in the same section of the city. Venereal diseases are on the increase, and the recent famine has made a large increase in the number of prostitutes, thousands being purchased from the famine districts.

In this changing situation there is a demand for new forms of recreation. The new Chinese are not content merely with walking around the streets and holding bird cages and listening to their favorite songster, which was one of the great amusements of old China. The demand is for the moving picture, the modern "Coney Island,"

pool and billiards, and, for the most progressive, the modern dance. Exploiters of these modern desires are making their appearance. The vicious moving pictures that are not "passed by the censor" in America and other "modern" commercialized amusements are rapidly gaining the field.

China has been trying democracy since 1911. The Chinese educated group are beginning to realize that without fundamental changes in social ideas, without civic and social education, they cannot hope for a real democracy in a nation where the people have been used to avoiding all civic responsibilities and escaping where possible from any relations with the corrupt local official. I might continue by describing many other changes in China—the whole social fabric of the nation is falling apart, and a new pattern is being woven. Not only are things fluid and in process of transformation in China, but there are certain significant tendencies and certain socially minded groups in that nation that point to the possibility in the near future of the forming of a constructive social and civic program of far-reaching significance.

In the first place there has been in the last two years a most powerful progressive political movement in China. May 4, 1919, is said to be the birthday of modern democracy in China. Up to that time a group of pro-Japanese cabinet ministers had been selling out China. They had been mortgaging her mines, railroads, and forests to Japan at the rate of \$250,000,000 in two years. On that date 3,000 college men rose in their wrath in Peking, marched to the home of the arch-traitor Tsao Ju Lin, Minister of Finance, and not finding him at home gave the former minister to Japan a good beating. They destroyed much of the furniture of Tsao's house. This started the student movement which in two years has done the following things: caused the dismissal of two corrupt cabinet members; organized public lectures throughout the country explaining to the common people the present political situation; forced the government not to sign the Paris treaty, which gave away China's sacred province to the virtual control of Japan; and organized the powerful anti-Japanese boycott which has meant the loss of millions of dollars of trade to Japan and caused a tempering of her foreign policy. As a part of this movement there were organized in every large city citizens' unions composed of representatives of the commercial and industrial guilds and of educational, agricultural, press, lawyers' and various religious organizations. The organization of these civic unions has created a mobile force of right-minded citizens and the beginning of public opinion in China.

Another movement even more significant is the Renaissance movement started in January, 1919, as a literary revolution. Three young Chinese graduates of the University of Paris, Columbia, and London University headed this movement. The endeavor was to substitute the Mandarin or the spoken language in written form for the ancient classical Chinese. Within two years this movement has expressed itself through 400 new modern magazines. More significant than the transformation of the form of the language used in these magazines is their content. They are organs of the new intellectual movement having as its motto, "Save the Country through Science and Democracy." Its method is to destroy old China and build a new progressive nation. The most popular writers of today in China are Karl Marx, Kropotkin, Bakunin, and more recently Bertrand Russell and John Dewey, who are lecturing in the National Government University in Peking. The catch word of this new movement is "social reconstruction." Young China is ready to get behind a constructive social program for China!

Another group who may be counted on in building the new China are the returned students. There are already in China several thousand men with degrees, many of them Doctors of Philosophy, from European and American universities who are ready to line up with the modern movement. Most of them have taken political positions, because, owing to the lack of industrial development in China, there are very few other positions which provided enough salary to enable them to live up to the standards they have learned in their Western education.

Then there is another group, prepared for years for playing an effective part in the social program of China—the Christian church. For years unable to play a large part in public affairs outside the mission compound, in modern China the Christian movement has a new freedom and a deep interest in developing both church social service work and a general community service program.

Why should the American social worker go to China to help develop a Chinese social program? The Chinese are free to admit that they need Western capital and Western business advisers for the development of their factories and railroads. The army has foreign advisers, and there are foreign advisers in the Ministry of Finance and Communications. If she needs counsellors and advisers in these fields of obvious need, she needs even more promoters and helpers in initiating her program of fundamental social reconstruction. Also, as I have pointed out, China is our neighbor. Our future is closely tied up with hers. The way she develops is of utmost significance to the future of our nation. Then, too, Americans, unlike Japanese and Germans, for instance, are better able to understand the social needs of China. We are both democracies. The business man, and not the soldier, is our foremost citizen. Social welfare movements and policies in China as in America are sure to come from the people up—not from a paternalistic government down. The methods we have worked out in our loose-jointed democracy are of the same nature as are likely to be those most needed in China—a nation noted for having a minimum of effective government and having a maximum of local autonomy.

For a hundred years we have been sending Americans to China who have opened churches, schools, and hospitals throughout the country. There are more missionaries from America there than from any other nation, and the opening up of modern life in that nation is a very clear result of American missionary enterprise. The whole missionary program is taking on a new social trend. The missionaries, as never before, need the social worker to effectually supplement and enlarge their largest work.

Finally just a word about the kind of people that are wanted in China today. We want highly trained social workers. These workers should have a general knowledge of city and country social work in connection with the school, the church, the settlement, and civic and social betterment movements. On the other hand a primary need is for men and women of adaptability. Social workers going to China should therefore not be too old to learn the language and, what is more, to learn a new civilization. I would place the age limit around thirty. Their chief characteristics should be adaptability and a talent for constructive thinking. They should of course learn the language, study the civilization of the country in which they are living, and adapt the methods of the West to the conditions in the East. Of course it is needless to say that such workers should have a great deal of human sympathy and be able to overlook the defects of many blundering attempts in the beginning stages of the social movement in China. They should have imagination to see beyond the small beginnings to the large results in human terms.

missionaries a much freer opportunity than church workers have at home to develop broad community interests in direct connection with the evangelistic motive. It is most gratifying to find that at least 50 per cent of the members of the missionary staffs are keenly alive to this great strategical opening; and in many instances they have behind them the same fundamental training which gives quality and outlook to the social service commissions of the various churches in America. In the cities the different missionary compounds often have what are in effect parish limits, and these local units pieced together will cover a large part of the city's territory. In Peking, under the lead of J. S. Burgess,* of the Y.M.C.A., a very suggestive general study of conditions and forces is being made by the combined and co-ordinated effort of the missionary groups. This is the beginning of a method which the missionary staffs of the other cities are hoping to adopt.

The real life of China is in the villages, however, and here perhaps does one realize most distinctly how the direct teaching of the Christian faith has begun to create the germs of a better order. The itinerating work of the missionaries, including many of the wisest and broadest of them, must command absolute respect from this point of view. It is clear that the task of actually educating people to higher specific standards of living and of life must be performed chiefly through voluntary effort and with new types of leadership from without. There are several directions in which representatives of American social work could make contributions that might well be of historic importance to the China which may be a dominating figure in the world within a generation or two.

In the first enthusiasm which followed the revolution considerable interest was aroused in the improvement of the public institutions for the dependent and delinquent groups. In not a few instances missionaries have been called in to advise and help in this process; and there is real readiness for suggestion and initiative out of the best Western experience in these directions.

In Peking and several other cities the situation is ripening to the point where the type of charity organization which is not held too closely to the problem of poverty could easily be brought into being and would soon accomplish results that would win the allegiance of the practical, generous Chinese mind. The Christian forces in this case would join hands with all other people of good will; and the executive staff, which should on all accounts be definitely in sympathy with Christianity, would not be in any official way attached to it. Similarly the way is open for comprehensive city programs of neighborhood organization.

The splendid medical college in Peking provided by the Rockefeller Foundation is to take the lead in the thorough training of physicians and will emphasize public health work and medical social service. The medical missionaries greatly desire such re-enforcement as will enable them to reach out in this direction. The larger, more coherent city program among the missionaries, and including the Chinese churches, will serve to create the structure for a community health service; and a few experienced specialists from America in this field would find an immeasurable opportunity and meet with steady and increasing re-enforcement.

A carefully studied recreational program in relation to home and neighborhood, profoundly significant at home, is a matter of life and death for China, and is so

*"China's Social Challenge," *Survey*, September 8, 1917; October 13, 1917; December 15, 1917; and September 7, 1918.

understood by her younger leaders. The Chinese home in all grades is gravely lacking in every resource of happy fellowship. The men never think of the women of their families as companions, or of inviting men friends to meet them. There are certain professions of women to whom men always turn for entertainment. There are no wholesome centers for neighborly acquaintance and association. In a few cities certain large assembly halls have been provided; but it remains true that the possibility of that positive fulfilment of emotion through wholesome sociability upon which a sound moral balance so largely depends is almost wholly lacking. Our own healthy tradition as to association between the sexes and the great gains that have been made of recent years in the intelligent release of the spirit of gaiety should be, with all due discrimination, imparted to China. Missionaries of wholesome play in mixed company would meet a pathetically eager reception from the educated young men and women, who have begun, as by a new revelation, to realize the emancipation and exaltation of the American way of combined chivalry and unrestraint.

In India, Christianity not only holds out opportunities of education and of broad association among its established following, but, by a curious irony, it is recognized by the Hindus as removing the disabilities even of the outcastes. It is thus easy to understand the remarkable response to missionary effort from the villages and the girding of Christian forces for the greater harvest of the near future. This so-called "mass movement," in its different phases, is recognized of course as carrying with it almost overwhelming responsibilities. It brings courage, but no easy optimism. Besides emphasizing more highly than ever the necessity of education, it is inclining the missionaries strongly to different forms of practical social work, especially at present to the formation of co-operative savings societies to protect the people from the everywhere present, rapacious money lender. Some excellent local work toward improving agricultural methods is being done; and specific effort toward sanitary reform and health education is being eagerly undertaken, though as yet with slight resources. Members of the mission staffs are often giving much if not all their time to promoting co-operative banks and other forms of self-help in the villages.

As four-fifths of India's three hundred millions live in villages, the great problems and possibility of the future lie there. The government has shown an increasing tendency of recent years to understand the very considerable economic and moral resources that lie in the village tie, and the ancient institutions and customs that go with it. It is not as yet any sort of protest from the unprivileged that is commanding the attention of the powers that be; it is the wide, quiet response which the low-caste people of the villages are making to the overtures of the missionaries. In Rome the success of Christianity with the common people compelled the attention of the higher orders and of the government. The same thing is true in India today, with democracy looming in the offing. The government, always hesitant about invading Indian tradition and custom, has of late been allowing the children of the depressed classes to come to school with high-caste children. After some blustering, opposition gradually subsided; and now in at least one of the largest provinces orders have been issued that if the schools are not so located as to be accessible to low-caste children they must be relocated. This tendency is also becoming quite marked among the various groups of reformed Hindus, whether within or without the orthodox fold. Their rising interest in the task of social betterment and progress is keen and genuine in the highest

degree. It has in some instances even led them to take the hand of the untouchables and to break bread with them.

One was impressed in India, as in China, not only by the readiness, but by the earnest desire, on the part of representative men for such help as might come from Europe and America toward the solution of fundamental national problems, provided it not only recognized but re-enforced oriental initiatives and responsibilities. This is clearly exhibited in the readiness with which non-Christian leaders co-operate with the Y.M.C.A. in its broad program, not merely for building up a much needed institution, but for providing leadership in community betterment, urban and rural. In the cities definite steps are being taken in the direction of organized social work. The vast evil of beggary in its various forms, including the religious mendicant, is beginning to be confronted by private agencies and by the government. One hindrance to progress lies in the elementary benevolence of the Indian people. It is in fact so universal and unailing, on the part of the poorest, that there has never been the necessity of public relief in India. Now one of the objects of the leagues of social service which are springing up in the larger places is to introduce, with modifications, some of the principles of Western organized charity. But these leagues are focusing their efforts upon preventive work, and first of all upon the appalling evils of low vitality. The infant death-rate is twice that of England. A profound student of India has observed that a sufficient explanation of the brooding atmosphere of gloom and fear which pervades the people and gives the dominant character to their religion is that every mother loses two or three out of four of her babies. The general average length of life in India is twenty-three years—what is supposed to have been the figure for Europe in the Middle Ages, half the average of the United States. With the co-operation of the government a series of remarkably successful health exhibits have been given. In Delhi the attendance was so great that it was decided to require a small fee from the men. Certain hours were set apart for women. At these times there were crowds from the Hindu zenanas, among which mingled many veiled women from the Mohammedan harems—a company standing in strange contrast with many of the most up-to-date health charts. A women's medical college, with 150 students, gives promise of great service in this direction; but as one of the many illustrations that might be given of the way in which Indian custom trips progress, the women medical graduates find much difficulty, even in their own minds, in going about freely through the community.

There is a substantial basis for what might truly be called an *entente cordiale* in the new current of adventurous fraternity which is reaching around the world, finding everywhere its needed local application, eliciting everywhere the like initiative. Gradually penetrating Asia with its varied ministry, and coalescing in the Near East Relief with the vast work of the Red Cross and related agencies throughout Europe, it gives promise of actual countervailing equivalents to the ultimate loyalties and devotions of war. It suggests the rise of a quality both of internal social development and of international reciprocity which will create a new protective alignment not only against war but against crude aggressive attitudes closely allied to militarism; for even if war should begin to disappear, in ways less material but not less dangerous the purpose of world domination will remain.

MILWAUKEE RECREATION SYSTEM

Dorothy Enderis, Assistant to the Superintendent, Milwaukee Public Schools

The main part of my story has been put into your hands. I am sure you will appreciate having some of the convention speeches put into your pockets, thus to be read on the train going home.

Each fall about 100,000 dodgers announcing the winter activities of the Extension Department of the Milwaukee Public Schools are distributed in the schools and factories. Fifty thousand of the vacation announcements went to the children the last week of school. The small folders are copies of annual reports issued by two of our social centers at the close of the past season. We plan to open three more schools as social centers next September. That the patrons of these schools may know the possibilities of the wider use of their schoolhouse, we are going to distribute throughout the neighborhood of each of these schools four thousand reprints of the reports you hold in your hands. The challenge on the back page has been added to suit each school.

This literature tells you nothing new. As far as a program of activities is concerned, "social centers is social centers." The activities of most of them are much the same. The methods of administration and conduct, however, may vary. Often when speaking about our social center activities we are questioned with awe and wonder, "And you do all these things in the schoolhouse? How did you get in?" And then follows greater amazement of some who once upon a time have been in, "How did you stay in?"

Possibly the most vital message we can contribute is a brief account of how the Milwaukee system was made possible. "How did we get into the schoolhouse?" It was really not a case of getting in—there was an opening of the door from the inside. How was this accomplished? Through state legislation—a very far-sighted piece of community legislation enacted in 1910.

Briefly, the law provides this: If a city of the first, second, or third class desires to take up the question of municipal recreation, it may put the question before its voters at any general election. If the vote results in favor of the issue, the school board of the community may ask the common council to levy a special tax, not to exceed four mills, on all taxable property, said fund to be used to establish and maintain for children and adults in school buildings and school grounds, evening schools, vacation schools, social centers, playgrounds, and similar activities. The law further provides that this fund shall be administered by the board of school directors as are other school funds, but is to be used only for activities stipulated by the law. The school board is further empowered to conduct recreational activities in co-operation with other municipal commissions or boards, said boards or commissions furnishing the equipment, the school board the instruction and supervision. On the strength of this phase of the law we are conducting playgrounds, amateur athletic contests, and games in the parks.

You who have followed the "off again, on again, gone again" history of social centers, evening schools, and playgrounds in many of our cities will recognize financial stability as one of the most apparent values of this law. The law settles the question of funds once and for always. If it has been the privilege of the Milwaukee School Board to do a rather intensive piece of social center work, it has been due largely to the fact that we have known from year to year upon what funds to plan.

The law establishes the schoolhouse as a community center. You will hear expressions of doubt regarding the feasibility of this wider use of the school plant. Nine years of experience convinces us beyond doubt that the schoolhouse is the ideal community center. The schoolhouse is geographically the central point of the community. Why not make it the focal point of the social and civic activities of the community? Children are enthusiastic advertisers. The school social center has at its command hundreds of boosters to carry its messages out into the community. Of course, you hear the complaint that adults will abuse the building. This misgiving is grossly magnified. If this be true, is it not a challenge—a problem in civic education? How will these people learn to respect public property if they are never given an opportunity to use it?

You may ask, "Are schoolhouses suited architecturally?" There will need to be changes in future schoolhouse architecture to make our buildings of greater all-round use. However, we have succeeded with comparatively little expense in remodeling some of our oldest schoolhouses to meet all the demands of our social center activities. Should any of you be interested in our schemes of remaking our buildings to suit social center needs, I will be very happy to point out some of them on the Extension Department pictures exhibited on the second floor of the Auditorium, or take you to the buildings.

After all is said pro and con regarding schoolhouse social centers, comes the great economic question: Is a community justified in spending funds to erect special community center buildings when it already has millions of dollars invested in buildings and equipment with which to meet the need?

The law places the responsibility for organization and conduct upon the school board. Analyze the list of social center activities, and you will find that most of them are semi-educational in nature and can therefore be fostered best by a board thinking and working along educational lines.

Many of the unpleasant experiences which marred the wider use of school plants in different cities were due to the fact that the evening activities were conducted by outside organizations who naturally were regarded as strangers within the gates. It stands to reason that the evening activities will be accepted with greater tolerance by the day-school corps if conducted by their own board. It is this fact which I had in mind when saying that the doors of our schoolhouses were opened from within.

May I repeat that the progress of the recreation program in Milwaukee can be attributed largely to our state law, which assures a definite annual appropriation by taxation, establishes schoolhouses as community centers, and places the administration of the same into the hands of the school board.

Our appropriation for this year is \$258,500. The department is conducting eight social centers, two part-time centers, seven evening schools for foreigners, three evening high schools, English classes in four tanneries and two settlements, twelve playgrounds, four elementary summer schools, one summer high school, and a department of amateur games and athletics. The latter work is one of the most far-reaching contributions we are making to the recreational life of our community. It is a story all by itself; the mimeographed sheet will give you a brief summary of it. This season we have a soccer league of eight teams, ten different baseball leagues with a total membership of 252 teams, every player in them registered in our office, and all but the 95 teams of the Saturday Public School League having paid a franchise fee.

The advertising matter will tell you what we are doing. I have tried to tell you what makes it possible for the Milwaukee School Board to support these activities;

to tell how we conduct them would prolong this meeting into a watch night. That part of the story I think would best be handled in an aftermeeting. I shall be very glad to answer questions of any who are interested in the details of organization and administration.

THE LIBRARY'S RELATION TO NEIGHBORHOOD AND COMMUNITY WORK

Delia G. Ovitz, Librarian, State Normal School, Milwaukee

In considering this subject with you in the ten minutes at my disposal I shall neither generalize nor theorize but shall try to give you the results of my own experience.

The term social work has come to be the accepted designation for a large group of specialized activities in the field of social betterment in neighborhood and community. Social work may be regarded as almost identical with the promotion of common welfare, and the social worker, as I understand the term, is the individual of any occupation or profession whose life is actuated by a definite purpose. Dr. Devine's *Spirit of Social Work* is dedicated "to social workers, that is to say, to every man and woman, who, in any relation of life, professional, industrial, political, educational or domestic; whether on a salary or as a volunteer; whether on his own individual account or as a part of an organized movement, is working consciously, according to his light intelligently, and according to his strength persistently, for the promotion of the common welfare—the common welfare as distinct from that of a party or a class or a sect or a business or a particular institution or a family or an individual." With this broad conception of the social worker in mind, you will, I feel sure, agree with me that the library is essentially one of the social agencies of the community, and should be in active co-operation with every form of social work carried on in the community. In fact all forms of social work will be greatly handicapped if the public library is largely a liability rather than an asset in the community.

It might be well for us to pause before discussing how we may co-operate and take a backward look over the road we have traveled. Libraries have existed for centuries. Formerly it was only the clergy who knew how to use these great collections of books. Even after the invention of printing the books remained chained to their shelves. Until within a few decades the librarian's creed seemed to be: Select the best books, list them elaborately and expensively, and save them forever. We are all familiar with the story of the Harvard librarian who, when his friend inquired how he fared, said, "Very well. I have all my books on the shelves but one, and I am now on my way to Professor A's to get that." Today we are concerned not so much with keeping books on the library shelves as with getting them out—not only in getting books out but in collecting and making available the vast flood of pamphlet material. For if the library does not make all material accessible it will fail in what is a library's chief function, that of adding to a community's efficiency by keeping it informed on whatever of importance may be doing in the world.

The library of today, then, "collects, sifts, preserves, classifies, and makes available the world of print." I will go a step farther and say that the library should be an information bureau and a directory not only of written information but of unwritten information as well. In short, every citizen should turn to the library for ideas and help in work and play. Our library ideals have risen, our horizon has broadened, and

our work has increased both in extent and in depth. The librarian of one hundred years ago, yes, even of fifty years ago, would not feel at home in an up-to-date library of today.

How does the up-to-date library co-operate with the social workers in neighborhood and community? Let me say at the beginning, I do not propose to discuss the library as a social center. Literally scores of articles have been written on this subject during the past ten years. I shall confine my remarks to a discussion of the relation of the library to the social workers. First, there is the obvious service of making available books and periodicals which the social worker needs to consult. The foundation of such service, of course, is the possession by the library of as complete a collection of relevant material as possible. In making such a collection the social workers of the community should be consulted. There are sure to be local interests for the social worker which should determine to some extent what books, pamphlets, reports, and periodicals would be most useful. This would vary in different communities, and the selection made by the library in one city would not necessarily be an entirely satisfactory guide for a library in another. The library should keep available: *The Survey*, *The Family*, *Social Hygiene*, the *Social Service Review*, *American Child*, *Child Welfare*, *Red Cross Bulletin*; should become a member of perhaps a half-dozen national organizations which have to do with big problems—organizations such as the National Conference of Social Work, the National Child Labor Committee, the National Housing Association, and the Playground and Recreation Association of America, and should secure annual reports of state conferences of charities and correction, annual reports and bulletins of state boards of charity and welfare, etc. These and others are the tools of the social worker's trade. They are as necessary as a telephone and typewriter.

People engaged in social work have, for the most part, big demands made upon their time. They do not work on a definite hourly or daily schedule, and their reading frequently is one of the things which is sacrificed. A very important service that the library can perform is to call their attention to publications and articles which bear directly on the work they are doing. This takes but a very few minutes of the librarian's time each morning as she is checking over the new material, and it will serve to stimulate professional interest in the workers. Not one of us can continue our growth intellectually except by coming into contact with new material, new information, new ideas. This is the library's business, to make the proper contact between the library and the public. The library is the continuation school for each one of us individually; it is the university for all adults.

The library should also furnish short concise book reviews. These may either be mimeographed and distributed or be printed in the local papers. As a rule the local press is glad to publish notices of such books, especially if their relation to current social questions is attractively presented in the notices.

One of the great needs in social work at present is a better understanding, on the part of the general public, of the agencies in existence and of the work they are doing. One of the big things for the library in this connection is to do educational work with the public and stimulate all people to do some reading along social lines. This can be done through bibliographies, posters, and exhibits. The exhibit in its simplest form may be very effective in stimulating interest in work of this kind. If local resources have not been developed an exhibit of what is being done in other communities of corresponding size is sometimes effective in arousing interest. The Depart-

ments of Surveys and Exhibits of the Russell Sage Foundation can be very helpful in this direction. Right here let us pause to pay tribute to Mr. Jenkins and his staff for that most helpful tool for librarians and social workers published by the Russell Sage Foundation. I refer to *Social Workers' Guide to the Serial Publications of Representative Social Agencies*, a checklist of the publications of 4,000 institutions and organizations arranged alphabetically and by subject. We wonder how we have managed to do without this tool for so long.

The library should know the organizations of the town or city—the police department, the fire department, department of health, the charitable organizations, and any and all institutions which are for the purpose of human betterment—know what they are doing and find out by personal interview how the library may be of more service to them and more service directly to the neighborhood.

The library should have on file bulletins concerning pending legislation, state and federal, which would be of interest to social workers; know what other towns or cities of approximately the same size are doing and pass the information on to the social worker. There is nothing that furnishes a greater incentive for work than to know that your town is being surpassed by another in a particular field of work. If there is any special survey being undertaken in the community, or if some problem is engaging a particular amount of attention, the library should collect from its shelves and other available places material bearing upon such topics and should notify the general public as well as the social workers that it is available.

The librarian has an opportunity to meet young people who are interested in a general way in matters pertaining to community service and to acquaint them with the possibilities for definite training for social work and the field which is open to professional social workers. There should be on file in the library bulletins from all the schools of social work and from the universities which have added a department of social work.

So far I have spoken only of the informational side of the library. There is the inspirational side which we must not forget. Social workers, probably more than workers in any other professions, come in contact with the sordid and seamy side of life and in hours of relaxation need to be lifted out of this state of mind. Too often we forget:

There is no frigate like a book
To take us lands away,
Nor any coursers like a page
Of prancing poetry.

Is it biography, travel, poetry, the essay, drama, fiction, or books on the great out-of-doors you favor? Each and all may be had for the asking. You have but to step upon the magic carpet to be carried to all the world there is and some there never was. You will come back from these excursions stimulated and refreshed and better able to "carry on."

Above all the library must be a human organization, interested in the human side of librarianship, and anxious to take its place in the community. If the library staff has not this spirit, no amount of money spent on equipment will ever make it a living factor in the lives of the community. For the secret of creating interest is to be found in being interested. It is the personal equation of the whole library staff that makes the books a living force, or not, in a community. Our libraries must reach out and give wider service. They must co-operate in all new fields of work. There is no such thing as standing still. The instant the forward movement ceases, death begins. Working together we can create conditions that make human progress inevitable.

DIVISION VIII—MENTAL HYGIENE

MENTAL HYGIENE PROBLEMS OF NORMAL CHILDHOOD AND YOUTH

A. THE ELEMENTARY SCHOOL AND THE INDIVIDUAL CHILD

Esther Loring Richards, Associate in Psychiatry, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore

It is with hesitation that I venture upon remarks in the field of education. In the first place, psychiatrists are accused of curious meddling in so many phases of human activity that even the modest statement of an observation or two not infrequently becomes converted into dogmatic assertions and prescription for reform. In the second place, the facts responsible for my remarks at this time are not based upon a long or wide range of experience. Accordingly, I trust that what I have to say will be regarded merely as a series of personal impressions, and not construed as an attempt to assume direction over the education of the young.

Perhaps there is no institution of our social organization where the individual can so easily become lost in the group as in the elementary school. To be sure, we are surfeited with books on the psychology of the child. We speak freely of the backward child, the nervous child, the incorrigible child, and yet it is theories regarding these groups that we take up in actual discussion. In looking over some one hundred advertisements of private schools not long ago, I was impressed with the same type of fact. There was "special attention" given to college preparation, to athletics, to health, to the comforts of home, to culture, etc., but only one school advertised "special attention given to the individual child." I suppose the argument offered in defense is that the school training aims to be ample for the needs of every child. For example, its courses of study have been so carefully prepared and standardized that a child who repeats his grade once or twice must be backward; again, the boy who deliberately turns aside from a clean bed and a well-ordered classroom to follow a huckster's wagon, or run with the gang on the street, must have the deep-seated waywardness of the incorrigible and delinquent to act in a way so contrary to the behavior of his fellows. Are these children misfits in the school system because of some innate personal deficiency, such as retardation, neuropathic constitution, and viciousness? In some instances they are, but in many instances the repeating of grades, the temper outbursts, the crying spells, the truancy, are symptoms of difficulties in adjustment arising from a more superficial background. In the dispensary of the Henry Phipps Psychiatric Clinic of the Johns Hopkins Hospital we examined 143 children during the months of September, October, and November, 1920. One hundred came directly or indirectly from the schools of Baltimore and its suburbs. Of this number, 80 were referred for backwardness expressed by the repetition of grades and uncomplicated by disciplinary troubles. Only 50 per cent of the latter showed actual retardation, according to the Binet-Simon tests. The poor record in class work made by the other 50 per cent was associated with certain facts that can best be discussed by drawing

tion to a bit of study along this line which has been carried on for several years as a sort of by-product of our psychiatric dispensary.

In January, 1918, under the direction of Dr. Adolf Meyer, I undertook some work in one of the Baltimore schools (School No. 76), with pupils who were reported as difficult by parents and teachers. The venture was a piece of private research, quite divorced from any organized activity in the public school system. The school chosen had been the center of an investigation for the study of feeble-mindedness, which Dr. C. Macfie Campbell had made in this locality in 1914. My interest was in the non-feeble-minded, though I followed up the complaints as they were referred, without discrimination. Of the 46 children who came under observation, 35 were reported as having difficulty in keeping up with their grades in one or more subjects. In each of these cases where there was a suggestion of retardation, the Binet-Simon test was applied. As a result, 16 of the above-mentioned 35 were found to have a mental retardation of from three to six years. The academic troubles of the remaining 19 were associated with, if not the disguised expression of, such faulty psychobiological reactions as shyness, laziness, inattention, and vicious tendencies, sensitiveness to criticism, day-dreaming, hypochondriacal fears with resulting irregular attendance. The 11 remaining from the total 46 were referred for the more overt adaptive difficulties of temper tantrums, sullenness, crying spells, twitching, indifference, excitability, poor co-ordination with the hands, quarrelsomeness, etc.¹ In reviewing the data accumulated, one fact stood out—in practically every case the peculiar characteristics for which the child was referred could be easily traced to their first appearance in the early years of school (kindergarten, first and second grades). In the majority of cases also, the unhealthy habits of adaptation began in the home, and were carried into and through the school life, handicapping the efforts of teacher and child to get together on the business of early training in the classroom; and the commonest result of this handicapping was the repetition of grades. Accordingly, it seemed best to devote some time to the first grade with special reference to examining the problem of backwardness at its source. By way of experiment, 18 children were selected from the first grade for special study. Their ages ranged from six to ten, and their years of repeating the first grade from one to three. These children were studied from the standpoint of the story of the home, the story of the school, and the story of the child himself, as recorded under the headings of complaint, school history, habit data, personality traits, and a rough estimate of physical status as obtained from the health records, weight curve, and brief examination. Aside from the Binet-Simon tests no special technique was used, either in the examination of the children or the sifting of facts. The Binet-Simon findings were as follows: in 2 cases the actual age and tested age were exactly the same; in 7 cases there was a difference of only one year between the actual age and tested age; in 7 cases there was a difference of two years between the actual age and the tested age; one case objected so violently to examination that it was thought best not to push matters, and one case showed a difference of three years between the actual age and the tested age. It was felt that the difference of one to two years between the actual age and the tested age of 14 of these children represented no real backwardness, but was the expression of various factors in the background, development, early training, and personality traits of the individual children themselves. That these were the facts

¹The details of this study, covering some fifteen months' duration, were published in *Mental Hygiene* for April, 1920.

possible for the lodging in the first grade seemed more feasible than deficient mental equipment.

Turning from the facts of standardization to those of physical condition and living arrangements, there was nothing striking in the story of these little people. There was a mouth breather, and one child with definite eye strain, and two tuberculosis suspects. Several children appeared pale and undernourished, and only two weight curves were below the normal. The habit data were characteristic of this industrial section—comparatively late bedtime, with two, often three sleeping in a bed, a diet of coffee, gas, and soup, movies two nights a week. Unideal as these conditions are, it must be remembered that they have not proved a serious hindrance to the school progress of hundreds of other boys and girls.

The school records of the members of this group varied little, one from the other. There was the same amount of language difficulty and uneven attendance that is found in the average classes throughout the school, so that here again as in matters of health and living arrangements, one had to beware of overemphasis on obstacles that are commonplace in this community setting. The stories of each child were remarkably similar. John Jones had entered the first grade at six or eight years of age, acquitted himself with a "Poor," and was rolled on to another first grade teacher at the end of a half-year with all the moss of reputation for "dumbness" that he had acquired in first grade sojourns elsewhere. Not infrequently John Jones and I were introduced by the teacher before the whole class with the remark, "I'm glad you've come to examine John. He can't seem to learn a thing. I don't know what's the matter with him. John Jones! stand up and let the doctor see you."

Naturally the mental attitude of a child who has been passed from one teacher to another for a year or two without promotion is a very interesting study. Some of these children were calloused to ridicule, teasing, and loud rebukes, both at school and home. Ambition and the spirit of rivalry had gone. They were bored timeservers in the classroom, often organizing mild revolutions when the teacher's attention was diverted for a moment. Others covered up a sense of shame at not being promoted by various reactions attributed to their being "high strung and nervous." They were exceedingly "touchy" over the slightest criticism or teasing, bursting into tears or explosions of cursing at the most trivial provocation. Still others seemed to have sunk into an uncommunicative state, never volunteering a remark and rarely answering a question, but quietly amusing themselves in a way to escape contact with the environment as much as possible. The general characteristics of the group and the personal traits of its individual members were so interwoven that in many instances it was impossible to say how much of the child's behavior was due to temperamental idiosyncrasies, and how much was a defense mechanism developed to meet the school existence. Each child had his own story of shyness, obstinacy, sensitiveness, fear, laziness, etc., which undoubtedly played a large rôle in his failure to make a good start in school. Following the gathering of data on the foregoing group, it was arranged with the principal of School No. 76, Miss Persis K. Miller, that these repeaters be put under the supervision of a teacher who had the time, patience, and skill to see what could be done with the 18 candidates for reconstructive therapy. Such a teacher was kindly given by Dr. West, Superintendent of Baltimore Schools, and began her work September, 1920. January, 1921, she reported that 10 of the class were doing good, steady, second-grade work, 7 were making satisfactory progress in the first grade, and one

seemed impossible to modify. At the close of the school year (June, 1921) above-mentioned 10 qualified for third-grade work, and will go into ordinary grade classes this coming fall. The remaining 7 qualified for second-grade work and will go into regular classes at the beginning of the coming school year. Only 1 of the class of 18 failed to respond to special study. Eight of the ten children in the second grade in January, 1921, and the third grade in June, 1921, had repeated first grade at least twice when entering this special class in September, 1920, according to the Binet-Simon tests 7 of these 10 children showed a difference of three years between their actual age and their tested age; two showed a difference of one year between these ages, and one child had an intelligent quotient of 100.

For several years School No. 76 has been studying the problem of repetition in the midst. For three years a special health worker, privately financed, devoted full time to following up minor ailments—common colds, post-contagious diseases—and any other factor influencing regular attendance. The result was a marked increase in attendance record from 96 to 98 per cent, but the repeating of grades remained in the same proportion. This same worker directed a campaign toward the relation between progress in school and the clearing up of tonsils and adenoids. The results over a period of three years were that 50 per cent of the children operated on showed no difference in their school work, 25 per cent showed some improvement, and 25 per cent appeared to be poorer showing than before operation. The plan tried in the first three years was dividing the class so that each half of a room rotates between playground and school work, resulting in a certain amount of gain in school progress, due to the fact that the teacher worked with smaller groups. It did not, however, eliminate repeating. As have been described above, the majority of whom had been accorded the benefit of the scheme just outlined. In view of these facts, it would seem that the success with the experimental class was due not so much to the extra time spent on the part of the teacher, but to the fact that this time was devoted to a study of the individual needs of these children. Here were 18 school failures according to the criterion of grading, and 18 in whose pedagogical record and Binet-Simon findings would be credentials to admit them without question to that mysterious order called "the backward class." They could not be poured into the ordinary mold of school curriculum because of certain traits of personality that had to be discovered, understood, and wisely handled. The same psychobiological characteristics of shyness, indolence, fear, sensory day-dreaming, etc., acted as conflicting factors in the Binet-Simon tests, obscuring native capacity to such an extent that a difference of one to three years existed between the child's actual age and his tested age.

A year of school training directed by an understanding of these characteristics resulted in restandardization data with the Binet-Simon tests in June, 1921, parallel with the academic progress of these children as recorded in their reports above. The 7 children who showed a difference of two years and over between their chronological age and their mental age according to intelligence tests in March, 1920, now show a mental level that coincides with their actual physical age.

In conclusion, I would go back again to the problem of what is being done in elementary schools for the child whose adaptive difficulties are such that he cannot assimilate the regular training, without such special lifts in the way of individualization as I have outlined above. The psychiatrist would probably not make it his business to raise the question or wrestle with its answering, were he not a

in dispensary and private practice with concrete issues of this sort. The 100 children referred to as passing through the dispensary of the Henry Phipps Psychiatric Clinic of the Johns Hopkins Hospital last fall are illustration enough. By the time they come to us, however, they have not infrequently been consigned to that heterogeneous gathering of misfits known as "the ungraded class," there to remain till released to enter the working world. With years of repeating behind and a mental attitude of disgruntled tolerance of their situation, we find an intelligence quotient of eighty and over. It is no wonder that the school is aghast over our finding that the poor academic record is probably the result of a bad adaptive start, rather than of mental retardation. From a pedagogical standpoint, the remedy would lie, not in ultra standardization of curriculum, and the infusion of more intellectual activities in the program, but in creating opportunities for teacher and child to understand each other. In School No. 76, we are attempting a practical application of this theory by seeing to it that the child gets a good start in the first and second

grades. For example, out of 150 first graders during this past year, 30 laggards and 18 children who have been culled for special study (18 of this number were spending a year in the first grade, and 12 of the remaining were destined to fail in promotion).

On actual examination there were but 4 retarded children in the group. The 26 of the other 26 were akin to those described in the class of 18. Smaller classes and closer supervision of the first- and second-grade teaching are to be the tactics employed in this particular situation.

And for those of us who examine such children, there is subject for reflection. Are we using the Binet-Simon scale as a yardstick to measure off lengths of intelligence, or are we using the tests as a help toward the sizing up of individual child problems? Are we confusing the term "mental age" with a diagnosis of the home situation in question? Do we see the personality with its setting of life-story behind the intelligence level? Are there possibilities of view that at times seem strangely remote from the productions of psychiatrists and practicing psychologists. As such we should beware of agitating ourselves to decimal points of determination concerning qualifications for the groups of normal and dull, lest the object of our research becomes buried beneath the details of his own case.

In concluding this *résumé* of modest beginnings, I want to thank Dr. Henry S. Hays, Superintendent of the Baltimore Public Schools, for permission to carry out these studies. The credit for their results belongs to Miss Persis K. Miller, Principal of School No. 76, and to Miss Gertrude Soran, teacher in charge of the experimental group.

Without their enthusiasm, skill, and inexhaustible patience, the research could not have been accomplished.

MENTAL HYGIENE PROBLEMS OF NORMAL ADOLESCENCE

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"Normal adolescence" is a combination of terms which may perhaps be considered contradictory. If by normal one means average and at the same time implies stressless adolescence or adolescence without conflict, then certainly there is a contradiction. For the adolescence which occurs without stress and strain is too unusual to be called normal and if it were the usual thing, it would have no mental hygiene problems to be discussed. What we are obliged to mean, therefore, is the mental

hygiene problems that arise in practically all ordinary lives at adolescence, disregarding those extremes of maladjustment which seem to point toward serious mental breakdown.

If one thinks of human life as the continuous struggle of a segmental organism to so organize its various needs and interests with relation to a social and physical environment that it goes forward successfully satisfying itself and winning social approval at the same time, striking a balance between a dynamic safety attained by courageous intelligent action and a static safety which means regression and avoidance of action—substituting as far as intelligence permits, expression for repression, independence for dependence, objective for subjective and concrete interests for dreams—then adolescence inevitably presents a crisis, a possible turning-point, a place where the struggle must necessarily be more aggressive and effortful if it is to result advantageously for the organism.

The ideal of adjustment, which mental hygiene holds before us, might be stated in this way. The organism is able to so co-ordinate its own cravings that they can be expressed satisfactorily and objectively in socially approved ways. This implies that organisms use their intellect or intelligence in meeting the facts of every situation squarely and work out their satisfactions in terms of those facts. They use no indirect, evasive, or subjective means to escape the problem of wresting biological success from the world of men and things as they actually are. In other words, the healthy adjustment is the scientific adjustment, which controls situations by mastering the facts in the case and manipulating them with intelligence and skill to carry out the ends of the individual. It is never to be forgotten that the most important situations which the human being has to meet are social and that the facts he has to understand and work with for the solution of his problems are social too. The way human organisms behave is as important to him as the reactions of the physical environment. There is no moral reason why the organism may not use any control it can work out, but, as a matter of fact, no thoroughgoing control can be attained on any other than a realistic basis. All other methods are subjective and illusory and break under the strain of living. If the mental hygiene goal for human beings is biological fulfilment, success, objective expression of the great human interests, independence—in short, full-grown adult individuals who face life in a positive, aggressive, constructive way—then we must examine adolescence to see wherein it presents peculiar and unusual obstacles to all young people in the attainment of such an ideal. Why should life become more difficult at that point and hold so many possibilities of disaster?

Adolescence seems to be a crucial point which tests out the wholesomeness of the previous development. It is the point at which the individual takes on two selves. To adults around him, he is still a child, when they wish him to conform to their desires; when he fails to accept authority and brings down condemnation for his behavior, he is reproached by the adult in terms of his age and approaching manhood.

There are two lines of inquiry we should have to make to determine what his chances are and what his problems are likely to be: first, as to the development of his work or play life; second, as to the development of his love and sex life.

First, on the work side, is he occupied for the most part with realizing concretely his work, or if you wish, his play interests? Has he a plentiful supply of interests and have most of these interests definite concrete ways of getting expressed, that is, has he both the drives and the developed techniques for realizing them? Whether or not

will depend not on him alone but on the entire background to which his response has been a response.

The boy has been under a strongly repressive discipline, if all of his attempts have been discouraged or subject to ridicule, if environment has limited too greatly opportunities, if health has prevented aggressive or effective action, if some inferiority, real or imagined, physical, mental, or social, has developed a habit of non-assertiveness, a fear of attacking a new project, a hesitancy to go over into positive action, a tendency to evade responsibility because of fear of failure or exposure of weakness, then we may expect to find adolescence producing the most critical problems. With adolescence comes a point when life looms up and even the family cannot seem to protect the child from his growing years. He must begin to get the check from his habits of poor adjustment. The patterns he has been using will break in a world outside family protection. If he has not been accustomed to active concrete expression for his interests, the sudden flood of new energy, the opening of the horizon, the social impetus that youth receives, will swamp the motor thus. He has no techniques developed and has not the habit of trying to develop or every new interest.

A particular girl whom we will call Alice illustrates the adolescent conflict when there is too great a pull-back, too many obstacles on the side of normal growth. Her whole life turned her against men and sex because her father was an abusive tyrant and unable to support the family. Her mother put all of her love and desire into indulging and spoiling of Alice. Alice was taught to dress above her station and to feel herself better than others. She was the petted, adored, only child. Then her mother died leaving Alice to an unsympathetic, overworked old grandmother. Alice has never ceased to blame for her lost childhood and its pleasures. Alice was petted, but never accepted this change of living. She never ceased to long for the father and the delights of adoration and dress and pleasure obtained without effort. Her grandmother died leaving Alice without anyone, penniless and with not even a high school education. She goes to work without skill or training, hating the mother and even her mother for dying and leaving her to such a fate. She has not developed the kind of initiative and persistence that will enable her to get satisfaction by night work. She is not strong. She craves pleasure, she blames other people and fate for every misfortune. She develops an evasive way of meeting every responsibility, every failure of hers on a job. She is often late to work, she resents attention childishly, she is unreliable, stays away if she has the slightest pain, wants attention, has no idea of business etiquette. When she loses a job, the employer and fellow-employee is to blame.

Adolescence increases the yearnings for a home, for a mother to fall back upon. The only other outlet she can see leads to the pleasures which mean sex: cabaret, nightclub, dance hall. Alice is afraid of sex. She resists the idea of marriage. What she wants with children! Look how her mother suffered and in the end had herself to rely on to support.

Alice is caught with no developed interests, no techniques, nothing to stabilize and inhibit the regressive impulses. When one talks with her, one gets the full force of the adolescent yearnings. She wants to be somebody, to do great things, to be important. In her good moods, she is overwhelmed with dreams of accomplishment. She tries to use good English, to be a real lady. There is pathos in her inquiry as to

what you say when a boy introduces you to his mother and how to behave in a stylish hotel dining-room. Such questions have an importance that is almost greater than the problem of how to keep straight sexually. Winning of social approval is an ever-present burning desire, but she has no patterns, no habits, no control over the daily details of the process whereby this is gained. When one tries to place her in a good environment with girls of a better class, she reacts with a deepened sense of inferiority, expressed in more open, boastful wildness. She invents adventures with men to dazzle these virtuous, superior maidens. The craving for pleasures and something to make her forget increases.

What one would do, if it were possible, is to hold Alice long enough to see her through the learning of some skill or technique in which she could be really superior and by which she could earn a decent living. The difficulty is that owing to the amount of instability that has been developed it requires almost constant supervision just to keep her in one place physically, as well as to hold her to the daily effort of mastering a hard task. It also takes a great deal of money for which no guarantee of success can be held out.

We have been following the development of the play and work interests of the individual and trying to show how a subjective, regressive development—or call it a lack of development, if you wish—leads to greatly heightened conflict at adolescence because of the increased pressure of internal as well as external forces.

Now, on the side of the love interests, the development of social relationships which can be separated from the work side only arbitrarily, we find a similar situation. The individual whose love life and social interests have broadened progressively and have taken on a more and more objective character meets the effort required of adolescence to face adult sex and social responsibility with courage and positive striving. The individual who because of some inferiority, real or imagined, physical or mental, has tended to depend upon mother love or family tolerance and has avoided the possible criticism of an outside world by shutting himself away from others and comparison with them will easily find in adult love and hetero-sexual relationships something too difficult to be faced. When one contemplates all the influences that are at work to prevent the courageous objective development of love and sex, one wonders why adolescence ever follows a normal biological course.

What can we do practically to meet the complicated problems of adolescence? How can we lessen the struggle or lend strength to the forward-looking interests and impulses? If we wait until adolescence has begun, we shall have a difficult task. But granting that most of the adjustments should have been made earlier and taking adolescence as we actually find it, what is possible?

We can surround youth with encouragement. There need be no sneering superiority, no ridicule, no tyrannical authority, no dogmatic over-ruling, nothing to undermine the confidence and assertion that are necessary to approach work and love on an adult basis.

We can leave young people as free as possible to develop their own ideas, free to discover for themselves, to experiment, even to make mistakes. We can give them freedom to experiment in the ordering and control of their own group in relation to their individual interests.

We can recognize and supply the need of youth for interpretations of religions, philosophy, scientific and social theory, something general to

ed verbally and used to reduce the chaos of a new world to a known and familiar something to make life a safer, more manageable affair. Adolescence craves a theory to use as a stepping-stone from the safe limits of childhood to a boundless universe otherwise too strange to be faced.

Parents and schools can see to it that youth is supplied with definite skills and clues, that potential interests go over into action. They can show young people how to gain an objective happiness in creative work. They can so equip adolescence that it will not be left defenseless in the face of an adult world with only dreams to

The family can reduce the pull-back of childhood by encouraging economic independence, breaking away from home, going away to college, widening the social contacts to extend beyond the family circle. The parents can keep their love for the child objective and unselfish and welcome his growing independence and hetero-sexual contacts.

Most and most important, if we are wise enough and grown up enough ourselves, we can give the adolescent an interpretation of sex and human behavior which will enable him to face frankly his own cravings and inferiorities real or imagined and direct himself to them in a positive, constructive spirit.

Sex instruction as now provided in the public school is not equivalent to assisting the adolescent to a happy emotional adjustment. Like Alice, one may know the facts of sex and hate them. Can we provide parents and teachers so well adjusted and so understanding that they can take the adolescent at the critical moment and through their courageous and positive attitudes show him the way? For he needs not only to know sex and learn to look forward to love and marriage; he needs even more to accept himself, honestly and frankly, to recognize inferiorities and abilities and learn the means of compensation.

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF MENTAL HYGIENE FOR THE TEACHER AND THE NORMAL CHILD

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Assuming that intellectual training is not an end in itself, but merely a means to an end and that the end that justifies all our work—yours as teacher, mine as physician—is the increase of human happiness and efficiency, not narrowly industrial efficiency, skill in meeting personal problems of whatever nature, then I would assert that the ownership of our present efforts cannot bring about the thing desired. If it were in my power, I would grant you for the moment the realization of every ideal in physical and intellectual training you have in mind and are striving for. For the moment, let us assume that all is accomplished. I will grant you still more. Not only all your ideals this moment realized, but, what is of greater importance, experience shown that these ideals were wisely conceived—they have accomplished not only what you believed they would, but even more. Indeed, the millennium in education is here—students developed physically to a degree of perfection scarce dreamed of, instructed by skilfully trained teachers, using scientifically developed methods, so that pupils not only receive, but absorb and assimilate a quantity of intellectual pabulum that is astonishing. As we would expect, all this has brought about improvement

in many directions. And yet the world is no whit happier, and individual efficiency, in the larger sense, is no whit greater; for happiness and efficiency are not essentially dependent either upon physical health or intellectual development. The most perfect physical specimen of manhood or womanhood, who at the same time is an intellectual giant, has no greater assurance of happiness, except in a very narrow sense, than you or I.

These are largely truisms, and yet we seem so frequently to forget them. In the world's struggle out of darkness, it has been the ladder of intellect that has been used, and so concentrated has been our attention on this means of escape and so zealous and energy-consuming have been our efforts to repair old rungs and to add new ones that the very thing for which we started building is forgot.

We pride ourselves that our lives are controlled by our intellects—thus as humans do we differ from the animals. Unlike the animals, when faced with a difficult problem, we gather together our bits of information and apply cold reason to the formation of our judgment. Although each of us occasionally may wish he had a little more "brains" to apply in making a judgment, we are quite sure that it is the "brains" (intellect) we have that is applied. But we often fool ourselves. If we will ground our pride, I think we will find that all too often our decisions are quite largely made before our intellects come very fully into play, and that our intellectual processes perform the function largely of finding reasons to justify the already made decision. In other words, our decision has been made upon an emotional basis rather than upon an intellectual one. Educational systems have not taken much note of this, for they have not outgrown the early slogan—train the intellect and school the will that they may rule over the "baser animal parts." Emotional problems are not unimportant; they are fundamental. They are not to be solved by intellect, in the narrow sense; will, whatever that is, if it is a thing apart, is a bulwark of straw.

We are inclined, in dealing with the emotional life of children, to feel that conduct lies within their conscious control; that, having taught them left from right and right from wrong, they are at liberty to choose the right and deny the wrong; that if they choose the wrong, they are perverse and the result be upon their own heads. We wash our hands of responsibility. Such an attitude on the part of our own teachers could not be wholly condemned—it was in keeping with the knowledge of the day; such an attitude today is a reflection upon the intelligence or the professional knowledge of the man who holds it.

The mind of a child is vastly more than an intellect. And what he does eventually with his intellect will depend largely upon how he learns to use the rest of himself. In this learning process we may help him or we may merely set him adrift to sink or swim. This vast part about him that is not intellect is knowable, so that we may not much longer ignore it and keep a comfortable feeling.

Emotions of whatever kind—moods, temperaments, idiosyncrasies, peculiarities—have their cause. They are not made either of dragon's breath or fairies' wings. Even a child's personality cannot stand naked before the forces that play against it any more than can its body. And no sooner does it learn to protect its body from environmental forces than it begins to learn to protect its personality. In the former undertaking it has much guidance; in the latter, although the problem is much more difficult—for not only must it protect itself against the forces themselves, but also against the vague fears that still reside in the forces—it has but little help. We may not be surprised,

Therefore, that it builds badly and that some of its false structures begin to show early. There is time here to enter but briefly into a discussion of some of this false building.

In any group there will be found those who are beginning to edge away from the crowd. This edging away should not be confused with a later adult desire to simplify one's life, to get away from the distractions of manifold duties, the "continuousness of discontinuities," where one can think and plan in peace and quiet. The adolescent group of which I speak withdraws not deliberately in order to think and to solve problems, but instinctively, perhaps, we may say, in order to avoid pain. It is the beginning of a withering-up process, as of a plant too long in the direct heat of the sun, and leads to various degrees of incapacity, from the dementia praecox patient in the hospital, content with his own autistic thinking, to the ineffectual day-dreamer on the outside. Up to now, the child has healthfully been putting forth pseudopods, as it were, feeling out and absorbing from his environment; but he begins to find his environment too complex. In whatever direction he pours out a pseudopod, he finds not food but nettles; reality has become too painful; pseudopods become less frequent; he begins to roll up in a ball and to find contentment in a world of his own construction. The less that world is checked with reality, the greater the contentment.

Others, to the same general situation, react a bit differently. Day-dreaming and fantasy-building fill up their lives. Not the day-dreams that are inspirational means to ends more real than reality, the dreams that make the world go round, but dreams that are an end in themselves, for they are hitched to no dynamo. These students glow with fine emotions and are frequently the joy of instructors, because of their quick appreciation of the finer sentiments and ideals they are trying to express. Later he records these students as "disappointments," but with no sense, probably, of personal or school responsibility, or of opportunity neglected, of succor withheld because the need was unrecognized. To him, in all likelihood, the matter is an unfathomable matter of fate, much as he may still consider infant mortality—"The Lord giveth and the Lord taketh away. Blessed be the name of the Lord."

If a keen sense of reality and the habit of constantly correcting one's thinking by reference to reality is necessary in the development of steadfastness and clearness essential to mental health, so, too, is intellectual honesty; yet, in any student group may be seen the development of contrary habits. An easy expedient in meeting a disagreeable situation—for example, an unattainable desire—is to deny the desire and to minimize the value of the thing wished for. The wish is genuine, nevertheless, and assuming a false attitude merely makes it much harder to meet any later situation in which the wish could and should be realized.

Emotional difficulties may be met by rationalizing them, a process whereby one succeeds (only partially) in deceiving one's self, although quite frequently others, by assigning for a course of action a reason that is not the real reason, which would be disagreeable and painful, but a reason that is plausible and much more satisfying to one's self-esteem. "I did not apply for a commission during the war because I could not be spared from my own community." A true reason in many cases; a rationalization in others. Not meeting the situation does not resolve the mental conflict involved in the situation and this lives to assert itself in many undesirable ways.

There is probably no snare of greater importance to the child than that involved in the development of feeling of inferiority, for the injuries received here will likely remain with him for the rest of his life. The sources of this feeling are many and cannot

for each feels that, had he any achievement, young the inferior can be found. There are many types, but probably two of the most common may be described. The one is subtle defense; the other more receptive. The one discerns clearly by his demeanor that his own cause, right being a false one, he has found himself inferior and is accepting defeat. In the judgment of his superior he may occasionally burst out in a show of strength usually at an inappropriate time and over unimportant matters, but this only leaves him more defeated and humiliated. Or, he may find relief in coming to consider himself "different" of a finer and more sensitive quality than his fellows, to make capital out of *Wingspreads*, to sentimentalize, to invite mirth, and to believe eventually that he is not made of rough world-stuff, but that he is essentially spiritual and poetical.

Quite in contrast is his fellow-student who, in his adolescent judgment, thinks he, too, has seen a species of inferiority, but who buckles on a thick armor of bravado and defends himself by attacking. The idea that he may be inferior is intolerable, and he endeavors to prove to himself that he is not by developing an enormous self-conceit and by attempting to brow beat opposition. He may not be an unattractive youth and is likely to "get by" for a time, but his device is a boomerang.

Equally confusing to the individual and probably even more important in its complicated social effects is the process students find of transferring emotions. Something must be done with a strong emotion. It will not evaporate. It may be partially satisfied for a time by rationalizing a cause for it, or one may rid one's self of it by assigning it to elements in the environment. Burned down by a sense of failure and inadequacy, self-respect may be maintained by finding the cause not within one's self, but in the unfairness and the unjustness and the misunderstanding of others. They and not we are to blame; self-respect is in part maintained, but at the cost of a habit that is inelastic and capable of much elaboration and development. Emotions may be transferred bodily, so that what is in reality a dissatisfaction and disgust with one's self becomes an intense dislike and antagonism toward another individual against whom we have no cause for complaint, except—and this we may realize but vaguely—that he somehow keeps us aware of the deficiencies and inadequacies we are trying to ignore.

These and similar reactions, simple and harmless as they may seem, lead to many perplexing personal and social difficulties, as those who have cultivated them move in life to more critical and complicated relationships.

You may feel that this type of building is quite beyond the range of a child, but I assure you that the beginnings of some of these habits are being made before you each day, and that they bring to naught much of your day's labor. I have much simplified the account. This is not the whole story, for I have not discussed the more complex and less conscious reactions that are of even greater significance, but it will at least indicate the problem.

Much progress has been made in recent years in understanding the quantitative and qualitative differences in the intellectual potentialities of children. This is of first-rate importance and from it will come a much more effective type of intellectual training. But if, as we assumed in the beginning, the object of education is to make possible greater individual happiness and efficiency in the larger world, then may I suggest again that education must take into account the whole mind and not a part of the mind?

The physician who today tells a patient he is suffering from "inflammation of the bowels" is put down as an ignoramus, for the term means nothing, or anything from appendicitis to cancer of the stomach. What the term "inflammation of the bowels" means in medicine are certain terms to education—stupid, moody, indifferent, disinterested, idle, lazy, vicious, mean, ornery, nervous, irritable, hateful, unruly, insubordinate, incorrigible, troublesome, sulky, excitable, restless, untruthful, dishonest, etc., although the result may be disconcerting to the school all these represent children in adjustment just as much as the placidity and docility of others. These children are analyzable, and have definite causes, although the causes may not be at all obvious at first.

The failures of today and the failures of the future are not alone chargeable to the child or to schools or to educational systems, but to the community as a whole. We need ever more strength to educators in the work they are already doing. But if success is to come it must come through bringing to the aid of the teacher all the resources of the community that can bring light and direction to this problem. These resources exist and are usable. But the teacher must first see the problem and grasp its significance. Thus may we hope to forestall many needless personal failures, prevent needless ill-health, minimize mediocrity, through giving to the individual the use of the intellect he has by extending his power of conscious control—not merely more brains, but fuller, unhandicapped use of brains.

MENTAL HYGIENE PROBLEMS OF SUBNORMAL CHILDREN

A. IN THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS

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We have been doing with the subnormal children much that we have long done with the normal children, and that is, making a wonderful scheme or pattern and then putting all our energies to fit the children into this scheme or pattern. We have been spending a great time getting away from this sort of thing with the normal children and it is at least a bit to our credit that we are already trying to do better than that with the subnormal children, and the work is still young. As an aside we might say that the organization of work for defectives in the public schools was the first attempt to plan a course of study suited to the intelligence of the pupils. Even now we find too many cases where the energies of the teaching force are used to make the intelligence of the pupils fit the course of study.

There are different types among the defectives as there are different types among the normals—not as many different types among the subnormals, perhaps, but enough to make the problem of their treatment and training complex and difficult to solve.

We are all familiar with the classification of idiot, imbecile, moron, epileptic, hopathic, and so on. In New Jersey there has been a study of correctional institution inmates. Based upon this study a classification has been made and treatment suggested. Dr. Doll says in his memorandum on this classification, "The psychiatric clinic in accordance with advanced criminology, recognizes two types of offenders—the occasional and the habitual. It also recognizes three types of mental defective—

ness—feeble-mindedness, epilepsy, and insanity. It further recognizes two emotional classes—the constitutionally stable and the unstable. At the present time the problem of the feeble-minded delinquent is most pressing and is made the subject of this memorandum. The recommendations herein advanced for the disposition of the feeble-minded defective delinquents can be extended in principle for the insane and epileptic types as well.

"With respect to the three factors—delinquency, feeble-mindedness, and instability—we may recognize six delinquent types as follows: (1) The feeble-minded stable occasional offender, in whom the delinquency is principally a symptom or natural consequence of the inferior judgment, reasoning, and suggestibility of the feeble-minded type; (2) The feeble-minded unstable occasional offender, in whom the delinquency is principally symptomatic of the constitutional defect either as feeble-mindedness or as temperamental instability; (3) The feeble-minded stable habitual delinquent, the incorrigible type whose repeated delinquency is more a consequence of environment, training, moral perversity, or other causes than feeble-mindedness; (4) The feeble-minded unstable habitual delinquent, in whom the delinquency is the result of causes other than feeble-mindedness or instability; (5) The unstable non-feeble-minded occasional delinquent, in whom the delinquency is a symptom or natural consequence of constitutional instability rather than feeble-mindedness; (6) The unstable non-feeble-minded habitual delinquent, in whom the delinquency is the result of causes other than constitutional instability or feeble-mindedness.

"These six classes are developed on the recognized fact that feeble-mindedness alone, or constitutional instability alone, are not all-sufficient causes of delinquency. It is recognized that unfortunate influences of environment, home training, bad associations, and the many other causes of delinquency which might be enumerated, are operative upon the feeble-minded and the constitutionally unstable, just as they are operative upon the intellectually normal and the constitutionally stable individuals. Or the delinquency may be caused by the peculiarities of temperament or personality, over and above feeble-mindedness or instability. In other words, a feeble-minded person may be actively social or anti-social just as the non-feeble-minded person is so. And similarly the constitutionally unstable person may be actively social or anti-social in the same way as an intellectually normal person or a constitutionally stable person. In other words, a defect of personality, temperament, character, or morality may be more serious than feeble-mindedness in accounting for the delinquency of the feeble-minded offender, and similarly for the constitutionally unstable."

We have been placing children from all these groups together in special classes and we have been trying to train them to a sort of industrial efficiency. The institutions will probably lead the public schools in classifying the children according to these groups. However, in Newark, we have made our own classification of children in the Binet schools (as our schools for defective are called) after they have been admitted to these schools. We make our first tentative classification on mental age and then modify the groups according to individual needs, taking into consideration just such types described by Dr. Doll in his memorandum.

We have used the best agencies and methods available to attack the problem of the unstable defective. When this careful training and treatment failed to achieve the result we sought, we have used all influence at our command with the parents or those responsible, to have the child committed to the proper institution. This instability

so often causes the child to come into conflict with the law that our work often has been one of co-operation with all those handling the case. Unfortunately, however, the courts too often send the children back to us with the criticism that if we understood the children better they would get in fewer difficulties. We sometimes feel as if we had the ammunition to retaliate in kind but we have no energies to waste in needless controversy, so we simply "carry on," attack the problem again, and look for another way out of the difficulty.

Our aim in training the subnormal is twofold: first, to serve the state and society; and second, to teach the defective better how to live.

In order to serve the state it is imperative that those children who are incurably anti-social should be placed where they can do no harm to their fellows or to the community. Likewise those who are of such low mentality that they are used as tools by unscrupulous persons, or those who cannot be honest or decent without protection, should have that protection.

When these are provided for, the public schools can take the stable subnormals and also the curable, unstable subnormals and train them in their special classes to do much of the necessary work of the world.

This training can be best done, we think in Newark, by teaching the defective children in graded schools or classes. We have made the recommendations for special continuation classes for defective workers and for therapeutic classes for the curable, unstable defective. As yet they are merely recommendations, and officially that side of the work has not been developed, although the existing schools for the defectives are attempting to carry out these phases of the work until the classes are organized for these groups of children.

The plan for the continuation class of defective workers is much the same as the plan for the normal children, although the work in the class will vary with the type of child and will consist very probably of something which will bear as directly as possible on the lives and needs of the workers attending the classes.

The "therapeutic" class (perhaps we shall find a better name) will be for the defective child in the special school who cannot conform to the routine even of the special schools. This extra-special child will receive treatment and training in the class by a specially interested teacher and when his disposition improves, and his instability is corrected to dependability, he will be placed in a class with the stable defectives where he can compete with his fellows and continue his way through the graded defective classes until he is old enough to go to work. At present the children who belong in these groups are in the continuation schools and in the Binet schools where they are cared for as groups of these schools.

Upon analyzing the population of the Binet schools and classes in Newark, in regard to mental ages and intelligence quotients we find that 6 per cent are four years or less in mental age; 6 per cent are nine years in mental age; 88 per cent are five, six, seven, and eight years in mental age; 20 per cent have intelligence quotients of less than 50; 10 per cent have intelligence quotients of 70-90; and 70 per cent have intelligence quotients of 50-69.

In the organization of the Binet schools in Newark the children who have intelligence quotients of 50 and less are segregated in classes by themselves, except those who by virtue of long training compete in the activities with those of greater intelligence but shorter training. It is about this group that much controversy has been waged

in regard, in the first place, to keeping them in school at all, and in the second place, to having a trained teacher for the group. Practically the plan of excluding these children from school entirely, or the plan of keeping them in school but under the care of a matron or caretaker, presents many difficulties, which, however, would vary greatly with different communities.

The public has very decided notions as to what a classroom should be, and many people would be shocked at the conditions which might result from placing a caretaker in charge of one of these low grade classes. Perhaps if the class were in a building apart from the regular school building this could be managed more satisfactorily. The course of study for this group in our organization calls for definite teaching in personal cleanliness and hygiene, sense training, music, manual training, industrial training, speech training, physical training, and exercises of practical life. A caretaker could not do this work—in fact it takes a skilled teacher to really teach this group what is laid down in our course. It is quite possible that the results from the standpoint of society do not warrant this attempt at good work. This is one of the many problems which have yet to be solved satisfactorily.

The 10 per cent group, which consists of children who have intelligence quotients from 70 to 90, theoretically at least, ought to be the children who can do the best work in the school. In some cases this is so, but it is by no means certain that the children in this group will be the best workers. This group consists, for the most part, of the unstable difficult children who need definite therapeutic treatment which will put them in condition so they will be able to do the kind of work for which they have the intelligence.

The 70 per cent group, which consists of children who have intelligence quotients varying from 50 to 69 inclusive, is by far the largest group of defectives in the special schools. The children in this group are graded from low to high, and have mental ages varying from five to eight years. Our records cover many years and apparently the children with the mental ages of five and six years are gradually progressing to seven and eight years mentally, where they usually stop developing.

In the training and treatment of these children we use all the activities which a school plant affords. We have fully equipped gymnasiums, manual training shops, kitchens, industrial work rooms, academic work rooms, and gardens with which to carry on this work. While good results (such as rugs, simple furniture, looms, and school lunches) are sought and obtained, still the organization is planned to train children first, last, and always, and the product is a secondary consideration. While it is very pleasant to think that an excellent result may have had an excellent effect on the defective producing it, this is not always true. A result can be too good as well as too poor. It takes a skilled teacher to know what to expect and then get what she expects.

When the subnormals have received this training in the special classes in the public school they often fail in industry because there is no guiding personality to get out of them what they really can do. We must remember once again that there are many things these defective children can do—things which are necessary to the well being of the world—and the problem is to find the environment in which they can function with benefit to themselves and to the community in which they live.

A vocational guidance bureau, or better, a vocational direction bureau, should be organized to work closely with those training subnormal children, in order that the

efforts used in training these children may benefit society to the utmost. The everlasting question of expense arises whenever the subject of doing even more for the defective is mentioned. There is also an everlasting answer to this question which is itself a question, Can any community afford not to provide adequately for the defective?

It is a pity we cannot show exactly the cost of the present plan, that of permitting the courts, the charities, and other agencies to handle the defectives, and then show beside this plan, the cost of the complete proposed program. The saving would surely be on the side of the constructive plan of training the individual to the extent of his ability, of helping him find his place in the community, and then helping him stay there.

B. IN INSTITUTIONS

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I should like in this paper to call your attention to the changed emphasis that is now being laid on the part played by the institution in the organization of a state's machinery, for meeting and solving the problem of mental defect. I should like to point to the vital position occupied by the state institution in the more recently conceived state programs.

It was the hope of the early pioneers, Itard, Seguin, and others, to cure feeble-mindedness by intensive training. They expected to arouse the dormant faculties of the feeble-minded through the physiological education of the senses. For a period real enthusiasm existed over the possibilities to be derived in the way of solving the problem of feeble-mindedness through physiological methods of training. The early schools were all purely educational in character and planned to return the children to their families after a relatively brief period of intensive training. Later a reaction set in. When it came to be realized that little could ever be accomplished in actually developing the intelligence of feeble-minded persons, it began to be appreciated that feeble-mindedness was incurable and that once a child was feeble-minded he inevitably remained so throughout his life. Thus interest in the attempt to educate the feeble-minded greatly diminished and there was a general slump in real endeavors to do something for the feeble-minded children themselves.

Public attention became centered on another and very menacing element of the problem—the heredity of feeble-mindedness. Studies of such families as the Jukes, the Kallikaks, the Ishmaelites, and others, and investigations of pockets of defect in various communities throughout the country, brought realization to the general public of the grave social menace and serious financial burden of feeble-mindedness. Close upon these investigations came reports of studies of inmates of state prisons, reformatories, workhouses, jails, houses of correction, and delinquents in courts, showing the great frequency of feeble-mindedness amongst offenders. Criminologists began to recognize that the mental defective with psychopathic traits and personality handicaps formed one of the most difficult problems to be dealt with amongst that vast army of recidivists passing daily through criminal courts, and filling state, county, and city correctional institutions.

of receiving such, and intensive physical, manual, industrial, and vocational

Emphasis is laid on fitting the defectives for useful service in the institution, the case of those for whom it is possible and who have community value, who live under supervision as responsible, law-abiding, self-supporting members of society.

It is seen that in this program the institution plays a wholly different part from which it did in the early stages of work amongst the feeble-minded. It can be seen that the institution now forms a way-station on life's highway for the feeble-minded who enter raw material of the crudest type and out of which go into the comparatively well-trained persons fitted to take a reasonable share of life's burdens and to be part of decent, law-abiding citizens. The institution is the keynote to any program for properly handling the problem of feeble-mindedness. Around it revolve all other state machinery. The dominant note, it will be seen, of the institution is becoming less and less custodial and more and more medical and educational. There is less and less the atmosphere of the poorhouse and more and more that of the hospital and training-school.

The newer conception demands that each feeble-minded child, upon being received in the institution, shall be given a careful and searching mental and physical examination.

The mental examination shall include not only the determination of the child's I. Q., his mental age, and his particular defects and disabilities, but above all shall it consider the child's abilities, possibilities, and adaptabilities. The results of these examinations are to be made a basis for permanent records. At regular intervals re-examinations are made. The medical treatment and educational training of each child will naturally, to a great extent, be guided by the information thus furnished.

The newer institutions, with pathological, psychiatric, psychological, educational, medical, industrial, and agricultural departments, all properly co-ordinated by a general superintendent, constitutes the most essential part of a comprehensive plan for the study, treatment, and training of each individual feeble-minded child in the state.

In short, the state institution is not conceived to be an isolated unit for the life-long custody of a few feeble-minded persons, but a center for the application of the modern methods that scientific medicine, psychology, pedagogy, and other fields can offer—an institution that is to be made available for a certain period of years to any feeble-minded children as possible in the state.

Nothing of the activities carried on by the institution in behalf of the feeble-minded child may be mentioned.

The low-grade cases are as helpless as infants, incapable of standing alone, or of feeding themselves. The chief thing with those low-grade cases is to see that their wants are attended to and to make them comfortable and happy as long as they live; but even with these cases, much improvement is possible in the way of getting them to wait on themselves, to dress and undress, to feed themselves, and to pay attention to personal cleanliness and habits of order and obedience. In this way the large group, even of these low-grade cases, may be less troublesome and the burden and expense of their care may be considerably lessened.

The most prominent feature of the educational training of the high-grade mental defectives today is the attention paid to instruction in industrial occupations. In this

education by doing, we not only have a very valuable means of exercising and developing the dormant faculties and defective bodies of these children, but at the same time we are training them to become useful men and women. In states where the colony plan has been utilized and intelligently directed unusual success has been obtained from this method of treatment.

There is one phase of the work which it is worth while to stress, and that is the physical training—the gymnasium. Physical training has for its aim the improvement of physical health, the correction of physical defects, the building of physical strength, replacing the shuffling, awkward gait with a graceful carriage, putting pep, power, and self-control into the weak, handicapped, indolent, apathetic, and inadequate personality.

It should be borne in mind that the defective child forms new habits with greater difficulty than the more normal-minded child. His mental limitations make it likely that he will always pursue the lines of least resistance and do the thing which has become habitual. This one fact may be made the basis for a hopeful attitude toward the feeble-minded. For the feeble-minded child may be taught good habits as well as bad, and once industry, obedience, honesty, and self-control have been made habitual, they become the guiding principles in character and thus control and direct the child's future conduct, being as difficult to break as they are to make. Through years of contact with the routine régime of institutional life, habits are thus formed that inevitably modify character and personality, and when adolescence is passed and adult life is reached, it is frequently found that the defective settles down to a quiet, stable life. His emotional instability has become less and less marked. The useful habits developed in the institution become more and more the controlling principles in his life.

There is another phase of the institution's mental hygiene work which may well receive special attention here, and that is its educational activities in connection with the parents of feeble-minded children. Encouraging frequent visits from the parents while the children are in the institution makes for a greater co-operation of parents with institutional authorities. Some particularly well qualified person should be on hand to show such visiting parents all of the activities of the institution and what it is endeavoring to accomplish in the case of each child, what methods are employed, and what results have been obtained. Literature dealing with mental defect and with the mental hygiene of mentally defective children should be given them.

A systematic educational campaign should be planned by the institutional authorities to induce intelligent co-operation on the part of parents of defective children. This may be accomplished through special inducements to visit the institution and through visits of the superintendent himself, wherever possible, to the homes, establishing the proper friendly relations. In all cases there should be a specially qualified social worker—a woman with great tact, zeal, tolerance, and kindly human sympathy—a woman who understands and appreciates the difficult problems involved in securing the right contact with the homes of defective children. Success in this character of work requires the greatest skill. Proper co-operation on the part of parents will make for greater happiness and contentment on the part of the children themselves, and is one of the largest factors for success in the parole of institutionally trained defectives.

We have wished to call attention in this article to the fact that the institution for the feeble-minded as it is conceived today is no longer an almshouse, but is the center around which revolves all of the machinery of the state for dealing with the problem of feeble-mindedness. It is the place to which the mentally crippled child may be brought for a proper diagnosis, suitable treatment and training, and though he may never be made mentally whole, he may be enabled in a large measure to compensate for his terrific handicap. Within its limited but usually happy environment, he finds himself no longer confronted with depressing comparisons, he sees himself daily matching his mettle with his fellows, and competing in a friendly, and often joyful spirit, at play, in the gymnasium, in the classroom, on the farm, and in the shops. His life is now calculated to develop confidence and self-assurance. Truthfulness supplants suspicion; happiness overcomes discontent; obedience, appreciation, honesty, truthfulness, industry, and kindness are daily instilled by precept and example. Here over a period of years an effort is made to teach his hands to do something useful and worth while and slowly but surely mold his personality that he may adapt himself to standards of normal living. Finally after adult life has been reached there may be extended to him the long-hoped-for, long-dreamed-of, opportunity to return to the world and resume his place in the family circle, and take a share, however small, in life's opportunities for service.

MENTAL HYGIENE PROBLEMS OF MALADJUSTED CHILDREN

A. IN A PUBLIC CLINIC

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In these times of the popularity of social medicine, as distinct from the earlier individualistic medicine, there are seen, with increasing frequency, in mental hygiene clinics and in psychopathic clinics, cases of maladjustment for which we as physicians find it extremely difficult to prescribe successfully. The cases to which I refer are not the usual sharply defined cases of so-called insanity or feeble-mindedness, but are borderline conditions for which the books do not tell us any definite methods of treatment. The public, as a whole, still believes strongly in the power of medical therapy of one form or another, and we have helped to foster this belief by urging strongly that the public bring their problems to us. I would not change this order of things in any essential, but I feel that we must be very keenly alive to our responsibilities, particularly when we offer to supervise the adjustment of children to the community life.

In the Wayne County Psychopathic Clinic at Detroit, which is an out-patient service of the State Psychopathic Hospital at the University of Michigan, most of the children seen have been delinquent in one way or another, and are sent to the clinic for examination by the Juvenile Division of the Probate Court of Wayne County. From this it may be seen that the maladjustment present is often of rather severe degree and of long standing. As we go deeply into the study of individual cases we frequently find that the treatment indicated to bring about a satisfactory solution of the problem at hand does not need to be directed to the patient himself so much as it does to those with whom he lives. It has likewise been often observed by judges of juvenile courts

that disciplinary measures are very frequently indicated for the parents, rather than for the accused juvenile. We dislike very much to recommend a commitment to institution for any child, unless there is a positive indication for it. The positive indications most frequently seen are: first, segregation when the child is so great a menace to the community that it seems advisable to confine him for the protection of the community; second, because the treatment afforded at a particular institution is the kind which the case at hand needs.

It sometimes becomes necessary, however, to institutionalize a child, not because he is in need of any particular treatment which the institution can give him, but rather to remove him from the pernicious influence of his home. As an example of this type of case may be cited a fifteen-year-old Jewish boy who was arrested for the third time charged with larceny, the complaint having been filed by his brother-in-law. The family history showed little of importance so far as nervous or mental disorder is concerned. His mother died of Bright's disease when he was seven years of age. She was a midwife and described as a very bright woman. His father is a carpenter and cabinet-maker and an industrious worker. He remarried shortly after his first wife's death. The patient has one sister married and one brother in the army. There is also one half-brother and one half-sister at home. While his mother was living the patient was given a weekly allowance and, as he put it, "he had to mind." With his entrance into the family of the stepmother, this allowance was stopped. It was then noted that he began stealing, first at home and later outside the home. His stealing led to lying about his thefts. This condition of affairs had been going on for years until more recently he had become truant from home.

An examination of the boy showed him to have a mental age of thirteen years with an intelligence quotient of 90, on the Stanford scale, hardly a rating which would classify him as feeble-minded. In the emotional field, there was present a little indifference, with some irritability. He had exhibited temperamental outbursts upon occasion when crossed. His attitude toward his stealing was careless, to say the least. He said that he could stop stealing if he wished, but "What was the use?" In schoolwork he had reached the ninth grade and had shown a very marked interest in this mechanical.

Investigation of the home showed a six-room house literally filled with roomers so that the family of five was crowded into three rooms, and even in these rooms the roomers interfered. His stepmother nagged him constantly and showed openly her favor to her own two children. When this condition of affairs became intolerable, he ran away from home and went to his married sister of whom he was very fond. Here he found that she and her husband frequently quarreled, and in these disagreements she was always united with her against her husband. This led to a great bitterness on the part of his brother-in-law toward our patient and they frequently came to blows. Protection in this case had failed, as we might have expected, in the only two environments available for him. His temperamental peculiarities, together with his emotional distress, make him a difficult case in any home, but we have the feeling that in an understanding and stimulating home environment he would grow into a very useful and straight-living citizen, probably an electrician or mechanic. He was committed to institution, not so much because he needed to be segregated nor because we believed he needed the treatment which the institution afforded, but rather because the institution would be better for him than the other environments available.

As an example of the type of case in which treatment appears more indicated for the parents than for the patient may be cited a ten-year-old girl referred to the clinic by the Children's Aid Society because she was reported to be of an extremely jealous disposition with a violent temper. She was described as being extremely profane, and at times brutal toward the other children, and was said to have lied and stolen. Her mother described her as uncontrollable and expressed a fear that the child would kill the other children. On one occasion she is said to have struck her sister with a clothes hanger so that the sister was unconscious for a period of three hours. She frequently told her mother that she wished her mother would die, but she showed great fondness for her father. She is said to have cursed aloud in church, to the great embarrassment of the rest of the family. This sort of conduct is said to have characterized her for a period of about two years, or since the death of a brother. At the time of her brother's death there was much illness in the family and the patient was taken by a cousin for a period of two months. It was upon the return home from the cousin's house that this conduct was noted, and it was attributed by the mother to the fact that the cousin had spoiled her. At any rate, the child always wanted to return to the cousin, but this was not permitted by the parents.

The family history in this case indicates that the father and one paternal uncle are heavily alcoholic; the mother, also a patient of the clinic, is definitely psychotic, falling in that class of cases which we have been in the habit of labeling paranoid. There are two other living children. The patient has had the usual diseases of childhood, but has always enjoyed average health. She reached Grade III-A in school, was able to do the schoolwork well, and had caused little trouble in school.

Upon examination she was noted as a frail, timid little girl, with easy recourse to tears. She cried as she told of her efforts to please her mother and of her failures in this regard. She admitted stealing money from the home to buy food because she was hungry. Upon psychometric examination she registered nine years, five months, with an intelligence quotient of 100. During a portion of her examination the mother was in the room, and the mother's extremely profane description of the patient's conduct caused the patient to appear very much ashamed. This child was placed in a boarding-home, where she is reported to be getting along well. In this case we have a timid, unstable, very sensitive child, living in a home with an indulgent, weak, alcoholic father and an irritable, paranoid mother. If active therapeutic measures are indicated in the case at all, they are more needed for the parents than for the child.

This case may serve to illustrate another point. The taint in the stock from which this girl comes is such that we need not be surprised if she develops actual nervous or mental disease long after she has left the influence of her home. We are now dealing in her case with a problem of maladjustment largely environmental, but due mainly to abnormality in the parents. Who can say now that we will not, at some future time, have to deal with a psychosis in this patient for which the predisposing cause, at least, is the same as the cause of the environmental factors at work now?

In public clinics, where large numbers of the poor and unsuccessful are seen, there comes to our attention a rather definite group of cases in whom the situation appears hopeless. I believe that every public clinic has a rather fixed number of these individuals, the percentage differing perhaps for different localities, but always present. I refer to the type of case in which the stock from which the patient comes is badly tainted with pathological factors and where the patient carries evidences in his own

make-up of his poor heredity to such an extent as to make it appear that he cannot make the necessary adjustment to get along without supervision.

One of this type appears, I believe, in the case of a boy fourteen years of age, a charge of the Juvenile Court because he had stolen a valuable gold pin set with diamonds. He tried to dispose of it at a jeweler's, but the jeweler became suspicious and accused him of stealing it. He then broke it up and tried at another jeweler's to dispose of it as junk, but was again refused. He had been stealing since he was a tiny boy, but his parents had paid little attention to it until the last five years, when they felt it had become more serious. He had taken a number of pieces of jewelry and as much as \$68 in money at one time.

His family history indicates that his mother is a very unstable, neurotic woman who has had a nervous breakdown in which she was depressed and suicidal. Although I do not know the exact nature of her trouble, I feel that it was probably an attack of manic depressive psychosis, depressed phase. The father is an ignorant man who is notably indifferent toward his children. He takes no interest whatever in the home and spends all his spare time at lodges. One brother of the patient is subnormal and in a special class at school. Another brother is well now, but has formerly had convulsions of one sort or another. The maternal grandmother died insane, of general paresis. The maternal grandfather was highly nervous and subject to periodic headaches, the exact nature of which we do not know. One maternal uncle was heavily alcoholic. The maternal great-grandfather was also heavily alcoholic. Two of the maternal great aunts were religious fanatics, and thought by many to have been insane. On the paternal side the grandmother died insane in the state hospital; the grandfather was a drinker and was well known in the community for his violent temper; an uncle was heavily alcoholic; and a cousin was considered an incorrigible thief. The patient was a bed-wetter and a masturbator until shortly before we saw him. He had had pneumonia twice and some of the diseases of childhood. He had attended school regularly.

Upon examination he showed a very narrow, peculiarly shaped head, skin of very fine texture, and disproportionately long extremities. His physical appearance suggested somewhat a disturbance of function of the glands of internal secretion. The neurological examination failed to reveal any definite evidences of organic nervous disease. The psychometric examination gave him a mental age of ten years, ten months, with an intelligence quotient of 76. In the emotional field he showed a striking indifference. There was no evidence present of any affection for his parents and no interest in the probable outcome of his case. He talked freely of his stealing, but without spontaneity; made no promises as to the future, and showed no shame concerning the past. While I am inclined to believe that, in general, we perhaps attach too great importance to a poor heredity when we seek out the causes of maladjustment, still in this case, presenting at least thirteen instances of abnormality in the antecedents on both sides of the family, I feel that the heredity factors must be regarded as of considerable importance. This seems to me to be especially true in view of the patient's peculiar physical structure, his subnormality in intelligence, and his total lack of any spontaneity. Certainly the background upon which one has to build in this type of case is of very poor quality and we must not be surprised or disappointed if effort expended on such material bears little fruit. We cannot make thoroughbreds out of scrub stock amongst the lower animals; neither can we expect to do so in the human race. A proper recogni-

tion of this fact in a public psychopathic clinic is very necessary. There is so much to be done, the cases of maladjustment are so numerous, that the community may best be served by expending our efforts, which are extremely limited, upon those cases where there appears some degree of hopefulness as to the result of our efforts. For the others I would suggest a disposition by the cheapest social means possible.

This seems to me to be a distinctly selfish age in which we live. Whether our selfishness is explained by the war or after-war conditions I do not feel able to say, but we find evidences of it in our public clinics, to which more and more people bring their problems. It is not infrequently observed that children are brought to the clinic, not so much for the benefit which the parents feel might be given the child, as with the expectation that the clinic will, by some means or other, relieve the family of its responsibility in reference to the child. I feel sure that many children are not wanted in the home. The furious rate at which we live, with the keen commercial competition, tends to make the advent of children into the home an expense which parents too frequently deplore. Under such conditions the child is apt to be neglected and is hastened to the actual maladjustment for which he comes to the clinic.

I recall the case of a thirteen-year-old girl, whose father owned a small delicatessen store. In their eagerness to get ahead financially, the mother spent most of her time with the father in the store, which was kept open twelve to fourteen hours each day. As business increased, the child was also recruited as a clerk. There was no home life. The family's entire life was spent in the store or in the one room behind the store, which served as the home. Small amounts of money began to be missed from the cash register and it was discovered that the child was taking money to buy small luxuries for herself. The parents brought this girl to the clinic. Their attitude showed that they really wished the clinic might have the girl committed to an institution so that they might be relieved of their responsibility and be insured against the danger of her further stealing from them.

I feel that we must strive to get away from our cliff-dwelling habit and restore, so far as possible, the family group and the home as an institution. The parents must inject into their children, from the earliest age, a sense of social values. This must be done not only by teaching in the school and in the home, but by the actual living examples of their parents. We, as workers interested in social welfare problems, should instil, so far as it is within our power, a proper sense of social values in the cases of those with whom we come in contact, and we must not tolerate the habit on the part of the family of "passing the buck" to the social agency in regard to the entire care of one of its members. We must require of them more in the way of their duty to their children than we have been doing in the past.

I wish to express my appreciation of the kindness of Dr. Nellie L. Perkins and the Wayne County Psychopathic Clinic, in extending to me the use of their case histories.

B. IN INSTITUTIONS

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The term "maladjusted child" includes a great many and quite diverse problems. I shall confine myself to the consideration of institutions dealing with socially maladjusted children which are commonly grouped under the term of delinquent.

In Illinois, as in many other states, we have a number of institutions dealing with delinquent children. Two of these are maintained by the state, namely the School for Delinquent Boys at St. Charles and the School for Delinquent Girls at Geneva. One very large school is maintained by the city of Chicago in co-operation with the Department of Education of Chicago and the county of Cook, namely, the Chicago and Cook County School for Boys. Then there are a number of detention homes throughout the state, and private homes, and other institutions, such as the House of the Good Shepherd for Girls and the Chicago Home for Girls. All of these institutions are quite openly and specifically dedicated to the care of delinquent children. There are, of course, a very large number of institutions both private and public throughout the state of Illinois which deal with so-called dependent children.

In the light of a recent investigation of several orphanages a grave doubt arises as to whether such a distinction can be maintained or even whether it is wise to insist upon it. Dependency, feeble-mindedness, and delinquency have so many points of contact, apparently, that it is more than likely that progress is seriously retarded by these very artificial distinctions whose justification seems to be almost entirely based upon sentimental rather than really practical grounds.

We cannot go into this problem further than to point out its existence. Naturally we are not advocating the lumping of these problems together and expecting one institution to care for all types.

The question is merely suggested as to whether we are facing here another step in the progress of public opinion such as marked the change of attitude toward the insane when the old asylum was given up for the modern state hospital idea and whether the next step in the institutional care of delinquents is not, therefore, to change our attitude toward the nature of the problem and the proper methods of dealing with it in these institutions. Should we not develop a new name to indicate this change of view and to replace the term delinquent by one less censorious?

Whatever the facts may be elsewhere, in this country we are compelled by the truth to admit that in Illinois we do not regard the correctional institution with the same confidence, not to say respect, that we are accustomed to feel toward, let us say, a first-class surgical institution. This is not due to any shortcoming on the part of those who are officiating in these institutions, but is due rather to the peculiar line of development in the field of juvenile delinquency.

Informed students of this subject, whose first-hand recollections go back even a single generation in the work, have frequently remarked upon the apparent change which has come over the types of delinquents who are now sent to institutions, as compared with formerly. Some of this change may be due to changes in the nature of the population—one of the most commonly urged explanations. Another possibility is that the observers themselves have changed and, having become older, look back upon the conditions prevailing in days of youth as better than at present, a reaction of conservatism that is not unusual. On the other hand, it may be that these observations are well founded and the explanation is that probation now takes care of those children who formerly would have been "cured" in the institutions; leaving only the more incorrigible ones for the correctional schools. As Judge Arnold of the Juvenile Court of Chicago once remarked in regard to St. Charles: "If Colonel Adams can reform these boys that I am now sending him, he is a wizard, because by the time the Juvenile Court gets through with a boy and decides to send him to a correctional school,

it seems almost impossible that he can be changed by any ordinary human means." That is undoubtedly the attitude that the Juvenile Court judge of any of our progressive courts would take.

The remarkable and far-reaching development of prevention and education which has been induced by the growth of the probation departments is unquestionably making itself felt in the institutional field. With the exception of a few of our less advanced communities, in the outlying districts of the state of Illinois, all the juvenile courts, especially the Juvenile Court of Chicago are satisfactorily solving the problems of the great majority of those cases which come up before them so that they are not only "reforming" in the old sense all those cases which in by-gone days would have redounded to the credit of the institutions as cures, but are actually sorting out for institutional commitment with ever-increasing accuracy only those cases which do not respond to the educational and social treatment, and who therefore are finally sent to an institution not so much for what it is hoped to secure for them, but rather as a precautionary method of protection for the community. It is a last desperate hope with the emphasis rather on the community's interest than on the child's. It is no wonder, therefore, that our institutional staffs are not so sanguine about the beneficial effects of the institution as were those of a generation ago.

While all this may be important to a certain extent, it does not explain the main problem which crops out again and again in the study of delinquents, especially in institutions. That problem is: What is the difference between the delinquent child who is finally sent to an institution and the one who is successfully maintained on probation? It is not the nature or the quality or the degree of his behavior difficulty, for every kind of delinquency that is represented by the institution population is found in larger numbers among successful parole cases. It is not a difference in intelligence, for in spite of certain evidence in this direction, further experience has not borne it out. And again we know that for every feeble-minded person who has to be committed to an institution because of dangerous behavior, there are two or three at least of equally low-grade intelligence who are safely kept at work in the community.

Probably no characteristic distinguishes the institutional from the non-institutional case more frequently than that of temperamental insubordination. One might almost say that the child who is sent to a state correctional institution, in the main, goes there because in addition to his behavior difficulties he has exhausted the patience of the authorities, first in the home and the school and then in the court and on probation, and finally in those institutions which act as buffers between the correctional schools and the community, such as the truant schools, the detention homes, and in the case of Chicago, the Chicago and Cook County School for Boys, which receives boys for no longer than three months.

The only generalization that seems justified on the basis of these statements is that when it comes to dealing with the delinquent child no generalization will hold. Each is an individual problem—a trite and oft-repeated statement indeed; and yet do we apply it in our organizations? The juvenile courts which do their work almost entirely on the basis of the individual case, of course, have demonstrated and will demonstrate increasingly the fact that it is by individual study and individual treatment that results can be obtained—often thoroughly astonishing results.

In our institutions there is little evidence of this. Even in those institutions, glowing accounts of which have penetrated to us in Illinois where the work of reclama-

tion is said to go on at a remarkable rate, it would appear that there is little more than a picking-over of the junk-pile for the uttermost remnant of reclaimable material. The final residue remains, in a large proportion if not the major proportion of the institutional group, unresponsive to the group methods, the generalizing discipline, and repressive social atmosphere which under the guise of military or other discipline serves merely as a cloak for ignorance or incompetency on the part of the institutional staff.

It is not my purpose here to call names, and as I stated before, I do not believe that the institutional staffs are to be held responsible for this state of affairs. The community itself must accept the full responsibility so long as it continues to bolster itself by clinging to the long discredited methods of repressive discipline as a cure for behavior difficulties.

And why should an institution's efficiency be made dependent upon the number of "cures" that it can demonstrate in its annual report? Such cures, it is true, must be the ultimate objective, but unless somebody has at present a specific remedial method, which will work with 100 per cent efficiency, or even 90, or 80 per cent, or even a major fraction, with the consequence that the institution has merely to carry out its precepts to obtain results, why should we demand such things of our institutional staffs, especially since the latter are dealing with cases in which the elaborate methods of highly skilled juvenile court staffs have failed? This is not a field in which any one person may claim to have the answer. Neither the psychiatrist nor the psychologist, neither the sociologist nor the educator, neither the jurist nor the penologist. The answer is yet to be found, but are we doing anything to find it?

Where is the correctional institution in which the entire energies of the staff are bent upon utilizing these unreclaimed cases for the obtaining of facts upon which to base logical action? Which institution in this country, even among those in which research is being conducted, can say the major object of the entire institution is to conduct such research and in which it is not the truth to say, rather, that research is also being done? And, finally, even where the will is strong, where is the institution in which the staff is not so weak in intelligence, in education, or in special training as to be almost powerless to this end?

It is very satisfactory and gratifying to know that certain individuals have achieved results with certain small and carefully selected groups of individual cases and it may be interesting to learn that they believe their success was due to the belief that they used a certain amount of tact in their work or that they started out with the idea that these children were "at heart like any other children" or because they had themselves "a knack" or "charm" or "strong personality" and so on.

But what good does that do us, who are not gifted in this way, who are not able to select our cases, or who have not the climatic or other conditions which enabled a particular piece of work apparently to succeed? No facts have come out of these experiments beyond the one that intelligence, refinement, and industry will achieve results in the field of juvenile delinquency, as elsewhere. No one, to my knowledge, is in a position to say "by this and this rule can this selection be made," or "this quality indicates a favorable case," or the reverse. It is all a matter of opinion based largely upon personal prejudice or, if you do not like this term, to borrow a phrase from my friend, Mr. Albert Kales, upon "subliminal hunches."

When once the correctional schools will change their attitude from that of more or less consciously assuming responsibility for achieving results in the nature of cures or corrections to that of experimenters, then may we hope that real progress will reward our labors; then will the correctional school no longer assert pedantically that it is devised and equipped to change the delinquent into a well-behaved person and more or less hypocritically to hide its failures behind outward semblances of orderliness within the institution; and then will the courts, and perhaps the families of children with behavior difficulties seek out the help of the correctional school as, in acute disease, they now seek the surgeon or physician; and then the correctional school will no longer be the symbol of failure and of a forlorn hope, but will stand for knowledge upon which effective, purposeful, and intelligent treatment may be based; and above all it will be the source of preventive measures which will still further reduce the number of cases requiring to be sent to the school.

EDUCATIONAL VALUE TO THE COMMUNITY OF MENTAL HYGIENE AGENCIES

A. THE PSYCHOPATHIC HOSPITAL

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The psychopathic hospital is probably the most potent influence from the standpoint of the general public in furthering mental hygiene. Its greatest influence lies in the fact that it is a simple, tangible expression of all modern views concerning mental diseases; that is, the hospital features of caring for these conditions are so much emphasized and so much in evidence that probably no other means help as much to develop the general belief that a mental disease is in fact an illness and not an offense against society.

The two outstanding features of a psychopathic hospital which in my belief impress the public are: first, the hospital atmosphere which obtains in these modern institutions; and second, the results of treatment which the public soon learns to know as being far more satisfactory than the results obtained in the old type of institution. The better results obtained in the psychopathic hospitals are due in a great measure to the individual attention a patient receives. His mental and physical state is more carefully analyzed and the means of readjustment to normal health are provided; but this alone does not account for the better results. Unquestionably these are due also to the fact that the mental case is received at a much earlier period in the course of the disease. The early treatment of a mental case has long been known to result in more recoveries and were it possible to receive mental cases in their incipency, even at our more or less poorly equipped state institutions, better results might be expected. The trouble, however, lies in the hesitancy on the part of the public to send an early or mild case of mental disease to an institution which already has a well-established reputation as an insane asylum. All the efforts that have been expended to change the old type of institutions, to promote a different atmosphere to increase equipment and facilities, from the public standpoint at least, have been quite barren of results. This is probably due to the fact that the modernizing efforts have not been universal. Here and there a state institution stands out in the reformation that has been so

generally attempted, but the truth remains that the few which have succeeded have been insufficient to actually mold public opinion and belief. There is no need to blind ourselves to the fact that most of the old institutions are still far from modern in their equipment, and what to my mind is far more serious, in their policy.

As a consequence when one meets with a mild mental case in private practice, it is with great hesitancy that one advises treatment at a state institution and even when no other solution exists one finds the friends and relatives very much opposed to the suggestion. The usual protest is, Oh! so-and-so is not crazy, or so-and-so is not dangerous, he or she can be easily handled,—evidencing the popular conception that a state institution is for the protection of the public and not a hospital for the patient. It would seem that the only answer to the public attitude lies in the establishment of new hospitals, newly located, newly equipped, and newly named. The efforts at masquerade have not been successful; the mere changing of a name has not promoted faith; in fact these things have helped create the belief that a subterfuge has been resorted to. The greatest difficulty, in my experience at least, lies in attempting to reform the spirit that obtains in an old, established institution. Rarely does one find a sympathetic ear to any of the modern methods of treating mental diseases that are being advocated. More frequently, even if some interest is manifested, the difficulty of getting sufficient financial support from a legislature is offered as an excuse. One cannot help but feel that this difficulty is at times embraced as a way out of a situation, a way which tends to place the responsibility for failure to improve upon an agency which cannot readily be attacked. Yet, from personal experience, it is maintained that the fault frequently lies in the failure to properly present and emphasize the needs of modern scientific care of mental disease. Possibly these efforts are misdirected and might better be used for the establishment of something entirely new and different from the old type of institution. Wherever this policy has been pursued the reaction of the public and of the legislature has been all that any ardent worker for the welfare of mental cases could desire. It is owing to this reaction that I believe a psychopathic hospital to be the most potent influence in promoting mental hygiene.

In states already supplied with large state institutions it has not been especially difficult to provide psychopathic hospitals. What inference one can draw from this need not be emphasized. In states where psychopathic hospitals have not yet been developed, it is suggested that if a state university exists and has a medical department, the psychopathic hospital be made an integral part of such a medical school. Such a plan more nearly reaches the ideal than any other. In the first place the hospital itself, owing to its connection with a medical school, will adhere to modern policy, and in the second place the medical student receives early contact with this field of medicine and becomes equipped to recognize early conditions and later when in practice as a physician he serves as a true agent for mental hygiene. Our plans in Wisconsin contemplate such an arrangement. In the University General Hospital, which is now being erected at Madison, provision is made for the treating of mental cases. As an index of our attitude toward mental diseases I am happy to inform you that the first floor of a large five-story modern hospital building is to be devoted to mental and nervous diseases. Not many years ago such close association of mental cases with other forms of illness was unheard of. The mental case was thought to be a less desirable neighbor than plague or smallpox, yet here we are deliberately planning an installation which will give the mental cases the most desirable location in a large

general hospital. I know of no greater victory for those who have the welfare of these cases in mind than our Wisconsin plan. I feel certain that after a few years of this experiment we shall have gained the public confidence and what is most important, conversion to the belief that a mental case is a form of illness that should have hospital treatment. In many instances in my experience the public, or certain representatives of the public, have actually been the leaders in this movement and have occasionally been almost forced to convert the doctor.

The modern psychopathic hospital is here to stay. Wherever it has been established its success has insured its permanency. In it lies our greatest hope for the education of the great public to the need of mental hygiene. All the other agencies that are so potent in promoting mental hygiene fail absolutely unless in the background there is a psychopathic hospital to actually perform the task that these other agencies bring to light. For example, why have a well-developed field service, social agencies, psychiatric clinics, and similar modern activities unless there is, to back up these field activities, a place where cases may be handled with the sole purpose of restoring individuals to normal health? If the old type of state institution remains as the only method of treating mental cases the efforts of these worthy agencies in the field are wasted. It is evident therefore that in states which are not yet provided with psychopathic hospitals or in which the state institutions have not yet gained public confidence and have not demonstrated their fitness to treat mental cases, these extra-mural agencies for mental hygiene should not be established until this basic need of proper hospitalization has been developed.

B. PSYCHIATRIC SOCIAL WORK

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As an organized activity requiring special preparation and known by a name of its own, psychiatric social work has come into existence only within the last five years. Its function in relation to psychiatry has become fairly well defined; but its place among other branches of social work is not yet generally understood; and the lines of its future development are not yet clear. The principle of the social service needed was not merely an extension of the doctors' efforts to deal with social factors, partial and spasmodic of necessity, but an attempt to introduce into the plan for patients' care the point of view and special knowledge and technique of the social worker. The doctor added to his equipment an assistant trained in a special field.

The place of psychiatric social work in the mental hospital or clinic is now well established as an aid in diagnosis, treatment, and research. A committee of psychiatrists and social workers which met last summer under the auspices of the National Committee for Mental Hygiene to consider the function and training of the psychiatric social worker, defined her function as follows: (1) to facilitate admission to hospital or clinic and continuance of treatment; (2) to bring to the physician personal and social data helpful in arriving at a diagnosis and in outlining treatment; (3) to assist in carrying out treatment; (4) to interpret hospital and clinic to patient, family, and organizations of the community; (5) to make social investigations contributing to medico-social research. It is evident that with assistance of this kind the psychiatrist has greatly increased his facilities for both study and treatment of mental disease.

Many persons both in and out of social work believe that there is now a profession known by the descriptive term "social work" which is in the early stages of its development, and that this profession calls for specially trained persons devoted to discovery of scientific principles for its guidance and to practice in the application of its principles for the improvement of society. The future of social work depends upon whether the established professions, in theory at least, functioning to their utmost capacity, are sufficient for the prevention and cure of social disorder.

Let us consider what the social worker does. All the varied activities that come under the name of social work fall into three major divisions of endeavor: (a) to help the individual in social difficulty (social case work); (b) to promote social consciousness among groups (community work); (c) to improve community conditions through research, organization, legislation. The common factor in all three divisions is the study of human relationships with a view to better adjustment of individuals and groups to their environment.

We are here chiefly concerned with the first of these major groups, social case work, for it is within this field that psychiatric social work has developed. Its place in neighborhood and community work has not yet been found. How far the psychiatric social worker will enter into group leadership and community organization is a question for the future.

Social case work is an effort to bring a person suffering from social difficulty into a sound social condition. The characteristic function of social work is to know what constitutes a sound social condition and how to secure it. Not a specialist in health, education, morality, law, or economics, but knowing something about each of these fields, the social worker is a specialist in the field of social adjustment. As society becomes more complex and the possibilities of maladjustment increase, at the same time our perception of what constitutes a sound social condition becomes finer. In the medical field while the possibilities of disease increased, knowledge of causes of disease increased also, and higher standards of health were demanded. So in the sociological field may we not expect increasing possibilities of maladjustment but at the same time better knowledge of causes of social disorder and the demand for higher standards of social life?

The professionally trained worker in any field is quick to see the earliest indications of trouble. The trained social worker now sees the potentiality of social disorder in signs that the unpracticed observer would not notice or would not elicit. In the future may we not expect that social case work will become preventive, in the sense not only of correcting early signs of social trouble (which it is doing to some extent at present) but also of teaching principles of social adaptation and proper ways of meeting situations?

Experience in social work in hospitals has shown that it is not only groups below certain educational and economic levels that need the services of the social worker. Economic and educational factors do not determine the need for social assistance; therefore, it seems probable that in time social work will be a form of professional service available for all classes for both preventive and curative purposes.

This advanced knowledge of what constitutes sound social condition and how to secure it must be gained through the study of individuals. However important the influence of the group mind may be upon individuals, still the nature of the group depends after all upon the character of its unit. The action of groups is significant

ultimately only in its effect upon individuals. All community effort has for its final purpose the welfare of individuals. In studying how life may be lived most successfully in a society it is not enough to study only groups and communities, but we must go on to study the adaptation of individuals. From the social worker, who is the special practitioner in this field, should come eventually contributions to a new phase of sociology dealing primarily with individuals. Social case work may then be recognized as the art of applied sociology. The fact that our theory and practice in social work are as yet poorly developed and crudely applied does not indicate that future progress will not follow lines of development similar to the history of other professions.

If it be true that the task of social work is to promote social adaptation through the adjustment of human relationships, what is the place of psychiatric social work in this endeavor? The point of view of the psychiatric social worker is derived historically from the mental hygiene movement just as the point of view of the medical social worker is derived from modern developments in medicine, and the point of view of social work in general from the older philanthropic activities founded upon economic necessity. Upon this foundation of interest in the economic security of the family was laid the emphasis of medical social work upon health and upon the effects of disease in causing social maladjustment leading to greater attention to the individual members of the family group and to a more profound view of social troubles. The recent emphasis of psychiatric social work upon mental health and the relation of mental disorders to social disorder has begun to make its impression upon the point of view of social work in general. There is beginning to be a widespread recognition of the fact that complete study of a person involves attention to the economic, physical, and mental factors of his life and situation, and that it is not enough to treat him scientifically from the standpoint of economics or medicine and leave the consideration of his mental condition to intuitive or common sense methods. A large proportion of applicants for social assistance have some mental condition that would be counted as disease, and that should receive the attention of a psychiatrist—50 per cent is probably a very low estimate.

But it is not only in the treatment of psychiatric cases that the social worker in general needs the point of view and knowledge of psychiatry. The study of human relationships and the art of adjusting right relationships have their foundation in mental attitude and personality, and future progress in social work will be based upon the understanding of mental processes. This knowledge must come from psychology and psychiatry—not from one of these fields only, but from both. Just as the social worker must know something of medicine as well as of biology, so some knowledge of psychiatry is necessary in addition to psychology for understanding individual personalities.

When every social worker shall have acquired this knowledge as part of her regular training will there still be need of a specially trained body of psychiatric social workers? The practical consideration that certain social workers will elect to work in the field of mental hygiene in assistance to psychiatrists would seem to answer this question. Through the study of pathological cases principles are discovered that may be applied in all cases. It should be the function of the special psychiatric social worker dealing with psychopaths to find principles and methods for the improvement of human relationships that might be applied in the whole of social work. We see today the beginnings of this tendency. The director of a family agency which employed a

psychiatric social worker upon its staff to deal with psychopathic cases, said that the greatest benefit derived from the psychiatric social worker, even more valuable than her own direct work, was the improvement, through her influence, which was noticeable in all the case work of the agency.

It is especially desirable that the psychiatric approach to case work should be stressed in those fields of social work that are preventive rather than curative. The two great opportunities for preventive social work are in the school and in industry. In each of these fields social practice has to be adapted to the special conditions of educational and industrial organization, but the principles and essential technique of social case work are employed. The cumbersome name "social worker" may become submerged in a name that designates the special function performed.

There is a movement now well under way in the public schools to provide social service through visiting teachers. The visiting teacher is essentially a social case worker familiar with educational methods, in some instances through having been herself a teacher. It would seem to be of the greatest importance that the earliest practitioners in this field should be well grounded in the principles of mental hygiene in childhood. The right of the child in school to protection in matters of general hygiene has been recognized, and practical measures for the health of school children are being introduced as fast as possible. But so far there is very little recognition of the child's right to mental hygiene. One of the most effective ways of carrying mental hygiene principles into the school would be through the visiting teacher, who deals with the child in all parts of his environment—school, home, and community.

In industry, the function of the personnel worker is essentially the function of social worker. His aim is to keep the employee adjusted to his work. To do this successfully he must take into consideration personal and family conditions, for the way a man gets on in his work depends upon the adjustment of his personality not only to the conditions of his employment but also to his home conditions. Any form of social disorder will interfere with a man's working capacity. The personnel worker should seek to help the employees to preserve that total social adjustment which will promote both their happiness and their efficiency. He is continually called upon to make social diagnoses, usually upon an incomplete social examination. It is not usually possible at the present time for him to make a thorough social examination of every employee who shows symptoms of social difficulty, both because the staff of the personnel department is not sufficient for the required outlay of time, and also because public opinion still looks askance upon the social examination. There was a time when a thorough medical examination was often regarded as a personal affront. In time the prejudice against a thorough examination of a person's social condition by a professional adviser will doubtless be outgrown. Meanwhile the personnel worker who is called upon to make snap diagnoses is all the more in need of the skill and keenness that comes from practice in intensive social work.

It seems particularly important that the industrial social worker should have experience in psychiatric social work—special training, that is, in the study of personality. The connection between personality and employment is one of the most vital human relationships, and it is impossible to think of successfully fitting a man to his work without understanding the nature and habits of his mind. The personnel worker, who has this function to perform, should have the benefit of all the knowledge that psychiatry can contribute to social work.

In the prevention of social disorder the personnel worker equipped with the point of view of mental hygiene has a large opportunity both to preserve happiness and promote efficiency. Temperamental difficulties, peculiarities, unfulfilled longings, disappointed ambitions leading to conduct that makes trouble in the shop and creates involved situations at home, when properly understood and dealt with from the psychiatric standpoint may often be rendered quite harmless. The promotion of mental hygiene of industry would do a great deal toward the prevention of social disorder.

The general public is at the present time highly receptive to ideas of mental hygiene, to such an extent that any practitioner or panacea advertised with assurance as a mental help readily gets a following. At the same time there are comparatively few persons who regard mental disease with the same objectivity with which they regard physical disease. And most persons still think of mental hygiene only as a means of avoiding mental disease. The social worker is probably the best agency there is for spreading better information concerning mental health and mental disease. In every case she deals with she interviews numbers of persons—anywhere from five to twenty-five possibly. Both by her attitude toward the patient in question and by what she tells about him, she leaves behind in every interview an impression that the trouble is a disease to be regarded as other diseases. Moreover she has countless opportunities to talk with family relatives and friends of patients about mental hygiene as a means of increasing happiness and efficiency. This responsibility for public education should be consciously part of the duty of the psychiatric social worker in particular.

In considering the educational value of psychiatric social work to the community, I have spoken only briefly of its influence upon psychiatry and upon public education and have discussed almost entirely the influence it is exerting upon social work because the benefit to the community of this latter influence will, I believe, outweigh in extent and importance all other effects of psychiatric social work.

C. MENTAL HEALTH CLINICS

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While it may not be quite true to say that every case in need of social service is a psychiatric one, the reverse that every psychiatric case is a problem in social adjustment is unquestionably true. Social existence with the necessary control of individual desires, which this implies, is impossible without corresponding mental development in which is included not merely intelligence but also the manner in which this is used. In other words psychiatry is the science of behavior.

Mental health must be the most important factor both for the welfare of the social group and the happiness of the individual. Its province extends far beyond the realms of insanity, which represents only certain forms of mental ill health which require segregation from society because of the dangers which result from this behavior to the patient or his surroundings. It enters into the immense fields of dependency, delinquency, and crime, and furthermore it is concerned with untold numbers of chronic invalids, usually grouped as nervous or neurotic, who form such a large proportion of the clientele of the general physician and the specialist as well as of irregular practitioners,

fakers, and the various cults. Clinics (the word implies the presence of beds but the true meaning is now practically eliminated by usage) for the study and treatment of diseases of various parts of the body have long been in existence and it seems not logical that others devoted to the study and treatment of the man as a whole, his behavior, are at least equally important and equally medical. Yet the number in existence is extremely small and those largely of recent development. The problems are as yet but poorly defined and it is probable that experience will bring in the near future many modifications and developments.

Before discussing the needs in general terms it seems wise to illustrate by actual experience. For this purpose I will quote some figures derived from one hundred consecutive cases seen at a clinic maintained in Chicago at the dispensary of the College of Medicine of the University of Illinois with the co-operation and assistance of the Illinois State Department of Public Welfare. Under this plan which is as yet only partly in operation, there are maintained two separate clinics: one for the study of children, known as the Institute for Juvenile Research, is under the direction of Dr. H. M. Adler who is also criminologist to the department; while the other, for adults, is under my own direction. It is from the latter that these figures are taken. This clinic has been developed in the department of the general dispensary devoted to nervous diseases and for that reason possibly receives more strictly neurologic cases than might be true in a clinic developed primarily for mental health. The combination, however, seems to be an excellent one, for the reasons that it helps to diminish any objection there might be upon the part of patients to a clinic bearing the title "psychiatric" or "psychopathic" and that a large proportion of the patients of any neurologic clinic are strictly mental cases. At the present time the clinic is handicapped by the absence of beds and wards for the special observation and study of suitable cases, though a hospital for this purpose is now in course of erection. There is also an absence of some desirable facilities for treatment, the lack of which is felt continuously; these also will be provided in the new quarters.

In Table I have been grouped the reasons which led the patient to come to the clinic. It must be understood that many of the cases might well be included in several

TABLE I

Problems Presented	No. of Patients
Inability to manage home.....	7
Friction in the home.....	10
Sex and other delinquencies.....	8
Dependency.....	6
Failure in work.....	7
Mental excitement.....	5
Despondency.....	3
Fits.....	6
Bodily complaints.....	43
Special reasons.....	5

different groups but it was thought best to indicate only the problem which seemed to stand out most prominently in each case.

Under the heading of bodily complaints have been placed not only the more strictly neurologic difficulties such as paralysis, blindness, etc., but also many psychoneurotic complaints such as nervousness, insomnia, headache, etc., which have led the patient to seek assistance on his own initiative or on the advice of friends or

physicians. Such cases often have not as yet become definitely social problems to the general public but they are inefficient, more or less dependent and, where money is scarce, liable to become burdens upon society, very probably dragging others with them. Under the heading "Special reasons" have been grouped cases referred for Wassermann or other tests or for examination as to fitness for mother's pensions, etc.

It will be noted that 38 per cent were referred because of definite difficulties in social adjustment and an additional 8 per cent because of mental symptoms which caused upsets in the social environment. Thus approximately one-half the cases have already been recognized as social problems.

TABLE II

Types of Case	No. of Patients
Mental deficiency.....	26
Defective delinquent.....	4
Inadequate personality.....	1
Epilepsy.....	5
Psychoses with organic brain disease.....	4
Psychoneuroses.....	26
Dementia praecox.....	6
Manic-depressive reactions.....	4
Neurological cases.....	18
General medical cases.....	2
Negative findings.....	4

The diagnoses reached are shown in Table II from which it will be noted that mental deficiency combined with the related groups of defective delinquent and inadequate personality constitute about one-third of the cases. The psychoneuroses come second and it is of interest to note further that many of the cases placed in the group of mental defectives also presented psychoneurotic symptoms. This is undoubtedly due to the fact that the struggle for existence and self-expression under social regulation is rendered much more difficult by reason of the lack of intelligence.

TABLE III

Agencies by which Referred	No. of Patients
Other departments of dispensary.....	22
Institute for Juvenile Research.....	4
Juvenile Court.....	3
States Attorney's Office.....	1
Jewish Social Service Bureau.....	26
Illinois Society for Mental Hygiene.....	3
Visiting Nurses' Association.....	3
Juvenile Protective Association.....	2
United Charities.....	5
Immigration Industrial Commission.....	1
American Red Cross.....	1
St. Vincent's Orphanage.....	1
Northwestern University Settlement.....	1
Social Service Department of industrial corporation.....	1
Voluntary application or physician.....	26

In Table III is given a list of the agencies concerned in bringing these one hundred patients to the clinic. It is not a complete list of those which have referred cases. It is a sufficient indication, however, of the widespread relations concerned.

The character of the treatment recommended is shown in Table IV. The social supervision in the great majority of instances has been furnished by the particular agency which referred the patient to the clinic; in a small minority by workers attached to the clinic.

TABLE IV

Treatment Recommended	No. of Patients
Institutional.....	13
Social service supervision.....	39
Transfer to other dispensary departments....	7
Treatment in the clinic.....	41

It is probable that commitment to an institution for the feeble-minded would be recommended in more cases were it not for the fact that there is no space available for such cases in the state. Almost all the cases of mental deficiency belonged in the higher grades of the moron or border-line groups, and many of them were married and had families of varying and often constantly increasing size. It is this last factor which renders them especially difficult, not only because it tends to the development of a steady increase in the numbers of the feeble-minded, but also because the increasing burdens soon outgrow the earning capacity and ability to plan of the parents and there is liable to ensue desertion, dependency, illegitimacy, etc. If the growth of these families could in some way be curtailed many of them could remain more or less completely self-sustaining, useful, and at the same time satisfied and thus without menace to the community. These remarks of course do not apply to those cases where there is at the same time a habit of delinquent behavior.

Under existing conditions it has been necessary to recommend the best that seemed possible by providing supervision of household expenditures and plans, assisting in the employment, supplementing earnings, etc.

In addition to work with new cases there is also a large field for the mental health clinic in the after-care and supervision of patients when paroled or discharged from state hospitals. None of these have been included in the above one hundred cases. The homes of such patients are often far removed from the hospital, and in addition there is often considerable reluctance toward returning, even for a visit.

These preliminary considerations seem to justify the following general statement of the requirements for such a clinic. The purposes may be defined as: (1) diagnosis; (2) treatment without interruption of social relations; (3) early hospitalization where advisable; (4) continued treatment after de-hospitalization; (5) research into the causes and treatment of mental disorder.

By diagnosis is meant not merely the placing of a name upon the particular type of mental disorder but also the determination of the factors which have already led, or are liable to lead, to difficulties in adjustment. From what has already been said it is obvious that this implies a study of the bodily and mental equipment and of the behavior of the patient, and in addition, a study of the social or environmental influences which may be responsible for his methods of reaction. The results of all these investigations must then be synthesized and correlated. In addition to the psychiatrist in charge of the clinic, it is advisable to provide for technical assistance to conduct intelligence and laboratory tests; and since many problems in the various medical and surgical specialties must inevitably arise, it is especially desirable to have ready access to consultation with these other departments of dispensary service. A few

been developed so that the sight of the window would every time have made the child cry as the result of the conditioned reflex set up by the original shock.

Simple incidents like this are especially instructive because they show that a conditioned reflex may be developed by a single experience, that what is a shock to the child may be the most commonplace and familiar experience to an adult; and, further, the incident suggests the importance of changing a child's environment when he is apt to cry or show signs of fear in a given place. In this case the cause of the crying was obvious. In a hundred cases it may be unknown.

Similar laws apply to the association of stimuli and to the association of ideas. Both, for example, are imperative. If I begin to repeat the words, "The quality of mercy," those familiar with Shakespeare will fill out the quotation with the remaining words "is not strained." If a student of Shakespeare you are bound to think of these words. You cannot help it.

An old story familiar to psychologists may be adapted as an illustration. If you will pardon the liberties I have taken, the tale runs as follows: As the result of many wars the king of a great ancient people found his treasury exhausted. He summoned a famous magician and commissioned him to find a method for transmuting baser metals into gold. The magician shut himself up from the world, and his study was rewarded with wonderful success. He devised for his purpose a formula of mystic words. By repeating this with complete concentration of attention he could change any metal to gold. The magician, however, was a wise man, an economist, and a good psychologist as well as an expert magician. He reflected that to turn other metals into gold would do the king no good, but harm, not only because with an enormous increase in gold, it would have little value, but because the iron and copper needed by the smiths would be used up. As a psychologist he reflected also that if he made emphatic the condition that the formula must be repeated with complete concentration of attention, the extreme effort to attend would serve as a distraction and defeat its own end. So he made this condition emphatic and concrete, and reported the formula to the king as a sure means of making gold, provided in repeating the mystic words one did not think of a hippopotamus. The formula was correct, but no one ever succeeded in making gold by means of it because no one was able to fulfil the necessary condition.

This fable is instructive, both for hygiene and psychology, for it suggests the imperative character of our associations. This prohibition formed an association foreign, destructive, and inhibitory. Once formed it was permanent and imperative. Give the formula without mentioning the prohibition and anyone could use it to win the wealth of the world. Mention it and no one could use it, for the distracting association would be imperative.

This fable suggests also the two kinds of association: first, helpful or adjuvant; second, inhibitory. Hygiene is concerned with both, with the adjuvant quite as much as with the inhibitory; for modern hygiene is positive, emphasizing the need of healthful habits of association as well as the danger of unwholesome and disorderly habits of association. Just as the physical processes of stimulation and inhibition go together, as Sherrington has shown, so in the mental processes they accompany each other; and while normal processes of inhibition are necessary, many injurious inhibitions are developed.

Such inhibitions, as we have seen, are caused by the imperative law of association, but the very same law provides the remedy. Just as the associated idea inhibits the

original idea, so a new association can be formed that will inhibit the old. Today the psychologist might be able to make gold by the philosopher's method and to do it he would train himself every time he repeated the formula to think of the Madonna, or some great work of art, or some great ideal or absorbing theme. By training, little by little, the individual would finally have all his associations connected with the Madonna, or work of art, or the like, so that there would be no room for the thought of the hippopotamus to come in. In other words the psychologist would attach rival stimuli to the formula that would absorb the whole attention.

The hippopotamus in the story cited represents an "n" or indefinite number of inhibitions and injurious stimuli, some trivial, some serious, some normal and some pathological. The most striking examples of these inhibitions are perhaps furnished by the emotion of fear. Not only do many children carry the effects of some shock of fear in childhood throughout life, but infantile attitudes of jealousy, of dislike, or some more-or-less grotesque mental twist frequently become permanent and serious inhibitors. We may take fear for an example.

In rough outline the mechanism of fear is simple. Primarily it is determined by the physical condition of the individual. It is a matter of endocrine glands, digestion, and sleep. From another point of view it is a matter of stimulation and association. While the primary stimuli are few and simple, the secondary stimuli are many and varied. These, as already suggested, are apt to be inhibitory in character, but the same law of association makes possible other associations that inhibit the inhibitions.

The original stimuli that cause fear may be summed up under one general statement briefly as follows: any sudden or violent change of stimuli produces fear and thereafter anything which may become associated with the primary causes of fear will likewise produce the same emotion. Or, to put the matter in terms of common experience, in case of the individual child there are especially two or three primary causes, such as loud noises, and the sudden movement of objects in contact with the child or near it, and many secondary causes by association.

Probably everybody, especially every child, is handicapped by inhibitory fears of some kind. Usually a child conceals such fears. If discovered the method of removing them is simple. But concealed and repressed a fear of that kind or the inhibition it leaves is liable to cause injury for a lifetime, as every psychiatrist knows. Watson has studied the compensatory devices that inhibit fear. As an example of these is thumb-sucking in the infant. In regard to this he says: "Thumb-sucking is a compensatory device for blocking fear and noxious stimuli. During the course of these experiments [with his boy Albert], especially in the final test, it was noticed that whenever Albert was on the verge of tears or emotionally upset generally he would continually thrust his thumb into his mouth. The moment the hand reached the mouth he became impervious to the stimuli producing fear."

With the question whether such devices are desirable or not, we are not now concerned, but only with the fact of their existence. Plenty of other devices for inhibiting fear are resorted to both by children and by adults. With older children whistling or singing to keep up one's courage, putting the hands in the pockets of the trousers, and the like, are well-known examples. For many individuals smoking probably is a device par excellence for keeping up one's morale. The soldiers in the trenches would undoubtedly have been greatly depressed had they been deprived of cigarettes.

Whether the morbid attitude be of long standing or recent, the psychology of the remedy is briefly as follows: One brings the fearful idea clearly to consciousness,

is the threshold for the idea, as the psychologist puts it. In other words, one is the child definitely to face the cause of its fear just as the horse-trainer, with leading words, leads the colt up face to face with what has frightened him. Then one associates a rival stimulus with the fear inspiring object or idea. In the case mentioned one would perhaps show the child the grotesque and comic aspects of the inkhouse picture, show the child it was nothing but a drawing on a piece of paper similar to what he himself could make; that it represented at most an imaginary object, a make-believe representation. By such a discussion rival stimuli would be associated with the picture; and after a few conversations of this kind, these associated ideas would inhibit the fear; amusement, or orderly thinking, would take the place of it. It is always possible to associate a wholesome thought or attitude with the original stimulus as a rival stimulus that shall in turn inhibit the inhibition.

The practical problem, then, is how to form some association with the general attitude of worry which so many people have, so that as soon as this attitude becomes ascendent it may at once be inhibited by some healthful association. That this can be done and actually is done in many cases we have evidence from many individuals of different classes in society, diverse interests, and varying degrees of education. Apparently it may be any one of a number of things if only the association is made strong and permanent. The following are illustrations which probably serve as examples of such association. Some people think of a maxim or proverb which they have associated with fear or worry as a means of protection. "Do not cross any bridges until you come to them"; "It is an ill wind that blows no one any good"; "It is a long lane that has no turning"—these are cases in point. Another person uses this! "I can stand the troubles of other people, why can I not stand my own?" A hundred such maxims are used. It matters not how banal they are if, as associated stimuli, they are strong enough to inhibit the fear. Anything that fits the individual case is effective. One of Dr. Walton's patients was helped in regard to her fear of people by the thought the doctor gave her that "others don't mind if you do make a fool of yourself; in fact they rather like it." A sense of humor or the apperception for humorous aspects of situations is the great mental disinfectant. Wherever this can be aroused the poison from inhibiting and fear-inspiring ideas is removed. The chief trouble seems to be that most people lack a sufficient amount of humor to disinfect the whole content of their minds.

The mere knowledge of the fact that violent change of stimuli causes the fear, this itself may become an associated idea that tends to inhibit the fear. The individual says to the fear-producing situation, "I know the secret, I have got your number." With a little easily made apparatus I could do the trick myself. If in no other way, this reduces the fear by the fact that it represents so much co-ordinated thinking, which like co-ordinated action of any kind is a universal remedy. Dr. Crile and Dr. Cannon have borne testimony to the fact that in their own cases, since learning the seriously injurious results that come from worry and anxiety, they are able to meet the trying situations of life with greater equanimity. As Crile has put it, "the thought of the injury that comes from these emotions is itself a protection against them."

These rival stimuli that inhibit the inhibitions and save the child and man from fear are themselves also unstable and easily destroyed. Laugh at a child for taking refuge with his mother in a thunder storm and he may lose his confidence; sneer at a man for carrying a charm or relic, and he may find that the virtue has gone out of it. Cast doubt on the faith of the saint and his fear may return. A pathetic story which has

just come to me from Japan, will, I think, be new to most. A poor ignorant woman, a child-woman like many we have in this country, learned a passage from the scriptures of Buddha. When in situations of stress and fear she repeated the words of this text and her trouble disappeared. She repeated them to others when they were ill or worried and they too were helped. One day she repeated this passage in the temple in the presence of a boy priest. He laughed at the words, told the woman they were incorrect, and taught her the correct form. Thereafter she repeated them correctly, but they had no virtue, she could help neither herself nor others. The prig of a priest had given her the letter and had killed the spirit.

Nothing perhaps makes more for the mental health and the general stimulus of a child than success in overcoming fear. Of course the psychology of it is the same in the case of the adult, and here again we have illustrations of the effect of this method. At the time of the trouble with the anarchists in Chicago years ago at the time of the Haymarket riots, the police had been timid and inefficient until the matter culminated in the throwing of the bombs in Haymarket Square when the policemen arrested the anarchists. This aroused the force and gave them such a stimulus and so increased their morale that it is said thereafter they swaggered like the veterans of Waterloo and one of them single-handed was ready to attack a whole group of anarchists. Thus fear affords the universal opportunity for success to the child in the school and to the soldier on the battlefield alike, the opportunity to transmute energy generated into coordinated action, either physical or mental.

I am well aware how imperative even our secondary fears are and how futile psychology is likely to be in the face of them; but children at least can largely be trained for fear controlling associations. As everybody knows, however, some causes of fear are so deep-seated and the emotional condition so permanent that nothing whatever seems to be really effective. All the maxims and all the rival stimuli and associations are impotent and all our practical psychology futile in the case of some of the really heartrending situations as they occur in the lives of some peculiarly sensitive individuals. One is threatened with a disintegration and collapse of character and personality. In such cases the one real remedy is the insight that after all it does not really matter whether one be afraid or not, if one only does one's duty. And thus if one have the will to determine action, even in its last and most deadly attack, fear is vanquished. Thus we do well to honor all the heroes of defeat who in all ages have done their duty without regard to fear.

The psychology of this ultimate universal remedy has been suggested by Bernard Shaw in his play "The Man of Destiny," where he puts the following words into the mouth of the great Napoleon: "There is only one universal passion—fear. Of all the thousand qualities a man may have, the only one you will find as certainly in the youngest drummer boy in the army as in me is fear. . . . Fear, I know fear well, better than you, better than any woman. I once saw a regiment of good Swiss soldiers massacred by a mob in Paris because I was afraid to interfere. I felt myself a coward from the tips of my toes as I looked on at it." Then he refers to the way when it is necessary to do a thing in spite of fear, the fear tightens one's grip on one's own purpose, ceases to be fear, and becomes strength, penetration, vigilance, iron resolution.

Someone, I am sure, wishes to ask if fear itself does not have an important and useful function. Of course it does, but it is difficult to say just how far this is normal

and when it becomes injurious or pathological. This is well illustrated by the experience of the soldiers in the stress of continued warfare. *Conan Doyle* has said that there came a time when the only thing one thought much about, and one's only fear was, a supreme fear lest one might fail to do one's duty. But it is desirable that even the sublimated fear should be controlled by certain inhibiting associations. Fortunately the impulse to activity is as fundamental as fear itself. On this we can by training build the best protection against fear. Co-ordinated activity, physical or mental, is the universal preventive.

The familiar psychology of association gives the proper point of view in mental hygiene. If we make it our servant instead of our master, it furnishes control for the inhibiting, distracting, and disintegrating emotions and attitudes that harm us. Such is the message of mental hygiene. In the mere control of the individual inhibitions the significance of mental hygiene is shown in large letters. The importance of removing such inhibitions I need hardly emphasize to this audience. In recent years we have devised mental tests, standard scales, and the like, as delicate machinery for measuring human intelligence, but we find alarmingly little intelligence to measure. We do well, however, to make the most of what mental ability we have. This can be done only by removing the inhibitions that fetter child and adult, the ordinary man and the great alike. The biologist *Huxley* even suggests that the difference between the ordinary man and the genius is not so much that the latter possesses powers the former does not, but rather that the genius by some fortunate chance is free from the inhibitions by which the ordinary man is handicapped.

I have used the case of fear as an illustration of the varied inhibitions of injurious character. In closing, then, if you will not scrutinize too closely, if you will remember that you must not look a gift-horse in the mouth, I will give you a fable. Adam and Eve in the garden of Eden were not afraid. They enjoyed the beauties of life, they reacted normally to their environment, they were clear in their thinking and entirely and completely self-confident. Satan gave them the apple of knowledge by telling them that if they ever thought of the hippopotamus of Eden they would be afraid. Thereafter, having the faculty of association, they could not help thinking of the hippopotamus. Thus fear, like death, came into the world with our first parents, and, unless eliminated by proper mental training, it will last until the heavens be rolled away as a scroll.

B. HOW MENTAL HYGIENE MAY HELP IN THE SOLUTION OF SCHOOL PROBLEMS

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In order to state the connection between mental hygiene and the schools there must be a clear understanding of what the term denotes. We understand by hygiene the rules of healthful living; the teaching of hygiene is the teaching of the laws which govern a healthy body. In much of the practical work done under the heading of mental hygiene the term has been constantly associated with efforts to find out and provide proper care for mentally sick and mentally deficient persons and this practical work came much of the impetus toward necessary adaptations in the

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education. But this is not the only meaning of mental hygiene; it is certainly not the meaning we want to emphasize when we connect the term with education.

Mental hygiene in the public schools should mean dealing with public-school children in such a way that their mental health shall be conserved, their complete normality of behavior shall be assured. This cannot be done in all cases for obvious reasons. The next step for mental hygiene, then, is to recognize these cases, to select those individuals whose behavior already diverges from the normal, and devise the best methods for their education and training. This broad definition of mental hygiene makes necessary the combined efforts of teacher, social worker, psychologist, and doctor in order that each child may reach the best development possible to him as an individual. Nothing can be done of permanent effect without the teacher, that is, without the action of the school organization. The social worker may visit homes and interview parents indefinitely, even making adjustments within the home, but if the knowledge which she gains of a child and his problems is not carried over into the school's estimate and educational treatment of him the work, so far as his individual adjustment goes, is nearly useless. The psychologist may fill pages with I. Q's and carefully evolved psychological descriptions of the scholar's educational capacities, but unless the teacher knows what it is all about and classwork can be affected by this knowledge, the psychologist might as well not spend the time. Unless the school understands in its own terms how the psychiatrist's discovery of complexes and hidden sources of emotional difficulties and abnormalities applies to a child's inability to attend to his work or conform to the necessary school regulations, the value of his study is reduced certainly one-half, if not more.

Please indulge me while I build castles in the air for a few minutes and picture the first days in a school where all social and health forces are working together through the school to bring about the best education for all the children. We must take for granted on the side of the school that the words curriculum and system have lost their awfulness and the supreme importance and interest attaching to them have been transferred to the children for whose benefit they were—supposably—devised. But we still have large numbers and inadequate equipment and grades, for this is not the millennium, but only a partially constructed castle.

On a certain day in early September about fifty boys, most of them between five and seven years old (this is a boys' school of about one thousand attendance) may be seen crowding through the wide, open doors of a large building with open spaces at the sides, accompanied by a parent or older brother or sister. They are all met in the hall by a kindly and vigorous janitor who marshals them into a large, light room where people are writing at two tables and a pleasant-faced nurse is waiting for them. Each boy's name, date of birth, and address is taken at one table, then he is handed over to the nurse who takes groups of four to another room where there are shower baths and chairs with numbers on them. Off come the clothes, each boy remembering his number, and most of them experience for the first time the joys of a bath under a spray. Back to the chairs where towels are hanging and they help rub each other down, the nurse giving directions. Then, each wrapped in his towel, they go to a small room opening from this where the school doctor looks them over and he and the nurse make rapid notes. (I am not an expert on medical inspection. Perhaps the bath and the doctor should be reversed. I am sure they should both occur.)

While this has been going on the mother, or whoever came with the boy, has interviewed at the second table in the big room and a few simple facts about the boy have been ascertained, to be checked up and added to later when the home records are made. All are then told to return in the afternoon. When they come they go into a big schoolroom bright with plants and pictures, and furnished with chairs and several long tables and with carpenter's benches and looms for weaving against the wall. Let us suppose that one of these boys is Rocco, a big-eyed Italian boy, ten and a half, who came to this country when a baby. For the first time he has a real bath; for the first time he has been inside any house but the grimy tenement where he lives, the only slightly less grimy shops nearby, and the church whose connection with the life around him his child mind has not yet grasped. Here are all the boys he has played with on the block. There is that sheeny, Max, who lost his balloon yesterday; this seems a chance to get even and Rocco makes for him. Fighting does not have quite its usual zest in this room whose beauty Rocco feels keenly, and while he is half-heartedly lifting his foot for a kick he is arrested by the sound of a bell and a pleasant but quite definite voice. "Boys," it says, "I want you all to sit down and sit down beside the tables. Don't hurry or push and you will find there is room enough for everybody." Of course many of them do hurry and push but the sound of the voice seems to be everywhere at once, helping and directing, and in a surprisingly short time they are seated, wondering what is to come next. "Now we are going to play some games with pencils. You will be told what to do and when to stop and the game is to see who gets the most right. If you do not begin when I tell you and stop when I tell you then the most important things will be wrong." Then Rocco draws a square and a triangle and does other things—or mostly doesn't—and tries hard to follow the directions, forgetting the other boys in his eagerness to win the game. Then they march and put their chairs back in place at the same time—or try to—and Rocco learns that there is fun in all doing something together. People in his house usually all do things separately.

The results of the afternoon's work are entered on a card, just as the morning's work has been, and mental hygiene has begun its work, not only in the rough classification made possible as a result of the physical examination and group test, but also in Rocco's introduction to order and cleanliness and in the first items on his environment card. His mother has not been able to come, she has been sickly a long time—some doctor has said it might be tuberculosis; his father has a corner fruit stand; there are five children, Rocco being the oldest—if there had been an older boy the history would have been already on file—and none of them speaks much English. They always talk Italian at home. A kindly neighbor came with the boy. When, therefore, the cards are looked over by the principal a few notes are added to Rocco's. "Pay special attention to English. Give him all the drawing he has time for—especially in that. Send to clinic for lung examination. Join nutrition group." During the second week of school several things happen. The home is visited and the teacher files Rocco's card with the principal's recommendations and the added information about the home. Also he is watched carefully in the classroom and a few pertinent facts are added on his card—that he marches well, keeping good time; he is co-operative; he is quarrelsome, but vindictive and resentful when aroused; his vocabulary is much larger than average. Rocco has been started right. His possible weaknesses both

physical and intellectual, have been considered from the first and his good points noted and developed. Even his antipathy for Max has been perceived and efforts made to counteract that.

This is not visionary. Good teachers now—and there are many of them—take as much time and trouble as this, and more, but they have no help. No individual facts are put at their disposal. The principal or the district superintendent comes and tests the class and says, "You are behind in spelling or in number-work, give more drill," and then passes on. Physical examinations are given at irregular intervals and the teacher often does not get the benefit of the resulting knowledge. The family may be visited by various relief and health agencies but the school knows nothing about their estimates of its assets and liabilities. In this new school which I have been picturing the visiting teacher, social worker, or whatever she may be named, brings constantly to the school and to the teachers most interested, additional information about the boys as she acquires it—from their homes, their chosen places of recreation, from clinics or relief agencies. The psychologist is constantly making individual or group studies and helping the principal to break up or to modify old classifications and the teacher to understand the vagaries of her arithmetic class. Different medical specialists are consulted and various conduct difficulties traced to their source. No additional staff except a visitor for each school is needed to bring all this about. The others must be available for the school, and the information they give must be stored in the school so that it may be translated into terms of school procedure by an enlightened principal. And the principals do not need to be particularly different or any abler than they are today. Many of them need a different ideal, and that this ideal may be defined and held before them the men and women at the heads of educational systems and training schools must see a vision.

And now let us leave the world of fancy and paint a picture of this school as it is today and show what can be done in spite of the tremendous handicaps of inadequate equipment, the wrongly directed activities of present-day education, and an unconnected social service.

This school is on the lower West Side of New York City in a region which has been noted for rowdiness and for a sordid poverty, the result often of shiftlessness and alcoholism. The building has recently been investigated by representatives of certain civic organizations which have been looking into the sanitary conditions of our public schools, and this is what they say: "Public School No. 11, 314 West 17th St.—Erected 90 years ago this building is still in service. It has had no repairs for three years and is badly in need of them. It is dingy and dark, needing paint and general cleaning. The sanitary equipment is old and in shocking condition. The lighting is only fair and the ventilation poor. The two restrooms for the teachers are very poorly equipped and quite unfit for their purpose."

Needless to say it has no large, light rooms for its offices and no shower baths. It also has no gymnasiums, no assembly room, and a most inadequate playground, hardly worthy of the name. There are no welfare agencies and no facilities for healthful recreation in its neighborhood.

On taking over the school a new principal found the retardation so striking that he asked for help in solving the problems it presented—the sort of help which should be easily available for every principal who wishes to study the make-up of his school, in other words to ascertain individual differences. The study was made from the point

of view of mental status, educational condition, and conduct difficulties. The school was found to be somewhat below the average in mental status, that is, the median of intelligence instead of being 100 as in the average school, was about 92. There was much overlapping of grades, a condition which has been found in many schools as shown by recent educational tests. About ninety boys, or almost 10 per cent of the average attendance of 997, were named by teachers and principal as giving special trouble in the classroom, and there were in addition to these about one hundred truants whose school conduct was pretty good but who were fairly apt to get into difficulties outside the school. To meet these conditions as they were presented by the group tests and the teachers' estimates, a certain amount of home-visiting was done and boys were referred to clinics and various welfare agencies; many individual intelligence tests were given on medical advice obtained, and on the basis of all the information collected the school was re-graded and a number of special classes formed for those boys who could not do the regular schoolwork in the way required by the curriculum. All this was possible without any special permission except for the organization of the classes, and that was obtained without much difficulty.

After the classes were organized those boys whose intelligence quotients showed special dullness and those who had had previous difficulty in passing from grade to grade were given simplified work and some shop-work, and were taught by teachers of special subjects, just as the higher grades were. In other words, instead of being marked out as boys who failed constantly and who were unable to compete with the better boys of the school, they progressed from grade to grade, they took honors, they were a definite and important part of the school. The significance of this for a better mental hygiene does not need to be pointed out.

At the same time the teachers almost automatically became more interested in the different boys who made up their class groups. There were constant calls for conferences about some particularly difficult case, and for individual tests so that they might know beyond doubt whether John really could not remember, or was inattentive for some undiscovered reason, or whether the teacher herself could present the subject in a different way. The attitude of the whole school seemed to change regarding promotions and the handling of the curriculum. I do not mean it was hopeless in particular cases, but *understanding*. If Jo could not learn fractions, then he could not—the teacher no longer agonized about the percentage she was going to promote and no longer blamed Jo for something she now knew was not his fault, but gave him something he could assimilate.

There have been certain tangible results of this new attitude toward the class and the pupil. To show this we must give some school statistics.

	Sept., 1919	Feb., 1920	June, 1920	Sept., 1920	June, 1921
Registered.....	969	1,033	990	975	1,008

To show how much this population changed during the year:

	1919-20	1920-21
Discharged during year (exclusive of graduates).....	331	272
Admitted during year.....	423	418
Total register.....	1,392	1,303

The only item which differs greatly then is the number discharged.

This reflects social conditions somewhat, as people wanting to move last winter could not find rooms as easily as the winter before. Nevertheless, a comparison of the reasons for discharge is interesting as transfers to other schools, particularly private or parochial schools, often indicate dissatisfaction, whether real or fancied.

	1919-20	1920-21
Moved from city.....	63	88
Transferred to other public school.....	133	57
Transferred to private school.....	36	25
Not found.....	15	30
Took working-papers.....	39	20
Over-age (left to go to work).....	21	21
Institution:		
Reformatory.....	3	8
Home.....	4	6
Physically unfit.....	2	4
Died.....	4	2
Under-age.....	11	11
	331	272

The first year 18 per cent of all the discharges were to go to work. In the next year 15 per cent. To these figures must be added the intention as to work or high school of the boys who graduated, as they form part of the whole number leaving school during the year.

	Jan., 1920	June, 1920	Total	Jan., 1921	June, 1921	Total
Graduates going to high school.....	39	21	60	36	60	96
Graduates going to work.....	16	39	55	23	6	29
Total.....	55	60	115	59	66	125

Of the whole number leaving school during 1919-20, 25 per cent left to go to work and during 1920-21, 17 per cent.

Truancy is a more interesting indication of the influence of a school. There is no time to go into the causes or effects of truancy. Many record cards filled in by officers of our Department of Compulsory Attendance state "dislike for school" as a principal cause. Dr. Maxwell used to say that the children would stay in school if the schools could be made attractive to the children. This is one of the many truths which have been pretty constantly disregarded. In 1919-20 there were 140 truants; this does not include cases of irregular attendance or illegal detention. In 1920-21 there were 83 truants; and many of these were cases of previous years, too firmly established in the habit of truancy to change in one year.

Perhaps the most important of all as a test of a school's ability to meet the purpose for which it was established is the amount of retardation. Again we have no time to discuss causes or effects. This is another change which takes more than a year to accomplish and is very difficult to state in a comparative way. The children two and three years from now will show the difference more than those of this year.

The first records I have are those of January, 1920—the number of children who failed of promotion at the end of the first half-year. Leaving out of considera-

garten, 1A, open-air ungraded classes, from the resulting register we find were "left back" to repeat the same grade another year. This is about of the whole. In the spring of that year the new organization was planned, ing of groups was done in March and April, 1920, and the results of the vironment were also made available then. The number not promoted in was 12 per cent of the whole. In January, 1921, again 12 per cent failed on; the organization was about the same as the preceding term. In June, nd less than 10 per cent who have been marked for non-promotion by the The new plan has had more time to work. The effect on the morale of school can be easily perceived.

there were space and time to tell of the help toward a better mental hygiene ser linking of school and home gives; and of the bearing on a child's success- tion which the family's co-operation with his school has. Many facts hat may be found in the annals of the visiting teachers. And I wish there to give some histories of the boys whose whole attitude toward school-life ntly changed during these two years and, a less happy story, of those Roccos who, we believe would be different now if they could have had the right kindergarten days.

we consider the important part which an orderly life and a sense of achieve- success play in the maintenance of mental health, we see the value of the which has been made in this school. This could be stated in a negative way emphatically, and the results of failure and early misconduct shown in the adult delinquents and ne'er-do-wells, as has been done again and again. is the first social environment to which a child must make a conscious ljust himself, as often he need not, and more often he does not at home. ires the habit of failing to make this adjustment either in his work or his ie results cannot help but be disastrous in later life both to himself and to n if the fault is not his but the school's, as is often the case. Mental hygiene mormously in preventing these problems from arising as well as in helping m when they do arise; and, as I have tried to show, a right school procedure a normal happy home, the best form of mental hygiene.

C. SPEECH DEFECTS IN SCHOOL CHILDREN

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alue of easy, smooth, intelligent speech has not been appreciated in the f our public schools. Much more stress is laid upon oral reading than upon ion by the child of good speech. And even where the child has a definite peech so serious that he cannot get along in the social world, teachers and its often place the school-training in geography or grammar above the f acquiring good speech. This attitude on the part of teachers and parents ounted for through a lack of realization of the nature of speech and its e.

If we think of man as an adaptive mechanism, constantly adapting to new and untried situations, then it is clear that speech is one of the chiefest and most important means that man has of adapting himself. Speech with its modulations, symbolic words, and accompanying gestures is developed in response to certain needs in the life of the child. The development of the speech is bound up with the development of the intelligence. Some of the psychologists have claimed that thought is merely subvocal or silent speech. In arguing for the necessity for good speech I do not mean from the elocutionist standpoint, where technical perfection is sought. I mean merely speech that is free from obvious defects and that can be understood. The social value of such speech cannot be overestimated. Defects prevent individuals from taking their place among their fellows.

The extent of the disorders of speech is astonishing. In a survey of approximately five thousand children of Madison below the high school, 5.69 per cent were found to be suffering from disorders of speech. Of this number .72 per cent were stutterers. J. E. W. Wallin, Director of the Psycho-Educational Clinic in St. Louis, found that out of 89,057 pupils 2.8 per cent had some disorders of speech. Wallin found .7 per cent stuttered. Conradi investigated six cities and found .87 per cent of stutterers. The average percentage of stuttering from many surveys in this country and abroad is approximately .9 per cent.

Miss Pauline Camp, in a personal survey of 9387 children below high school in Grand Rapids, Michigan, found that 2.64 per cent stuttered and that a total of 13 per cent showed speech disorders.

It is usually claimed that most of the children who have disorders of speech overcome them. In order to determine the number who reach eighteen years of age retaining their defect, a personal examination was made of 1400 members of the Freshman class at the University of Wisconsin. On this basis the 2240 members of the whole Freshman class were computed to have 409 speech defects. One hundred twenty-five stuttered; 33 had foreign accent acquired outside of America; 29 had oral inactivity; 103 could not pronounce the letter *s* or *z*; 18 spoke abnormally rapidly or slowly; and 101 had severe vocal defects, such as weak, chronically hoarse, husky, or nasal voices. In all, 409, or 18.13 per cent, were found to be unable to meet the necessities of English speech. I should like to add that the examiners were most lenient in their judgment. It will be seen from these figures that speech disorders are not outgrown in any great degree, and in the case of stutterers even though the speech defect disappears, there remains the defect in the emotions, an undue sensitivity, a feeling of inferiority, which interferes with the progress of the individual. In these stuttering cases had very slight defect, but they felt that they had a great difficulty and maintained that it was a great handicap for them because they knew when they were going to have trouble with a word, and meeting people with a constant strain on them.

DELAYED SPEECH

A not inconsiderable number of children come to kindergarten and first grade who have not developed speech. Most of these cases are due to delayed development and each case should have a careful examination to determine the cause. A certain number of these cases are due to faulty attitude and lack of opportunity.

said, speech develops in response to certain needs. In some neurotic children, the need for speech is very definite, speech does not develop.

ORAL INACTIVITY

The second type of speech disorder we have called oral inactivity. It is characterized by a lack of co-ordination of the active elements of articulation, the tongue, soft lips, throat, and jaw. There are several types of this, both from the descriptive point and from the causative factors. It has been our experience that where the tongue lies more or less inactive on the floor of the mouth, there is likely to be a history of a disorder in the family, of food deficiency of certain of the vitamine-bearing and of temperaments more or less erratic, timid, and egoistic. In those cases where the inactivity is decidedly in the jaw and lips, the trouble is usually purely emotional and the temperament excessively timid and inclined to be sensitive and introspective.

LETTER SUBSTITUTIONS

The third type of disorder is called letter substitution. This includes lisping, which is usually the substitution of the *th* and *sh* for *s*; and lalling, which is the substitution of *l* and *w* for the consonant *r*. As these two groups do not include all the noticed substitutions, the one name is given to the entire group and it includes such previously mentioned substitutions as *t* for *k*, *ig* for *ing*, *d* for *t*, etc.

An interesting thing in connection with this group is the fact that these cases do remain constant in all cases. For instance one child substitutes *k* for *t*, and in positions *t* for *k*. Only rarely is the case found in which the letter-sound or combination of letter-sounds cannot be made under some conditions. Only in a case where a letter was uniformly mismade would we be justified in even suspecting the fault to be in the organic structure, and only then if similar sounds, using related muscle groups, were mismade in a like manner. To illustrate: the tongue position for the letter *s* and the letter *z* are the same; a large number of those who mismake the letter *s* make the letter *z* with ease, although the only added element is vocalization. What, then, could be gained by the changing of the organic structure of the mouth by the application of braces, or of operative procedure? The difficulty obviously lies (1) in the diligence necessary for, or the opportunity for, the learning of the position of the letters in the words, or (2) in the emotional inability to adjust to the necessity of accurate speech. In a case of letter substitution in which the child had been reared in a family where such substitution was constantly present, the lack of opportunity for learning might be postulated. But it must be borne in mind that these people are constantly coming in contact with people who have all the letter sounds and that accurate speech is a sure tie with infancy, and, finally, that this symptom is rarely found in an individual who does not show other indications of infantile fixations of emotional life.

STUTTERING

Stuttering, with which we include stammering, is the most serious of the group of emotional speech disorders. It is present in about 1 per cent of the school population. This disorder should be considered as symptomatic only. The underlying trouble may be neurotic, psychoneurotic, or some trouble, as yet obscure, in the control or co-ordination of the elaborate mechanism of speech.

We feel that there is some lack of balance in the motor control of all the p but the most important thing is the temperamental lack of ability to make the main emotional adjustments to life and the use of speech as a symbol of all the low t relationships. In other words, the fear from which the stutterer suffers is not a controll speech, but a fear of meeting situations in life, and speech is the accepted field for symbolization, because poor speech closes the necessary avenue of approach to feelings and offers an excuse for failure which would otherwise be lacking. ad be

A case which illustrates this is that of a young man of good intelligence, an excellent personality who gives the following history. He was the youngest child of a family of six children. On the death of the father the oldest brother came to the head of the family and was constantly pointed out by the mother for his superiorities and perfections. In this family the standard for scholarship, for personal relationships, for order, and for social success was very high. The patient was somewhat different from the others in temperament and ability, but was held to the same standard. He was late in talking; the fifth year when he began to talk, he also began to stutter badly. This stutter was his all-powerful excuse for his failure in family and social life. Away from the family, and the comparison with its other members, he has had little trouble with his speech until some difficult situation arises, and then the stutter becomes bad again. In this way he has lived the life of a refined nomad, wandering from situation to situation and from school to school.

It is maintained by some workers in the field that the mental condition and emotional conditions are the result of, and not the cause of, stuttering. It would be true, of course, that the difficulty would carry with it a large amount of unpleasant emotional tone, but it is a significant fact that the families of these people show the same temperaments, the same social disabilities, to a somewhat greater extent than do the families of non-handicapped children.

When you consider that in this country two hundred thousand children of school age stutter or stammer and that, including delayed speech, oral inactivity, vocal substitution, and the most severe vocal defects, there are probably half a million something of the enormity of the lost opportunity and wasted material becomes apparent.

That this enormous problem can be handled successfully in a way that considers its functional and especially its emotional element, has been demonstrated in such places as Grand Rapids, where the approach to the cases is made almost wholly with a view to adjusting the individual to his environment. Teachers and social workers undertaking this work should know more than the anatomy and physiology of the articulatory organs. They should be familiar with the mechanism of hysteria, of the faulty balance and the emotionalism of the neurotic, of the earliest beginnings of aboulia, of negativism, of introversion, as well as the lesser train of timidities, and insecurities, and overattachments.

Speech correction offers the best method of approach to mental hygiene in schools. As yet our boards are too hard-pressed for money and time to take on the problem as one of a typical behavior. They do see more and more the pressing problem of faulty speech, and the organizations for the correction of this defect must well include the incidental care of other children in whom behavior of other sorts is not average and in this way the entering wedge for the introduction of mental hygiene in the schools of the country be made.

Teachers who do the speech corrective work should have, besides a knowledge of the anatomy of the organs of speech, a knowledge of speech drill, and a thorough behavioristic psychology and the psychology of the emotions. They should know the part speech plays in the development of the emotions and how poorly emotions may develop wrong types of speech. Moreover, they must be able to understand some of the mental mechanisms that control behavior, such as inferiority and its compensations in over-boldness and over-talkativeness, and be able to analyze and treat these conditions. Teachers so trained can do mental hygiene work of the highest type for they deal with the child who has great possibilities who, if given help at the right time, may become a conspicuous success.

We feel that there is some lack of balance in the motor control of all these cases, but the most important thing is the temperamental lack of ability to make the necessary emotional adjustments to life and the use of speech as a symbol of all the human relationships. In other words, the fear from which the stutterer suffers is not a fear of speech, but a fear of meeting situations in life, and speech is the accepted field for such a symbolization, because poor speech closes the necessary avenue of approach to life and offers an excuse for failure which would otherwise be lacking.

A case which illustrates this is that of a young man of good intelligence and excellent personality who gives the following history. He was the youngest of a family of six children. On the death of the father the oldest brother came to the head of the family and was constantly pointed out by the mother for his successes and perfections. In this family the standard for scholarship, for personal relationships, for order, and for social success was very high. The patient was somewhat different from the others in temperament and ability, but was held to the same standards. He was late in talking; the fifth year when he began to talk, he also began to stutter badly. This stutter was his all-powerful excuse for his failure in family standing. Away from the family, and the comparison with its other members, he has only a little trouble with his speech until some difficult situation arises, and then the condition becomes bad again. In this way he has lived the life of a refined nomad, wandering from situation to situation and from school to school.

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is coming more and more to resemble a plan for local taxation in its widespread, but also preserves the element of individual and voluntary giving, which is so al. Since the directors, trustees, or board members of the several associates in iteration are freed from these onerous duties of finance, what is there for them? How shall they really direct? And how shall their interest be enlisted and abilities kept at work? The old problems are at once simplified, and made more lt.

boards of directors in all such bodies are necessarily hand picked. They are tally self-perpetuating, or rather are generally perpetuated under the direct ice of a few executive officers. Elections by the members at large, whether h votes at annual meetings or by ballots mailed, are usually and necessarily except for an occasional revolutionary uprising resulting from some real or ary abuse. The democratic form of election is important, all the same, and l be preserved, so that the public which supports the societies has the right at o elect its governing board; and everything possible should be done to protect ght and make it easy of exercise. What I say about such elections being mere is not universally true. In certain social clubs and chambers of commerce and other bodies, elections of directors are hotly contested, but such real contests ceptional.

This general truth throws the responsibility for selection of good directors and eeping them on the existing board, and especially on the executive officers. The iples which should govern are comparatively simple. The board should be large gh to be representative and deliberative, and to work through subcommittees. ould not be so large as to be unwieldy. Practically, I like a board of from fifteen enty-one members. This membership should be truly representative, and yet it t essential to have a representative of every sect and section of the community ys on the board, so long as no prejudices are displayed. It should be reasonably anent, so as to retain the benefit of experience and proved efficiency, but should e allowed to grow old or stale or somnolent. Fresh blood should be frequently duced in sufficient quantities, and youthful blood. In general I think that there ld be both men and women on boards, though some boards are run well by women e.

In the selection of board members, deciding how long they shall serve and when shall retire, the greatest tact and discretion, as well as courage and firmness, are ired of these officers who really make these decisions and submit them for ratifica- to the electorate; and in this matter, as in almost every phase of the question h we are discussing, the vital and determining factor which makes for success or re of the board is in the personality of those who have to make these decisions who are the natural leaders. Everything depends on this. It is only a strong and asive personality in the president or chairman, and the secretary or chief technical er, which enables them to induce the right kind of men to take an interest in the and to agree to become members of the board, and which can make places for members; and it is these same qualities which must be applied to persuade board bers to come to meetings and to make the meetings interesting, to find something e work of the society for the board members to do, and to get them to do it. It t be assumed that such board members have the initial willingness, the good inten- which have been spoken of before; if they fail to live up to such good intentions,

fail to show an interest by attending meetings and taking part in them and volunteering for special work, it is often, indeed usually, because of some failure to make these meetings really interesting and to point out work which the board members can do and think it worth while to do. This is one of the principal tests of real efficiency of a chief executive, meaning here the general secretary, or superintendent, or director of the society who is or ought to be a technical expert. The president or nominal head will usually be led by him, if he is really efficient and capable.

All this has come, in a large degree, from the energy and personal influence of a succession of devoted and really able and persuasive presidents, and of late years an extraordinary and much admired superintendent.

I am speaking now directly to a body made up principally of technical experts, who are or are on the way to become chief executives or associates of chief executives of such societies. I venture to say to you with all earnestness, from a point of view which makes me feel that I know the facts, that it is up to you by your personal efforts and influence, in co-operation with your presidents, to make your boards of directors efficient working bodies. This you can do, if the directors themselves possess that primary interest in the subject which they should have or they should resign, by making your meetings interesting, and by finding a reasonable amount of real work for the board members to do at the meetings and after the meetings.

Of course it is easy to lay down certain principles, such as that meetings should be called at most generally convenient hours and at convenient and attractive places; they should be long enough for deliberation and yet not too long; there should be reports and suggestions from the executives, but nothing like monologues or even long speeches. The details of each meeting should be carefully studied and worked out in advance; outlines should be prepared and in some cases at least they should be sent out with notices of the meeting.

The minutes of each meeting should be prepared with real care and circumspection. This is far more important than most secretaries realize. I have rarely seen good minutes of directors' meetings prepared by the ablest secretaries with whom I have worked. In my judgment the minutes of each meeting, including important subcommittee meetings, should be sent promptly to all members of the board for their inspection and to keep them informed of current events, and it is advisable to ask for comments and inquiries. This, of course, saves the necessity for reading the minutes at the following meeting, and thus saves time.

If, notwithstanding well-directed efforts to make meetings interesting and to gain and hold the attention and live interest of board members, there are some who fail to respond, it is not a bad thing to have a rule requiring a record of attendance to be kept and to be read once or twice a year at meetings, and possibly, providing that a certain number of unexplained absences shall be equivalent to a resignation. This surely tends to keep board members alive to their responsibilities. It is rather a good practice to send out with notices of meeting, a return postal card, on which the member can indicate his expectation as to being present, and give reasons for a necessary absence.

Another practical suggestion is of value. There is nothing to prevent a board, even if full, from inviting others who would be valuable members to attend its meetings and take part in discussions, although not technically entitled to vote as members. This may produce several good results. For one thing, it may tend to stimulate the

minds of members who have been too long on the board into recognition of the fact that others might fill their places to better advantage.

Aside from the meetings of the full board, the work of board members on subcommittees is most important and should be actively followed up. Here again circumstances are so varied that detailed suggestions cannot be made within the scope of this paper. As far as possible, board members should be given specific branches of the work of the society to look after. If this is done, their instincts and their habits as business and professional men will cause them, under good and intelligent leadership, to attend the necessary meetings and bring their brains and ability to bear on the assigned work and to produce results.

To close this rather rambling paper, let me emphasize the vital importance of getting together and keeping together in good working order a really efficient board of managers. The rules of our chambers of commerce and financial federations which require the existence of such governing boards, are merely a recognition of the fact that societies and institutions such as ours cannot long exist or do good work without them. It has been well said that technical experts in social work need the tempering value of laymen associated with them, in very much the same way that lawyers and judges need the help of juries, as exponents of public opinion. The technical experts also need their lay associates, the board members, as selling agents to the general public, to use a popular phrase of the day, capable of conveying the ideas which radiate from the society, and getting these accepted and believed in by their fellow-citizens generally; to use another popular phrase, which has grown out of the war, they constitute an educational *liaison* between the highly trained experts in social work and the untrained public, translating the ideas of each to the other. (Some of these phrases are taken from a recent letter by Mr. Todd, labor manager of B. Kuppenheimer & Co., Chicago.) If the board members are thus to act as communication officers and to become successful salesmen for the society, it is plain that the society and its work must first be sold to them, so that they will become earnest believers in it and capable of interpreting it aright.

Therefore, I venture to say that the society which is struggling along with an inattentive and inefficient board of directors or managers has something vitally wrong with it. No unusually clever diagnostician is required to discover in this the signs of a disease which, unless checked, will be fatal. I think that the attentiveness, zeal, and energy of the board members may fairly be likened to a barometer, a weather gauge for the society, and that executive officers who see these essential qualities falling must prepare at once to seek a harbor of refuge or to ride out a storm. They can fairly test and measure their own permanent success as executives by the degree of live interest which they can create and maintain in their board managers.

DISCUSSION OF PROFESSOR LINDEMAN'S PAPER—"ORGANIZATION OF
SOCIAL FORCES"

Dr. Philip Klein, Director of Rural Service, Southern Division American Red Cross, Atlanta

The matters considered by Professor Lindemann in his paper group themselves around three points, namely: first, that there was no rural problem a century ago, or prior to 1812; second, that there are rural social forces in the form of agencies dealing with the rural problems, and these are the rural social forces; third, that the farmer, far from being as unprogressive as he is made out to be, has

most valuable movements to the social improvement of our day and therefore should be ranking with other members of the community.

With regard to the first point, we need hardly take it too seriously. More truly, we there was no urban problem in 1812, for we were entirely a farmer nation; because we did not we did not speak of rural problems. They existed, nevertheless, for we can hardly say that education and other difficulties that constitute our rural problems in the country were any less than they are now.

With Professor Lindemann's evaluation of the agencies dealing with rural social problems quarrel—I shall leave that to others who will discuss his paper.

The third point leads to this generalization: that the farmer is, on the whole, not in all respects from other persons; that, in fact, there is no separate rural sociology and separate urban sociology; these are different aspects of the same problems under different conditions and that they are, as a whole, manifestations of the working of one social force more important than, and basic to, the forces mentioned by Professor Lindemann. It may, in brief, be called urbanization. It is a process which has caused not only our urban, but also our rural, problems. The tendency toward urbanization is inevitable and cannot be stopped, even if we would. It is useless, therefore, to stem it; it must be helped. What does urbanization—that is, the tendency of congregating in larger and larger centers—mean? It means a tendency toward increased productivity and increased comfort, socially desirable both in the city and in the country; both have produced incidental evils in the country. In so far, therefore, as we are obtaining greater productivity and greater comfort, that tendency, we should apply it to our rural sections as well. That is being done by a multiplicity of social forces and agencies. To us, as social workers, there falls the comparatively humble lot of to the country and adapting to rural conditions the type of social work we have been doing in the cities and to bring it to the same degree of efficiency that we have attained in the cities.

COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION OF SOCIAL FORCES

A. FROM THE STANDPOINT OF THE CONSTITUENT AGENCIES

James F. Jackson, Secretary, Associated Charities, Cleveland

The community chest is neither a panacea nor a bogey. But, with other elements of a welfare federation, it may help make or break an other working organization of the charity or social organization of any city. It all

For the purposes of this paper I shall consider a community chest as one of a welfare federation. After more than a dozen years' consideration of welfare federations, I still believe them to be good for a city, provided: (a) there is a sincere belief in the plan and willingness to promote it on the part of the great majority of social agencies, a majority of large donors, and of the effective solicitors; (b) the executive officer be broad in his sympathies, judicial in his decisions, wise in his management, and the concept of helpfulness to the constituent organizations; (c) that the board shall contain social workers and laymen who are socially minded as well as business men; (d) that the dollar shall always be heard but shall never be the only voice. There must always be a balance between the charity demands and the financial possibilities.

The welfare federation should act in many relationships where groups of semisocial agencies are concerned, as for instance in legislation or in making arrangements with the federated churches or any community betterment group. It should study the field and bring together various social groups that they may not thoroughly their field, looking to the possibility of betterment, for example, of the problem of any group of agencies.

What is everybody's business in the social field should be the federation's responsibility, but if it is wise, that responsibility will be met in the spirit of an

of a dictator. Where the afore-mentioned workable situation exists, a will probably prosper.

You say, "Do federations always promote the common weal?" No, federations are seldom all good or all bad. Some federations are among our best but one or two should be sent to the "electric chair." A star example of how to do it was in Indianapolis where a well-meaning business man and a former Charity man, who had lost his way, attempted to frame up an impossible plan on a basis of dictation by business men without an admixture of the necessary social influence and concern. The plan failed quickly, for dollar dictation is never in community funds. The Philadelphia plan was doomed to similar failure as a changeling in the maternity ward and may easily grow to a fine maturity. In, the enormous stupidity of the federation executive, who insisted that he go around with each family visitor, passes belief. That demand was made by the man who, when family applications were three or four times heavier than the previous year, demanded the discharge of one stenographer and a reduction of staff. There are lesser enormities practiced in the name of co-operative federation mutual concern for a common good.

One hope of the honest, forward-looking federation executives to avoid being tarred with the same stick, is not only to disown these acts but to make efforts to eliminate the actors. For of such is the richest of nuts for the anti-federalist. However well federations have averaged, the movement is too young to be established and it should be jealous of its good name. It will be needed.

The inherent dangers in a federation are absolutely constant. No matter how well a situation has run in a city, the next month it may go on the rocks if any one of the fundamentals enumerated ceases properly to operate.

A federation and community fund are in accord with the spirit of our times, and that which does not meet the conditions enumerated above, of willingness to see and act on a fairly adequate and considerate basis, better get on that basis or it will perish in competition with live cities, and any social organization that is unwilling to solve its problems as an element of the whole, unwilling to give and to get with the better get on that sane, sound, basis as soon as a sound and equitably managed plan can become a part of its community. Of course, many communities are not ready to federate. Again we have the comparison of the federation to life, wherein conditions and the rapidity of development differ.

What is to be expected from a federation in a city which as a preliminary had made no such organization as a council of social agencies. Prior to its federation, it had had a good social service clearing house and much more than usual cooperation.

The three essential elements of a successful welfare federation are (1) a desire for the part of donors and solicitors; (2) a willingness within the social agencies to act on a community basis; and (3) a federation secretary and staff which says to the agencies, "we" not "you," appreciating that the greatest of all is the servant of the aid, a federation will succeed; as a dictator it will fail. "By their fruits shall ye know them."

How then does the federation affect the constituent agencies in the cities having the successful federations? The answer is about as follows: The advantages are: It secures more money. The objection to centering the main appeal in a few days

each year is that "the drive" will not long succeed. It may not. But for years churches have with increasing success federated their pledging in one day. If concerted effort works in church giving, why not in charity giving? Of course, the educational program should be year round and increasingly it is, both in church and charity. With both, the giving is distributed. It is not correct to speak of giving at one time. You pledge at one time and pay from time to time. It is the function of the agencies and the federation continuously to give the town reason for giving. And that is progressive education. Added to the constituent's board's interest is a new interest on the part of federation trustees in the societies concerning which they must know something.

Second, with a good federation, the interest on the part of the public and of the boards of trustees equals the similar interest in the non-federated agencies. This is in spite of the great sacrifice of educational opportunity afforded to the non-federated society by the special appeal, either printed or written. An offset to the loss of the special appeal is the greater number of subscribers whose hearts follow their pocket-books to the case-work agency. A further offset is the larger number of subscribers to whom it can send its reports and literature and the greater alertness necessary among the organizations' workers to hand pick its friends. If any federation discourages the large case-work agencies from issuing their own reports and newspaper publicity, I believe it is short sighted. Of course, the agency's publicity and the federation's must closely co-ordinate.

Third, there is more publicity because each agency participates in the publicity of the whole, even though its distinctive publicity is restricted as it becomes co-ordinated with the rest. The whole community is more interested in the publicity of each than they were aforetime. The year-round educational program can be more interesting and more effective on a city-wide community basis than on any individual basis.

Fourth, there is better case work because (a) support is assured; (b) thought formerly put on finance can be transferred to case work; and (c) there is a greater willingness on the part of each organization to accept its proper share of the community burden.

Fifth, there is better co-operation because (a) you know one another better; (b) you to some degree feel each a part of the whole; (c) the federation urges the use of the social service clearing house and constantly supports co-operation; and (d) the very fact of a common income commonly secured naturally leads to the idea of co-operation in daily tasks.

Sixth, there is joint social planning for the community as a unit, as a result of which each profits.

Seventh, there is joint auditing, joint buying of certain articles, occasionally joint management of a charity building, and other joint business activities according to the needs of agencies and communities. Of course, any such joint action is not a necessary nor subversive of the human element in each agency, for he who is not a part of the human element to the hope for the dollar misses the point of the federation.

As the greatest benefit to the constituent agency is the benefit from a competent, judicial representative committee. For societies who have been federated for years, there is advantage because they are especially careful in their reason for the faith that is in them that shall be convincing to the board of the budget committee. Moreover, the suggestions and criticisms of a judicial yet sympathetic committee are of advantage to all. For the

which have not previously made careful budgets, the budget committee is of great value. Each year, new members, perhaps one-third, should be added to the committee. Also, it is well for agency board members to be present when budgets are being considered by the committee. There is a rare chance to study the work of a city, and the reasons therefore, the more it is used the better for the city.

With a good federation, the several agencies even more than before think of themselves as members one of another; if any benefits, all rejoice; if any fails, all suffer.

The disadvantages are that: (1) The agency is often submerged in the individuality of the federation. However, if the federation is wise, this need not be so. In fact, the federation often makes an organization more conspicuous as well as stronger than the agency. The ascendancy of an organization may be eclipsed but in union its usefulness is greater. (2) There is further separation of donor from agency. In most cases this is not serious to the agency, for with its equivalent income it has a more intimate knowledge of the donor whose interest is deeper. The loss to the agencies is less than would be expected. (3) Each must bear its share of the criticism justly or unjustly aimed at anyone. (4) A smaller agency may be pauperized by receiving too easy money. It may feel the benefits of the responsibilities of federation membership. Every employee who spends his money should help raise it. It will seem more valuable and the donor will benefit from the donor's intimate knowledge of how his money is used. Both will profit. (5) In the federation, the number of committee and other meetings one must attend, in part offsetting the release from constant soliciting. A federation, to have value and permanency, must be a co-operation between the agencies one with another, and between them and the donors for the public good and the benefit of the community. Such a federation will be a community asset.

Consensus in common for mutually approved budgets is a further expression of the community organization movement. In fact, in some of the most successful cities a federation had its inception in the local Associated Charities and not otherwise as commonly supposed.

Remember that a federation is potentially perilous even as it usually is a financial asset of the constituent agency. And the individual agencies are, in the end, more fundamental to a community than the federation at its best. The agency can and do thrive without a federation, while a federation cannot live without its constituent agencies.

Finally, federation is in accord with the spirit of our times. It can and should be a comfort, and a blessing to its constituents. The sovereign agencies can and do work for and with one another through an intelligent, considerate, envisioning federation. In such a community life is sweeter, purer, more virile.

FROM A FEDERATION SECRETARY'S POINT OF VIEW

M. Bookman, *Executive Secretary, Community Chest of Cincinnati and Hamilton County, Cincinnati*

I will discuss the community organization of social forces in this paper from my point of view as a federation executive secretary. Since my point of view is desired,

I shall naturally select Cincinnati as the community the organization of whose social forces is to be discussed. I make this selection because I happen to know more about the social forces of the community in which I work and how they are organized than I know about the social forces of any other community.

Considerable discussion has been going on for the past few years on the subject of the organization of social forces; generalizations have been made; paper programs have been worked out; and from these generalizations and paper programs communities have attempted to organize or have decided not to organize their social forces. Instead of generalizing in this paper, I shall devote myself to certain concrete things I have experienced as a federation executive, and leave to you very largely to determine whether my experience is applicable to the community in which you are interested.

When I hear discussions on whether or not federations should be established, or whether or not the federation movement is sound, by those who have had no experience in working out a federation, I sometimes think if the critics only knew the difficulties as those of us who have been connected with federations know them, what a wealth of material as a basis for criticism they would possess.

As a federation executive I can point out more difficulties to be overcome in making a federation operate successfully in my community than any critic thus far has been able to see. If you note, I say *difficulties*, not *objections*, for these so-called *objections* very largely become *difficulties* that can be overcome to a reasonable extent, if sufficient tact and common sense are used in meeting them.

Since the discussion is to be largely about Cincinnati and its experience in federation work, perhaps it would be wise to tell you something about our community and its problems, something about the social forces, how they have operated in the past, and how they are now organized.

Cincinnati has a population slightly in excess of four hundred thousand. It is considered a conservative city, somewhat slow to adopt new ideas, but holding fast to the things it is convinced are worth while to the welfare of its people. It has in its population the same types that are to be found in other big cities.

Its social forces a few years ago were organized somewhat as were the social forces in other cities. Its social problems are practically the same as those found in other cities. Some of them perhaps more aggravated, and some of them less so.

Its hundred or more social service organizations were operating largely independently, each one interested in its own particular problem. Among these hundred organizations were to be found some that stood well with the community, others of which the community was scarcely conscious, some under good leadership had secured prominent people to serve on their boards of directors, and were, with this backing, able to stand out prominently on the social service horizon. Others, with appeals that touch the sympathies of our people, were able to secure support, and yet others meeting real social needs were having a precarious existence. No investigation had been made of the community's needs and the extent to which these agencies were meeting those needs. The topography of the social service field showed a few hills, many valleys, and great unexplored fertile districts. No comprehensive community plan for dealing with the social problems had been worked out. There was no general community spirit. Very few people could name offhand a dozen social agencies and tell what they were doing. Some co-operation existed, but a unified social program for the community was not only unheard of; it had never even been dreamed of. I do

not believe there is any need for discussing further conditions that existed in Cincinnati a few years ago, for I presume they were not different to an appreciable extent from conditions in other cities.

Many difficulties confronted those who desired to meet the social needs of our community in a comprehensive way, who attempted to make the community conscious of its ills and to supplant indifference with a determination to correct these ills. They found that it would be necessary to win confidence of the social workers, boards of directors of the social agencies, and the general public. All these groups were somewhat averse to any innovation.

From the very first Mr. Norton and those associated with him laid a firm foundation upon which to build this social service structure. The confidence of the social workers was secured by calling them into conference and giving them an opportunity to help plan the work which finally developed into a community federation. The plans of the social workers called for a democratic form of organization in which each agency would have representation.

A few of the organizations believed that by consolidating their financial interests closer co-operation would result; that the public would become more conscious of the social problems which needed to be solved, and of the agencies that were attempting their solution. They believed that the public, when enlightened, would be willing to contribute the funds which the agencies needed successfully to carry out broader programs.

From this point the effort to gain the confidence of the social workers and the social agencies was tied up very largely to methods of securing the confidence of the public. The Cincinnati Council of Social Agencies as one of its first steps requested the social agencies to conform to a budgetary procedure. The first time, I believe, that a budgetary procedure on a large scale, was introduced into social work. The budgets that were received were open to the inspection of the general public and were discussed in open meeting before and by representatives of the agencies themselves, plus general community representatives.

The Cincinnati Council of Social Agencies believed that through a united financial campaign, stressing at one time and in one comprehensive effort the work being done by the various organizations of the city, the community would become educated to its social problems and its social agencies. For the first time, I believe, an intensive campaign for financing the united social forces of a community was introduced. There are some who have questioned the soundness of the federated plan on the ground that the giver may lose interest in the individual agencies constituting the federation. It has been our experience that not only is the giver's interest in the individual agencies stimulated but he becomes conscious of the need of a unified social service program for the entire community. Those of us on the firing line realized only too soon that the community was becoming conscious of the hundred or more organizations that existed; they questioned the need of so many agencies; they examined the budgets; they demanded to know why certain programs were being carried on and why certain others were not; they wanted to know something about the work of the agencies whose funds they were being asked to contribute. For one reason or other reason, the social worker and social agencies, the boards of directors, joined forces in surveying the needs of the community and in developing programs to meet these needs, in educating the public to understand the need and quately and economically in the solution of these problems.

efforts so that they may be able to have additional funds with which to carry out their campaigns. A better co-ordinated program results.

Quite naturally, each agency does not receive a uniform percentage of the total increase allowed over the previous year. If the proper relationship exists between the separate agencies and the central office, representatives from the agencies will cap their percentage of increase with the executive secretary. Furthermore, these current allotments should then be discussed quite frankly in budget meetings. By comparing the budgets in functional groups such as health, recreation, etc., the proper apportionment of amounts to individual agencies can be made without criticism on the part of those who do not receive so liberal an increase as others may receive. This year the budgets of the Cincinnati agencies, before being presented to the budget committee, were considered at full meetings of the boards of directors. The budgets were signed by the individual members of the boards of directors. Those signatures were not put on only that the ones signing approved of the budget, but that they were willing to report on it in raising it. This eventuated in more interest on the part of the board members; they in more careful formulation of budgets.

The criticism has been raised that certain givers who are well able to give are not carrying their just share of the community responsibility. Some of those who have given in large amounts have stated that they will not continue to give in such large amounts unless everyone able to give is bearing his just share. This was met by assigning to the liberal givers for solicitation those who were not giving in liberal amounts. It was placed upon these liberal givers the task of educating their fellow-citizens to a sense of community responsibility.

We have passed out of a period of reaction against community chest campaigns. However, some are still looking to the time when the pledges will be annual and the payments to be made upon the presentation of statements. Most of the community chest, however, has accepted the campaign as not only necessary each year for its own reasons, but also as offering an opportunity to develop still further a spirit of fraternal fellowship and good will among all citizens. Most certainly the successful completion of our last community chest campaign in the face of bad business conditions has been of lasting good to our community. It had a definitely favorable effect upon the attitude of mind of the business man. The sixty thousand contributors who have given one and three-quarter million dollars gave it gladly and willingly, gave it in association with such as we have never had in any previous campaign, not excepting even the earlier campaigns.

So much for the general principles which we are following in the organization of the social forces of Cincinnati. May I in conclusion summarize very briefly the concrete results that have been achieved here.

The Community Chest has been established as an accepted part of the life of our city, with a practically permanent organization of twenty-five thousand chairmen and six thousand workers. The Council of Social Agencies is a department of the Community Chest responsible for the local social service work and the administration of the Chest in all local budgetary matters. The social agencies with few exceptions are now members of the Council of Social Agencies and participate in the community chest campaigns. All types of citizens are connected with the movement. Catholics, Catholic, and Protestant, white and black, laborer and capitalist, rich and poor, and do stand on the common platform of human helpfulness. The amount raised in

sign was one and three-quarter million dollars. The number of contributors was sixty thousand, practically all of whom are individual contributors and not through group pressure. Six thousand, two hundred and thirty-seven contributed in the last campaign. During 1920 Cincinnati's citizens contributed \$1,000,000 to social service work. From the balance of the previous year and the funds \$650,000 was given to foreign relief. During this same period of a million dollars was raised for building programs by the charitable organizations of our city through their own efforts coupled with the active co-operation of the city office. The cost of collection and of administration in the Community Chest is between 2 and 2½ per cent of the fund distributed.

On the social service side, time will permit but a few illustrations. The family welfare workers have become the agents of all social agencies. They follow up discharges from Longview Asylum; they assist in placing handicapped workers; they care for children needing institutional care and needing placing out in boarding homes; they investigate cases for the Juvenile Court; they visit the homes of children neglected or malnourished by school authorities; in short, they are part and parcel of all social agencies, both public and private.

The Associated Charities has become a true family-welfare society. Last year 90 per cent of its clients were purely social service cases needing not one cent of relief. The budget has been so adjusted as to permit of adequate relief in all relief cases. During the past few years the budget of the Associated Charities, for instance, has increased from \$25,000 to \$150,000.

Agencies interested in boarding-home work have formed a joint committee of representatives of these agencies. They employed workers to supervise the selection of children, the bills being paid by the agencies recommending the child, either from the city funds or from funds the agencies are able to collect in the case in question. In the public health field we have a well-organized public-health federation which coordinates the work of the general health agencies of the community, public and private, and does pieces of work that could not be done by any existing health agency. Health stations scattered throughout the city, drawing upon the resources of the general hospital and the private hospitals. With the nurses from the Board of Health, from the Visiting Nurse Association, and from the Babies' Milk Fund constantly on the job, I feel that I am not overestimating when I say that during the past twelve months there was no need for any person, old or young, to go to a doctor for medical assistance. The death-rate in our city in 1920 was the lowest in the history of the city. For the first three months of the present year it was lower than for the corresponding period of last year.

In the past year recreational programs have been introduced into the institution. The leisure time of men, women, and children has been employed in a program which affords recreational facilities in the general recreational program of public parks, and playgrounds. This program has been carried out in co-operation of those responsible for the various recreational facilities of our city.

With the sensible application of the principles of psychology, our community has made tremendous strides forward in the methods of discovering and dealing with delinquency. The group tests of the Vocation Bureau, which is supported by the public-school system and the Council of Social Agencies, have passed

the experimental stage and are well on the way toward giving us a complete picture of the mental status of the school children. The Court of Domestic Relations is using this bureau to determine the mental status of its wards. The municipal courts have been using the psychometric tests with increasing success and enthusiasm. At the present time the National Mental Hygiene Association is making an extensive survey of our local situation as it applies to the feeble-minded problem.

These are but a few illustrations of the work that is being done in our city—work which convinces the community that worth-while progress is being made. The social workers believe in the federated plan of organizing the social forces in our community; the giving public believes in the plan. All of them realize that but a beginning has been made, all are open minded, ready to change methods when better ones are suggested. Until better methods are suggested, so far as Cincinnati is concerned the almost unanimous verdict is expressed in the slogan adopted for the recent campaign: "We believe in the Community Chest."

ENDOWMENTS: HOW TO LEAVE WISELY \$25,000 TO \$1,000,000

Hastings H. Hart, LL.D., Director, Department of Child Helping, Russell Sage Foundation, New York

The writer of this paper is not a volunteer. He was drafted into the service by Chairman Otto W. Davis, who is a compelling man, and the subject was assigned to him by the chairman. The assignment was accepted with cheerfulness, however. It is a wonderfully pleasant task to advise other people how to spend their money when you have no responsibility. It produces a sensation of virtuous philanthropy almost as great as if one were about to give away his own money.

We social critics get a great deal of enjoyment in discovering the failure of kindly disposed millionaires in their efforts to make a good use of their accumulated wealth, and we recount the discouraging mistakes of Benjamin Franklin, with his loan fund for well-behaved apprentices; Mayor Bryan Mullanphy of St. Louis, with his fund for the assistance of "emigrants coming to the city of St. Louis *bona fide* to set up a home in the west"; Carson and Ellis of Philadelphia with their eight millions of bequests which are being used for 125 children; Frederick Weissner of Baltimore whose home for children stood empty for years because of the restrictive provisions in his will; or of Levi Eaton who memorialized his bitter memory of a jilting sweetheart by providing in his will for a children's home with the stipulation that "no women shall be employed or allowed in the home."

It would be easy to fill this paper with accounts of the foolish and pathetic mistakes of will-makers, but we will be content with one more illustration: that of the woman of Pennsylvania who left an estate and \$100,000 "to establish a home for superannuated Presbyterian clergymen above the age of seventy who do not use tobacco." The trustees construed the will to mean that no woman could be admitted, so that a married applicant must desert his wife in order to get in. When, at the end of twenty years the heirs asked to have the estate given to them because the home was needless, the trustees joined them. They said: "We have been running this institution for twenty years. During that time we have had twenty-one inmates of whom fifteen I left, five have died, and one remains, and we respectfully ask to be relieved of the tru

: "Not so, gentlemen. I will relieve you of the tobacco condition. I find nothing in the will to prevent you from receiving the residue, and if you have any residue at the end of the year you may distribute it among the clergymen in their own homes."

Study of the subject, however, tempered the cheerfulness with which he was taken, and the confidence with which the failures of testators were excused. The writer recalled a conversation with a great manufacturer who, counted with tears in his eyes his disappointments in trying to do good; and he recalled the fact that Joseph Perkins, a banker in Cleveland, a member of the Ohio Board of State Charities and was counted among the great philanthropists of his generation, once asked Secretary A. G. Rehn to tell him how to give away \$50,000 and be sure that it is going to do good, with thirty years of study and experience, asked time to consider the question.

Cleveland banker once said: "I could buy a thousand horses in a week, but I could not sell one in a week." That expresses pretty fairly the attitude of the rich men who find it much easier to accumulate wealth than to give it away.

The question of how to give away money must be met and is constantly being met in all parts of the country, wisely or unwisely.

SPIRIT OF THE DONOR

An important requisite to wise giving is the spirit of the donor. It makes no difference whether the giver is seeking simply to serve his day and generation, or to build a monument for himself, or to gratify personal ambition.

PRELIMINARY STUDY

Study of an estate, acquired by many years of incessant labor and embodying an immense potency for possible good or evil, is a matter of great importance, and a conscientious giver will apply to it all of the acumen and energy he has acquired in active business. He will speedily discover his lack of knowledge in a new and technical undertaking and, if he is wise, he will seek the aid of specialists.

He will employ a lawyer, experienced in disposing of estates and genuinely sympathetic in intention to apply his wealth to worthy purposes. Many donors are inclined to accomplish their purpose for lack of competent legal advice. They will also seek the advice of competent experts in the fields to which he wishes to give: social betterment, civics, education, science, missions, Zionism, or other. Such advisors should be chosen with reference to their breadth of knowledge and unimpaired impartiality. Intense partisans or propaganda for special causes are not desirable.

PRESENT OR FUTURE GIFTS

Should the gift be for immediate use, during the life of the donor, or to make all the income be distributed after his death? It appears rational to set a portion of the income to be distributed without delay. Through experience in practical administration the donor will gain wisdom for the ultimate distribution of his remaining estate.

GIFTS FOR SUPPORT OF CURRENT WORK

Conscientious people with large incomes should consider whether they are carrying their fair share of the current expenses of philanthropic, social, and religious work. At different times the writer has had occasion to analyze the contributions for the support of three different churches: one in Minnesota, one in Illinois, and one in New York. The contributions of wealthy members for building enterprises and endowments were usually much larger in proportion than those of people with smaller incomes; but the same thing was not true of contributions for current expenses. It appears to be manifest that, as a rule, the person with a large income can afford to devote a greater portion of it to the public benefit than can a person with a smaller income, because he has a larger surplus.

This principle is recognized by the government in assessing income taxes where the percentage of the income tax increases with the size of the income.

In every case, however, it was found that the people with smaller incomes not only paid more for the support of the church in proportion to their ability, but they actually paid more in proportion to their income. Similar conditions are found in the support of the philanthropic agencies of the community.

ONE OR SEVERAL OBJECTS

Some givers concentrate all of their money upon a single object. There is a strong temptation to do this when the monumental idea is prominent; but most givers wisely distribute their gifts to a diversity of objects. A large-minded man desires to have a share in different branches of educational, social, and religious activities. Moreover, if he concentrates his gifts upon a single object, there is always a possibility of a mortifying failure like that of Clayton College at Denver where, through miscalculation, an investment of more than two millions is serving only about sixty boys. The will of Mrs. Russell Sage, which is recognized as one of great wisdom, distributed her great estate among fifty different objects, including schools, colleges, hospitals, missionary societies, social agencies, and scientific institutions.

We need to emphasize the importance of a recognition by large givers of their obligation to the world at large. One of the compensations of the world-war was the sense of responsibility which it awakened toward distant peoples and nations of whom we had hardly heard before; and one of the disappointments following the war is the partial subsidence of this wave of interest. Too many people today are re-echoing the cynical question of the railroad magnate of forty years ago: "What have we to do with abroad?"

RESTRICTIONS

The correspondents who have been consulted with reference to this subject sound a general alarm against the danger of imposing unnecessary restrictions upon the use of gifts and bequests for public purposes, first, because such restrictions are often intrinsically unwise; and second, because with the lapse of time and the change of conditions, restrictions that were originally proper and reasonable subsequently become and obstacle to the realization of the purposes contemplated by the donor.

Dr. Edward R. Embree, secretary of the Rockefeller Foundation, writes:

There has seemed to us advantage in leaving the custodians of funds as untrammelled as possible in the administration of the resources for the needs of succeeding generations, as these may develop in the future. My experience in university administration indicated to me the danger of tying with too many stipulations the uses of permanent endowments.

Homer Folks, secretary of the State Charities Aid Association in New

years ago two separate bequests became available in Philadelphia, amounting to over each bequest was for the establishment of a home for orphan girls with rather narrow restrictions as to the class of girls who might be admitted. Close analysis of the situation there are not enough orphan girls, even if they should be removed from all existing institutions for their maintenance the income available.

Frederick L. Lattimore of New York City related the following incident:

Frederick Weissner of Baltimore made a will some ten or twelve years ago creating an orphanage. So restricted is this will that "although the neat little beds have stood ready, and although there has been at hand for a number of years, the institution has never had a single inmate." The will was "establishing and maintaining an asylum for white orphan children whose parents are dead and leave them unprovided for in the twelfth and fourteenth districts of Baltimore County and bound." Either there are no orphans in the twelfth and fourteenth districts, or the orphans are too well off to utilize Mr. Weissner's provisions.

M. Beardsley, Esq., ex-president of the National Congregational Council, writes:

"One cannot look far enough ahead and be quite sure that a suggestion he makes will work out well. It is not that to make too many restrictions is bad just because one cannot know the future. It is that restrictions made a quarter or half a century ago would be unwise now. In giving advice along this line I have always suggested to them that it would be better to trust to the judgment of those who are to handle the estate . . . in the future than to try to anticipate the conditions of the future."

ADMINISTRATION

The administration of such gifts may be conducted by the donor himself, during his life, or by a board of trustees, or a foundation created by him. The gift may be administered by a bank or a trust company under such conditions as the donor may prescribe. The gift may be administered by the trustees of the benefited institution under prescribed conditions or at their discretion. Robert W. DeForest, president of the New York Charity Organization Society, the Russell Sage Foundation, and the Metropolitan Museum, writes:

"An intelligent testator who wishes to leave any considerable sum for public purposes will first ask whether any existing institution which he trusts can carry out his intent. If so, he will leave his gift to that institution, and, unless he clearly wishes to restrict the use of that money either as to interest or to some particular use, will leave it to be applied by the trustees of that institution in their discretion. We must trust somebody to carry out our general intent and as we cannot foresee future conditions we must give discretion to those we trust to use their best judgment."

COMMUNITY TRUSTS

The administration of gifts may be committed to a general community trust such as the Cleveland Foundation, the New York Community Trust, and some forty other community trusts which have been established within the past seven years. The Cleveland Foundation has accumulated more than \$100,000,000 in income and prospective funds, and the plan has proved so popular that within seven years forty similar community trusts have been established in the United States. In the city of New York there has been established the New York Community Trust, in which some nineteen trusts companies, national and state banks are now

acting as trustees. Mr. Frank J. Parsons, acting director of the New York Trust, in a recent paper, describes it as follows:

Quoting from the resolution and declaration of trust, the New York Community Trust to "encourage and promote the well-being of mankind, and *primarily of the inhabitants comprising the city of New York and its vicinity*, regardless of race, color, or creed. . . ."

Its principal elements are: the banks and trust companies who act as trustees; the committee of distribution which, in the last analysis, controls the distribution of income; and the trustees, who, under the control of the committee of distribution and the trustees, has charge of the actual affairs of the trust.

I would state the principal advantages of making gifts through the community trust: first, security of principal and flexibility in the use to which the income may be put, preventing the loss of the charitable gift; second, the general stimulus in charitable giving by reason of confidence and the accumulation of a common fund from undesignated gifts from people of both means.

CRITICISMS OF THE COMMUNITY TRUST PLAN

The popularity of this new plan is sufficiently attested by its rapid growth in seven years' time from Cleveland to forty other cities; but on the other hand, criticisms are being raised and criticisms offered by many people experienced in the administration of benevolent gifts, chiefly for two reasons: first, the tendency to be influenced by economic considerations and, second, the danger that the community trust may concentrate its resources upon local enterprises to the neglect of the interests of the community at large, both at home and abroad.

Rev. Alfred W. Anthony, D.D., Secretary of the Home Missionary Society, New York City, writes:

The community trust attempts to show people how to do good in their own cities. It undertakes to safeguard donations and bequests from uncertainty and waste in the future, which have arisen which the donor or testator did not foresee. . . . These objects are good but there is a very real danger that the term 'community' may be employed in a too narrow sense, and may overlook and neglect the greater needs of humanity which may not be just at hand.

The term "community" if restricted to the idea of the immediate locality (village, or town, or city) in which a man lives, is too limited an idea to supply adequate objectives and channels for the many considered benevolences."

THE UNIFORM TRUST FOR PUBLIC USES

In view of the wide spread feeling indicated in the foregoing community trusts, Daniel S. Remsen, Esq., of the New York Bar, has worked out a plan for a series of "uniform trusts for public uses in a form designed to extend to all national, state, and religious charities the full benefit now accorded to local secular charities by the numerous community trusts and foundations already established in the principal cities of the United States." Mr. Remsen says:

For general charitable trusteeships, however, the trust company or bank having general powers is the logical trustee. . . . The cause of litigation . . . has not in general been the failure of such trusts, but rather the lack of skill with which particular trusts have been prepared. . . .

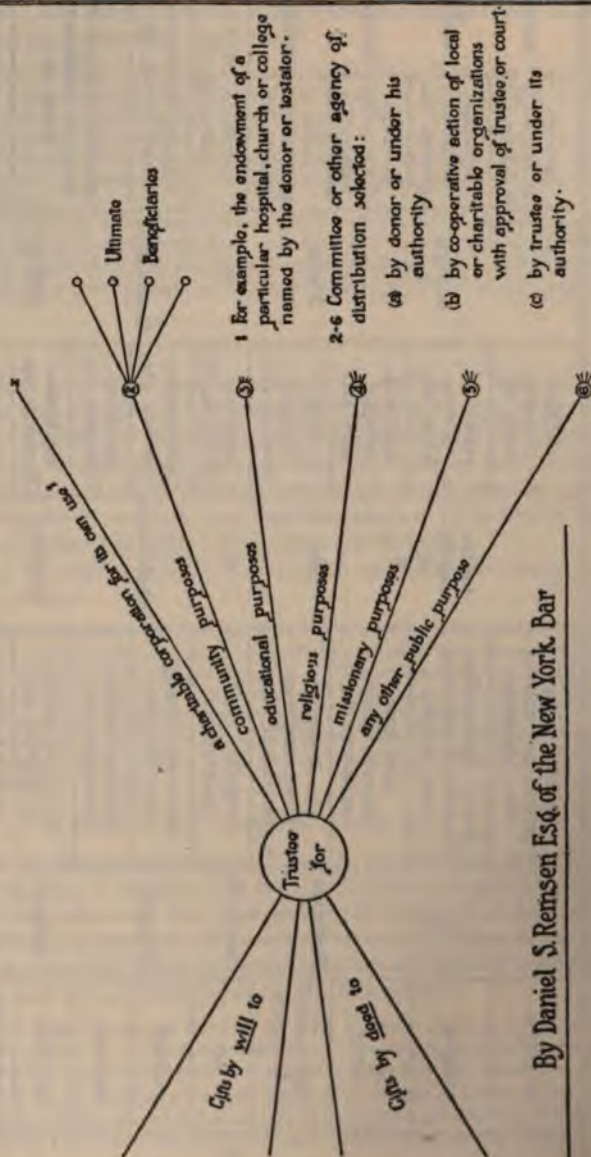
If the giver shall wisely select and clearly state his charitable purpose, it will be carried out; on the other hand he shall unwisely select or badly state his charitable purpose, powers will exist in the courts, enforceable by court, to correct such faults and to so apply available funds as most nearly to carry out his wishes."

The two charts which follow, furnished by the courtesy of Mr. Remsen, show in graphic form his proposition.

a	religion	or a	for the benefit of a	persons of various faiths, etc.	through a	pensions religious agencies, etc.	and
General	relief of needy	Particular	Class	aged, sick crippled poor, etc.	Means	hospitals dispensaries homes, etc.	foreign
Charitable	health and public morals	Charitable	of	youth students workers, etc.	of	parks gymnasiums lectures, etc.	missions
Purpose	art	Purpose	Beneficiaries	sculptors musicians, etc.	Benefaction	pensions, prizes patronage, etc.	
	science			astronomers chemists, etc.		schools, laboratories observatories, etc.	
	research			physicians biologists, etc.		annuities, laboratories funds for experiment prizes, etc.	
such as	invention	such as	such as	mechanics inventors, etc.	such as	honors, monuments prizes, annuities Boy Scouts, etc.	
	statesmanship good government			statesmen students writers, etc.		etc.	
	etc.			etc.			

Any of the foregoing purposes may be accomplished either by gift absolute or by a gift in trust to apply or pay over income. Which is better depends upon circumstances and the plans of the person making the gift. In any case before deciding upon the form of the gift the public benefactor should consider the advantages of the "Uniform Trust for Public Uses."

UNIFORM TRUST FOR PUBLIC USES IN OPERATION



By Daniel S. Remsen Esq. of the New York Bar

DISCUSSION

Robert W. Kelso, Executive Secretary, Council of Social Agencies, Boston

interesting of Doctor Hart's suggestions, for me, is that in which he warns against fixing single stroke of the pen, the object and mode of giving a trust fund. During the hundred years of Benjamin Franklin was to accumulate, the young artisan apprentice ceased to be helped. Just as surely will time change the conditions in which every other gift is applied. The ideal way to establish charitable trusts is to give them into permanent, re-tered hands, leaving to such fiduciaries and their successors a large measure of discretion in disbursement. Social service is an extra-hazardous occupation. As such it requires a the application of testamentary trusts therefore should be left to the sound judgment who actually have it in charge.

the same reason that no donor—and this is the second point I wish to make—should give the social program for the community in question is apparent at least in outline. Some of gentlemen submitted to me this question: "We are trustees under a will. A residuary total approximately \$350,000 is left to charitable uses generally. The particular application as trustees. We feel obliged to make the application of the trust in some form a memorial by his name, which will require that the principal be kept intact; but are not otherwise to advise us what is the best application we can make of this trust, in view of the needs of the city and the best standards of social work?"

I asked the same question of the 165 agencies comprising the Boston Council. Down to the conference, the following suggestions had come in: a home for aged colored people; institutional or otherwise, for chronics and incurables; a fund to be invested, the income to be applied for general relief purposes directly or through other charities within the discretion of the trustees; of \$65,000 to a social agency now in existence, no suggestion as to the application of the establishment of a social center in the South End of Boston as an outgrowth of settlement work; the further development of an existing dispensary; a preventorium for children in existing tuberculosis camp work; the standardization and conduct of public health work between infancy and school age, the same to be an extension of existing nursing and hygiene work; the purchase of property as a gift to an existing social agency, in order to permit closer physical contact of a group of agencies; the establishment of a fund, the income to be applied to general relief for children, the plan to involve the co-ordination of service now being rendered by an number of agencies; the establishment of a series of similar tenement quarters in various parts of the city for aged men, women, and couples, who would otherwise go to the almshouse, could be given under supervision of a selected caretaker and expenses beyond their ability to pay met out of the fund; training, placement, and incidental relief of handicapped persons; a provident loan fund to be applied to tide families over crises without removing from their shoulders the responsibility for their own support; the development of an institution with some hospital facilities for care of convalescents; the construction and maintenance of a building to be held and used as quarters for a group of social agencies; the construction of a memorial building as a part of an existing boys' school.

The point is that a donor should be large-minded enough to give where the social program is most needed. In my city the chronic sick are sadly neglected. It is not a popular charity. No doubt, would turn his benevolences toward the care of the helpless, hopeless, and often forgotten, if he could see the field of need and the social service equipment for meeting it all in the

city who have property which they are willing to turn to community service would give, therefore the need is demonstrated through rational study of community needs; if they would give where the need is greatest; and finally, if they would give in trust at the discretion of persons wiser than we are present and dealing with the problem—then we should have taken a long stride toward the social service of which we dream.

THE COMMUNITY TRUST

Raymond Moley, Director, the Cleveland Foundation

Understanding of the question for discussion today is: What shall be the decision of the person who has from \$25,000 to \$1,000,000 to leave for charitable purposes? The questions presented by Mr. Norton and myself are to present the advantages of

the two kinds of charitable organizations which would naturally suggest such a giver—the welfare federation or union and the community trust.

It would be somewhat unfortunate if this discussion should convey the impression that these two comparatively new forms of social effort are to be in competition with each other or that they should ever go beyond merely working side by side in the field of social work. Their purposes are different without being antagonistic and their fields of action more or less independent of each other. The close of this paper to show how they can in the future co-operate in a very real way.

The community trust has from the beginning appealed particularly to the small fortune-giver—that is, as fortunes go, the person with less than a million dollars. It appeals to the person of charity, as well as the more (or less) fortunate person with more than a million dollars. There should not expect therefore that if welfare federations seriously go after the large fortune there could be a line of demarkation at \$1,000,000 between the two claims. The community trust is most definitely appealing to the small fortune as well as the large and will without doubt continue to do so.

Two important considerations which largely contribute to the development of the community trust and which have arrested the attention of practical workers everywhere are (a) the danger of the "dead hand" in charitable giving; (b) the economy and utility of combining many gifts in a single unit dedicated to the improvement of social conditions in a single community.

The first community trust was the Cleveland Foundation established by a resolution passed by the board of directors of the Cleveland Trust Company. The resolution was formulated and submitted by F. H. Goff, president of the Cleveland Trust Company, formerly an attorney of broad experience.

The aim of the Cleveland Foundation is, in the words of the resolution, "to provide a means of distributing funds for 'assisting charitable and educational institutions, whether supported by private donations or public taxation; for education, scientific research; for care of the sick, aged, or helpless; to improve the conditions or provide recreation for all classes; and for such other charitable purposes as will best make for the mental, moral, and physical improvement of the people of the city of Cleveland, regardless of race, color, or creed.'"

Property given for this purpose is administered by the Cleveland Trust Company, which is officially designated the trustee of the Cleveland Foundation. The company may receive "gifts, devises, and bequests" for the purposes enumerated. The gifts thus received are administered as a single trust, when the income becomes available for the use of the foundation.

The income from this trust (and in certain cases the principal) is expended in accordance with the directions of a committee of five members chosen as follows: one by the mayor of the city of Cleveland; one by the senior or presiding judge of the United States District Court for the Northern District of Ohio; one by the Probate Court of the city of Cleveland; one by the Board of Education; and one by the Board of Public Health.

favorable reception which the formation of the Cleveland Foundation received from the thousands of people who were interested in social work of various kinds and the formation of a great number of similar foundations in other cities attest the development of the community trust idea is one of the most significant advances to social service which has been made in a generation. The latest reports state that about forty similar foundations have been established in various cities in the United States and there seems to be increasing interest in the

the landmarks in this development has been the formation of the New York Community Trust with provision for multiple trusteeship. Most of the great trusts of New York are included in this new scheme which simply means that the giving wealth for posterity may select as his trustee any trust company he wishes and that the responsibility for the financial management of his estate may be placed in his own trust company while the distribution of the income thereof will be made by a community distributing committee. A few cities have recently adopted the plan. Among these is the Buffalo Foundation which now includes all of the companies of Erie County.

A fact which is most pertinent to this discussion is that there has been very little change from the form of organization originating in Cleveland under which a major-distributing committee are appointed by public officials who themselves are responsible to the community at large. There are one or two exceptions to this, notably the New York Community Trust which has eleven members on its distributing committee, not all of whom are responsible to public officials but some of whom are representatives of such organizations as the New York Bar Association, the Brooklyn Museum of Arts and Sciences, and a number of similar non-official bodies. In practically every other case the Cleveland plan has been followed.

Four of the community foundations have yet been able to accomplish any significant results in the field of social service. These are the Buffalo, Chicago, and Cleveland Foundations, and the Boston Permanent Charity Fund. The Boston Permanent Charity Fund has an income of about \$200,000 and practically all of this is distributed to charitable organizations of the city, after examination of their needs by the Boston Charity Fund authorities. This is an example of a fund which is spent in direct distribution among existing social agencies. The Cleveland Foundation has, since its inception followed the plan of expending its limited income in social service in the more important examples of which are the education survey, the recreation survey, a short survey of relief agencies, and a number of enterprises which are now being carried on, including the publication annually of a yearbook detailing community activities in narrative form, the publication of the *Directory of Community Activities* formerly published by the Welfare Federation and before that by the Associated Charities, the publication of a study of teachers' training, and, finally, a survey of the administration of justice in Cleveland, which is probably the most comprehensive investigation in the field of the administration of criminal law yet undertaken in the United States. The Buffalo Foundation has entered a slightly more restricted field but has followed in the same general direction. It has published the *Social Service Directory* for the county and is now co-operating heartily in a movement to co-ordinate the welfare agencies of the city, the director of the foundation acting as the secretary of a sort of council of social agencies. The Chicago Foundation has published a summary of the Americanization situation in Chicago and has assisted in bringing

public officials with powers of visitation and the requirement of complete audit, is a more comprehensive and perfect plan for protecting the public has yet been devised by a welfare federation. The Cleveland Foundation can be inspected at any time by the law director of the city while the foundation is compelled to publish yearly a complete audit of its receipts and disbursements. Of continuing the comparison, I find no city where the public appoints even a considerable minority of the governing board of a community foundation. The present division seems to be largely between agency and contributor, with a small representation through public officials or individuals selected by the public.

The co-operation which can exist between foundation and federation is shown by the results of the Cleveland Recreation Survey. Closely following the results of the Recreation Survey, the Welfare Federation was asked to head the forces of Cleveland through the formation of a Recreation Council. Through close co-operation between the Cleveland Foundation and the Welfare Federation, an organization was brought into being and Rowland Haynes was brought to direct it. The foundation thereupon withdrew from the field entirely. The Recreation Council as a part of the Welfare Federation, the place which it belongs. Such initiation and promotion the foundation can everywhere leave, leaving everything that suggests maintenance to the federations.

After all, the maintenance of social agencies from year to year is the task which federations can perform. Yearly drives instead of being dreaded should be welcomed as opportunities to educate the public in the problems and responsibilities the solution of which can come only when the public is thoroughly educated by that sure process of paying regularly for its own maintenance.

THE CENTRAL COUNCIL OF SOCIAL AGENCIES—A ACCOMPLISHMENTS

*Francis H. McLean, Field Director, American Association for Organizing
Social Work, New York City*

Broadly speaking, a central council may conceivably function in two different ways. These may be catalogued as follows:

often associated in the minds of givers with paying for the pleasure of people entirely able to pay for their own recreation. Art galleries, museums, educational projects of every character can be supported by community trusts without public criticism and with a maximum flexibility of management.

5. Experimental charities of various kinds can be supported by community trusts. Enterprises which it may be necessary to support for a long period of years before there can be any returns, but which, if successful, might revolutionize the treatment of certain diseases or the management of certain social problems to such an extent as to make unnecessary many very commonly supported existing charities. In cases like this the community trust can withdraw support when the effort or experiment proves unsuccessful, and no public criticism need be feared because of the failure. With the more common agencies results must be produced every year in order that the public may be induced to continue its support. When we consider that much of the progress of the future depends upon pioneer work of an experimental nature, it will be seen that we must make provision to place such work upon such a basis as will permit its prosecution without fear of failure.

6. A community foundation may even enter upon the more remote fields of preventive social work. There may be some question as to whether such subjects as stabilizing employment or cost of living investigation can be lawfully conducted under the term of charity. But it is quite obvious that enterprises of this sort which border upon the verge of political and economic questions can be more nearly approached by the community trust than by any other local charitable agency. The fact that the Cleveland Foundation has entered into and successfully prosecuted a study of the administration of penal justice, in which operation of courts, the police and penal institutions have been brought under study, indicates the scope of activity which the community trust will permit.

7. The community trust can undertake its work free from the distraction which all growing concerns have in meeting current needs. The group of minds which is faced with the needs of meeting a current responsibility, with the constant distractions attendant upon supplying the requirements of social agencies, is rather a poor instrument to use in the thoughtful, contemplative process of thinking through social problems of great importance. Marshal Foch has said that he "won the Great War smoking a pipe," which is another way of saying that, freed from the responsibility of supplying the needs of an army, he was able to determine upon the strategy necessary to direct many individual efforts to a single purpose. It is this sort of strategy-determining agency that a community trust can become—an agency which can in large measure be relieved of worrying about its own existence.

8. I believe that no advantage is more important than that the giver of a fund of money for charitable purposes be reasonably assured before his death of the permanence of the organization or the kind of organization which will administer the income from his bequest. Of course no one can read the future but we must take into consideration the present state of charitable organizations. The question that at the present moment the most standardized form of a charitable organization is the community trust. Of the forty-odd foundations which have been established since the Cleveland Foundation in 1914, not over three or four have departed from the respect from the form of organization provided in Cleveland. It is therefore probable that a form of organization in which a majority of a distribution

DEVELOPMENT OF NEW ACTIVITIES BY THE COUNCIL ITSELF

There can be no question of the success of the councils in the logical and necessary development of the field by the initiation through its immediate activities as required and as soon as the community may support them.

In Columbus the council was officially and entirely responsible for the development in the following eight activities: general registration bureau; shelter in the parks and supervision of recreation; medical inspection of schools; Bureau of Social Service in the Chamber of Commerce; Bureau of Social Service in the City of Public Efficiency; Children's Free Dental Clinic, raising, indeed, the money for it; Citizens Committee of Juvenile Court; the re-organization of the council itself into the present Council of Social Agencies.

Furthermore it has participated in the inauguration of a series of activities which have filled in the gaps in its original social chart of activities and has gone beyond in connection with other activities. It has been the center of development in a remarkable decade of growth. On the social chart prepared by the council in 1911 there were fifty gaps listed in the social needs of the community. A recent examination indicated that these gaps had been filled and to some degree progressed beyond what would be recognized as very sound lines. Thus in the correction there is now to be found the public defender in addition to the satisfaction of the needs listed in 1911. A Psychological Clinic and a State Bureau of Juvenile Research are to be found in the field of defectives or near-defectives, not thought of in 1911. In only one field, that of temporary homes for adults, does there appear to be a gap apparent which is not along the logical lines fixed by the council. There is a need for a municipal lodging house which was then suggested, but there is an increase of such institutions, two, however, because of the colored immigration.

Through all this development the direct or moral influence of the council is felt where its influence may have ended, that of agencies created through its efforts has begun; as for example, the Social Service Bureau of the Chamber of Commerce and the Social Service Branch of the Ohio Bureau of Public Efficiency.

The Milwaukee Council reports that following the recommendations of its various committees, the following eight new activities were established: Legal Aid Bureau; Juvenile Protective Association; Centralized Budget; Milwaukee Urban League; Department of Summer Outings in Big Brothers and Big Sisters organization; Social Service; venereal and psychopathic clinics; increase in boarding houses for working girls.

REORGANIZATION OF OLD AGENCIES

In St. Louis reorganization has been effected in a number of instances, in connection with the clearing up of a bad mess in the rescue home field and the establishment of an agency which replaced the others, and in turning a colored orphanage into a semi-placing-out agency under a trained case worker.

The Columbus Council was largely responsible for the reorganization of the Employment Bureau into the City State Free Employment Bureau. It also led the war-time campaigns for the Red Cross and assumed definite leadership in the war-time activities. It also broadened the scope of work of two settlement houses to neighborhood representation.

In Milwaukee the chief feat of the council was the very radical reorganization of the family social work society into an agency which was fairly adequate for its

is an absurdity. Also it reorganized the Registration Bureau and has been for the reshaping of an agency for boys' work which was most unsatisfactory. The most important reorganization under central council auspices, apart from Associated Charities in Milwaukee, occurred in Minneapolis in the pre-war period. The Humane Society did work for both animals and children and there was also a Protective Association interested in community problems affecting children. The delicate handling of some touchy people, including some heavy contributors, and the saving of some sources of revenue, these two societies were combined into the Protective League with a trained worker. A new animal society, the Animal League, was established which attracted far more attention to animal work than the old Humane Society ever did.

ABANDONMENT OR COMBINATION OF ANY AGENCIES UNNECESSARY OR SUPERFLUOUS OR INEFFICIENT

St. Louis has anything definite to report on this subject. It has forced the abandonment of an expensive lodging house for men under semi-council auspices, against great odds after the survey had been made. It has forced out of St. Louis a children's home, a settlement. It has been making an effort to eliminate another children's institution and a rescue home which did not fit the reorganization previously mentioned.

DEVELOPMENT AND INTENSIVE DEVELOPMENT OF CO-OPERATIVE RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN AGENCIES

In Milwaukee reports next to the exchange, the case conferences of case-working which previously considered closed cases but this year is taking up open ones. It has led not only to better understanding but better work and is reflected for in the fact that one agency has improved its records because it had so little to do when the other agencies were offering so much.

There have also been the South Side and Central Field Workers' conferences for workers, case and otherwise, in those particular parts of the city.

Boys' Workers' conferences and the Girls' Workers' conferences, Special Conferences organized by the council, have had a remarkable career. The Boys' workers have been infinitely considered together the further development of work for boys and the ability of each agency. The Girls' Workers' Conference has been similarly a common program. The Medical Social Service Conference, a newer group, should also be noted.

In St. Louis the years which have been devoted to the establishment of standards, the survey which followed, and the various considerations of different parts of the city since it was made, have left their impressive mark upon intensive relationships and developments. To this I myself wish to bear testimony, for I knew St. Louis had a council and in the years since. This does not mean that all have been but it does mean a field practically transformed in its methods of working and in its understanding of contacts.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF STANDARDS OF WORK

The only way in which the sum-total of the results definitely accruing as to the efficiency of agencies in St. Louis upon the basis of the standards established by the Council of the council may be accurately gauged is in a checking-up on each one of

11. A case conference of family, health, and other agencies to deal with immediate case problems in which difficulties between agencies have arisen.

12. This is only the beginning in carrying out recommendations which so far have been accepted *in toto* and in good faith by all the agencies with the possible exception of one.

PUBLIC DEPARTMENTS, PROGRAMS OF LEGISLATION, AND SPECIFIC ACTIVITIES OF COUNCIL

We have not space to discuss the activities of councils in these directions and presume that no conceivable question could arise as to their functioning in these directions. The Columbus and Milwaukee councils particularly have functioned notably with reference to developments in public departments and programs of legislation.

REVIEW OF INDIVIDUAL BUDGETS

Though this has been suggested as the part of the program of most central councils which have been organized I can find that no central council has attempted anything in this direction. I believe it is a perfectly possible thing, but this paper is dealing with actualities not beliefs. The secretary of the Wichita Council, newly organized, informs me a committee will be organized in the fall.

I have just heard that at a meeting held on June 17 of the re-organized Chicago Council, the new president announced that budget considerations and help in publicity should be part of the program.

AGENCIES TO DO THE RIGHT KIND OF PUBLICITY

With the exception of a series of special meetings followed by the issuance of a pamphlet on *Publicity Methods* by the Chicago Council, I can find no particular developments along this line.

DISCUSSION

Elwood Street, Secretary, Council of Social Agencies, St. Louis

In the paper just given, Mr. McLean dealt with the actual accomplishments of organizations called Councils of Social Agencies. This information is exceedingly helpful, for it shows many interesting attainments. However, Council of Social Agencies is not merely the title of an organization, but the name for a co-operative affiliation of social agencies, working together in any community, urban or rural. The functions of some of these councils include joint financing as well as joint attack on social problems and joint endeavor for the raising of standards. Therefore the report given did not cover the whole field for it discusses only "social" councils.

I shall not speak, in this discussion, of the accomplishments made in the field of joint financing. However, in the cities where joint financing is one of the functions of the centralized organization, a great many accomplishments may be shown.

For example, in Cleveland there are functional groups such as the Association for the Crippled and Disabled, Children's Bureau, Hospital Council, Girls' Council, Health Committee, Children's Conference, Conference on Illegitimacy, Community Christmas, and Central Purchasing Bureau, which have been able to show a great number of valuable results.

There are two points I should like to bring out:

First, from the results actually secured in those cities where agencies are banded together for planning and unified attack on problems and for the raising of standards, experience convinces me that the "council" or "federation" plan should be advocated, and cities not thus organized well to take steps in this direction at an early date.

Second, we must get together on this central council idea. The two national organizations, the American Association for Community Organization, and the American Association of Family Welfare

societies—which are particularly interested in this matter, have, through their various experiences, accumulated a mass of information. The time has come for unified action on the problems of community organization rather than allowing a difference of opinion on certain questions, such as financial federation, to prevent many communities from the utilization of the experiences which we jointly have had. We are in the midst of too important a movement to be concerned with our individual viewpoints on the matter. It is important that the joint methods worked out by each of these national agencies be assembled for the benefit of the movement.

THE OHIO COUNCIL OF SOCIAL AGENCIES

Fred C. Croxton, Chairman, Ohio Council of Social Agencies, Columbus

The organization in Ohio of several of the war activities was such as to demonstrate in a very marked way the advantages of teamwork on the part of state departments and state-wide social agencies. In that state a minimum of new official agencies was created to meet war needs; but on the other hand, the executive office and every state department co-operated to produce results. One private agency (The Ohio Institute or Public Efficiency), for instance, placed practically its whole staff at the disposal of the federal and state governments for war-work without compensation or reimbursement.

The community needs disclosed and the spirit of service developed during the war led a number of social-service agencies to expand or develop community programs soon after the war. An inevitable result of the many public and private agencies undertaking to develop social work in communities seemed to be conflict of plans and confusion of communities. With the experience in teamwork gained during the war, what was more natural than that an effort should be made to develop joint planning and joint action with relation to the social problems of peace time? The governor of Ohio, having in mind the value of teamwork, issued an invitation to all public and private social agencies having a state-wide program in that state to send delegates to a conference to be held in the State House on March 27, 1919.

At the close of this conference, the following resolution was adopted: "That this body meet at regular intervals, beginning once a month; that each agency should learn its full program through the chairman's office, and also supply maps showing branch organizations in the counties."

For several months the meetings were merely informal conferences, but the benefits derived from the gatherings were such that the Ohio Council of Social Agencies, which became a deliberative body, was organized and a constitution was adopted. Two essentials of the constitution are as follows: (a) The purpose of the council is to enable each of the associating organizations to discuss its program and policies with other agencies of the council, to prevent overlapping and duplication of social work, to enable the associating societies to co-ordinate their state work and work in local communities, and to enable them to act jointly in promoting social work in local communities. (b) Action by the council shall not bind any agency participating in the council, should that action not conform to the principles or program of that agency; or shall any agency participating in the council be bound to assume any financial obligations.

Since the first meeting in March, 1919, representatives of the agencies have met monthly with the exception of August of each year and December of one year. The present membership of the council consists of nine public and fourteen private agencies

At no time has it been felt that the Ohio Council was a finished organization. It has been and still is an experiment in a difficult field where the need for co-operation is universally recognized. "Co-operation," as stated by one of the representatives at the first meeting, "is not just an idea, but something needing mechanism and machinery." Carrying out this principle, the council has constantly striven to develop an organization which makes co-operation possible and easy of actual accomplishment. The earlier meetings were devoted largely to discussions of programs which brought about mutual understanding. With mutual understanding came mutual confidence, and then came the possibility of joint planning and joint undertaking.

One of the earlier joint undertakings was joint social surveys of communities under common guidance. These surveys, made at the invitation of the communities, were conducted in some six communities varying in size from a few thousand to approximately a quarter of a million. It is generally believed that nothing could have been more effective than such community studies in driving home an appreciation of the close relationship of all social problems, and emphasizing the necessity for joint planning and joint effort in individual communities.

Scarcely a meeting of the council passes without the creation of one or more temporary committees to report on some specific subject at a subsequent meeting of the council. These committees, without exception, consist of representatives from the agencies most vitally interested in the particular subject. In some cases, such committees are authorized to call, in the name of the council, a state conference of leaders in the particular field of work under consideration, and after careful consideration in that manner, to report recommendations to the council.

Practically coincidentally with the creation of the Council of Social Agencies, the Ohio Council on Child Welfare was created. The most significant accomplishments of the Council on Child Welfare have been the study of and development of interest in: increased support for mothers' pensions; health conditions in rural schools; school attendance; juvenile courts and the probation system; and finally securing the enactment of very progressive legislation regulating school attendance. The same person acted as secretary of both councils. By its own action a few months ago, the Council on Child Welfare became a standing committee of the Ohio Council of Social Agencies.

A few months after the organization of the Council of Social Agencies, two other state councils were created—one known as the Ohio Council on Women and Children in Industry, and the other as the Ohio Council on Family Social Work. Both of these councils have representation on and work in the closest possible relation with the Council of Social Agencies.

At the last meeting of the Council of Social Agencies a committee of three was authorized and appointed to arrange to put on a short course for attendance-officers in order to meet the demands created by new legislation which makes necessary the appointment of a county attendance-officer by every County Board of Education.

The most striking development of the Council of Social Agencies is what, for want of a better name, is known as the County Case Committee. This committee meets monthly throughout the forenoon of the day on which the council meets. It consists of representatives from the state departments and from such private agencies as have contacts in a larger number of counties or localities. The representatives are not usually the heads of departments or agencies—as is the case on the council—but they

ents familiar with the particular counties under discussion. At each meeting one or more counties, agreed upon in advance, are discussed. For each county, social and health problems are presented; the county's social resources, agencies and individuals, are discussed; and a general method of procedure

The Case Committee seeks to learn these local needs and to develop plans for local social resources. The members of the committee, by pooling their knowledge and planning together, are able to economize time and to render a service than would be possible through individual and unrelated effort of the individual agencies. The County Case Committee has been an asset in constantly keeping before agencies the needs of the particular county rather than the extension of the program of any one agency. After some time, no discussions no agency could assume a selfish attitude if it desired to do so if it were possible to do so. Probably the agencies have derived even a greater benefit from the County Case Committee than have the private agencies.

To get a measure of the value of the Ohio Council of Social Agencies to its members, each member was recently asked for a frank statement in writing covering the above topics. A majority of the agencies replied promptly, and the results are summarized below. Every agency replied affirmatively to the question whether the council had been of value to the agency and its workers. Most stated that the council had given the workers of that agency a better appreciation of other organizations. With only one or two exceptions, all attach importance to joint planning in developing general policies. Most said, "It makes for clear thinking."

It has also sought to develop joint planning in developing work in local communities. With reference to the subject, one agency states, "It prevents overwork. It provides more adequately for meeting the real needs. It tends to raise standards of work in each community due to the fact of joint observations of agencies." Another agency tersely states, "It prevents duplication of programs." Every agency reporting, with one exception, feels that the council is a factor in placing greater emphasis upon the community and its needs upon the extension of programs of individual organizations. All agree that it is essential, or at least desirable, in planning to meet community needs to know the plans of other organizations. The information concerning social resources in specific communities as presented in the Case Committee reports is reported to be helpful by all agencies participating.

In response to the inquiry "Have you found a readiness on the part of other agencies to suggest work for your organization in particular communities?", the report in effect that more might be done along that line. The majority, however, is in the affirmative and generally with emphasis. One public department replies, "Yes. They suggest more than we can handle."

One of the agencies as to what they consider the most important contributions of the council are of interest. One of the state departments replies, "The cooperation between different state departments which had scarcely been started before the council and so far as we are concerned is the greatest contribution for us." Another states the greatest value of the council to be: "its opportunity for frank

discussion; its development of understanding and of a true social consciousness among social workers; its opportunity for permitting us to see the job of the whole state and not only our particular job."

No agency suggested any type of organization which would better serve the state in this general field. Several suggestions, however, were made as to future development of the council. One agency believes that "The weakness of the council has been that of failure to put into execution the matters discussed. In other words, the policies that are agreed upon do not always get back into the counties or local communities where they should go and where local agencies are expected to put them into effect."

A representative of one agency sums up the council as follows: "In general, I may say that the County Case Committee and other meetings of the Ohio Council which I have been privileged to attend have been a revelation to me in the possibilities of a much extended view of co-operation. The County Case Committee which corresponds so closely to our district committee in which family problems are discussed seems to have the same reasons for existence and progress: first, a much better understanding of the individual problem; second, the co-ordination of forces dealing with the individual problem; third, the value in a basis of acquaintance formed by these meetings so that co-operation becomes easy; fourth, additional value derived from having one group of workers know what others are doing; fifth, the benefits derived from group thought."

After almost two and one-half years' experience, it is believed that effective work can be accomplished by the Ohio Council of Social Agencies, by continuing as a deliberative council limited in membership; by placing more emphasis upon systematic collection and clearance of information; by planning and acting jointly in promoting social work in local communities; and by discovering and developing local resources to meet local needs, rather than undertaking to adopt a uniform plan without regard to local needs and local economic and social resources.

DISCUSSION

Elmer Scott, President, Texas Council of State-Wide Social Agencies, Dallas

The fact that the Ohio Council of Social Agencies was a going concern, and that we had the benefit of Mr. Croxton's personality during a visit to our state, assisted us greatly in the formation of our council. The desire for a council was a spontaneous one. During a preliminary meeting in San Antonio a year ago for the purpose of preparing for our state conference, we asked Mr. Croxton to present the organization and scope of the Ohio Council. After hearing him, it was the unanimous opinion that a council would be beneficial in Texas, and at a later meeting representatives of twenty-three state-wide agencies were present and an organization perfected. This meets only five times a year—September, November, January, March, and May—because of the distance to be covered in our state and the comparatively small number of workers now in the field. In November, the meeting is held in conjunction with the state conference. Without being able at this time to note many accomplishments, we do feel that banded together as we are, we have gone on a voyage of discovery. Many have discovered agencies they did not know were in existence, and others have a much better idea of the functions of agencies which they already knew of. We have tried to set our faces toward the social problems of Texas as a whole, and are trying to get out of each other's way when we are merely obstructing the progress, and blocking the way when we need to push forward on particular problems.

Among the concerted actions of the state council are: The endeavor to create a school of social work; the establishment of standards in corrective work; the attempts to counteract certain destructive movements; the mapping of activities.

accepted standards in work with families; and the preparation for a joint survey of Mexican, industrial, and housing conditions in a given urban and rural center. This year's preparatory work has laid foundations for more specific achievements in the future.

Ward D. Lynde, Executive Secretary, Wisconsin State Conference of Social Work, Madison

Activities of the agencies described by Mr. Croxton and Mr. Scott ought to be carried on in the Union. Prior to March 1, 1920, the Wisconsin state conference was merely a committee; it was not content to remain thus, and on that date a secretary was secured and a plan for work was outlined. From a total of 130 members, the conference has grown to about 800 members, besides 200 clubs, organizations, and lodges. There are representatives in over 1,000 towns. Our last annual meeting was attended by 1,200 people from 97 different towns. Measures of social legislation initiated by the conference were passed almost unanimously by the conference this year, including the establishment of a juvenile division for neglected, dependent, and feeble-minded children.

Croxton mentioned as the main deficiency in the Ohio plan that in communities where there is no local interest the plans of the State Council of Social Agencies can often not be put into

effect. The activity of the Wisconsin conference supplements the Ohio plan and fills this deficiency, namely, the lack of rural conferences of social work. A district is selected which has shown but little interest in social work. A conference is arranged with addresses by representatives of the social agencies operating in the district who tell the people of the social work which they can do in their community. (Four hundred people attended the last of these rural conferences from 39 different small towns.) By combining in a mass attack, the social agencies can accomplish together what no one of them could ever effect alone. As a result of these rural and district conferences many phases of social work neglected have been inaugurated in these towns.

THE CONFIDENTIAL EXCHANGE IN THE SMALL CITY

Harriet F. Byington, Director of Field Service, American Red Cross, National Headquarters, Washington

The preceding discussion has emphasized the possibility of securing co-operative service through the central council. We are now to consider the way in which it may be secured in behalf of the individual family through the social-service exchange. The exchange is a method by which the agencies are enabled to render more efficient service to individual families, and may be adopted by central councils of social agencies or by co-operative groups. The smaller communities to which this discussion is directed have usually not yet developed central councils.

The aim of the exchange, namely to secure the maximum service to families, is the same whether the city is large or small and whatever the number of agencies at work. The problems of administration, however, differ markedly in cities with many well-developed agencies and in those which have few or none. Discussions of the larger cities have been concerned chiefly with their technique—their forms and routine. In the small city the technique is simple; the problem is how to get the agencies to inquire of the exchange and use the information secured.

Of course, the need for a social-service exchange seems less obvious in a small city than in a large city, since in the former there are few organized social agencies. People get together more informally for a conference; the families in need are personally known so that there is a greater sense of the need for privacy; there is no danger that the information secured through the exchange will not be fully used.

A rapidly increasing number of people in smaller communities, however, are giving some service to individuals. A community of 25,000 may well have an overseer of the poor, a widows' pension commission, a children's institution, an almshouse, a charity organization society, a public-health nurse, a truant officer, and a probation officer. In addition a number of agencies will be giving relief informally, such as, the churches, the woman's club, the parent-teacher association, and fraternal orders such as the Masons, the Elks, and the like. This community will probably not have more than two trained social workers who are thoroughly convinced of the value of co-operation, who are in the habit of keeping records. Perhaps even more than in larger communities there will be a hit-or-miss giving by benevolently minded individuals and by the semi-social agencies. These people must be brought together to protect the families from unwise interference and to increase the amount of wisely planned service.

A few fundamental principles may be laid down in regard to the organization of an exchange.

First, an exchange should not be started in any community until there is at least one trained social worker. She will establish the right attitude toward the exchange and assist the agencies using it to plan the service for the families in whom they are interested.

Second, the exchange will usually grow out of an already developed optimistic spirit of co-operation and will not be the beginning of it. To set up a card catalogue and make it available to the community will not usually bring good results unless people already believe in the importance of working together. The exchange is a form which co-operation may take and not an initial method for creating that spirit.

Third, the exchange must be started in such a way as to show its positive values to the agencies using it. Workers in small cities usually think they know all about each other's work and believe that their own service is adequate. Especially do specialists who are not very well trained fail to see that the information in the hands of other agencies will help them to do their own work better. For example, many truant officers have no conception of what the public-health nurse or trained family worker can contribute to their knowledge of the problem of certain children, nor do they always grasp the relation between children out of school and the inadequacy of the widows' pensions. Such workers, until they see how information in the hands of other agencies helps them to do their own work, may consider inquiry of the exchange to be useless routine.

Fourth, an exchange is not worth while merely as a means for preventing duplication of relief. If it does not result in better service for families it might as well go out of business.

Fifth, there are dangers to be guarded against in small cities, when people do know each other well. We must see that the records are kept private so that we may protect especially families reported by the churches or fraternal orders.

The agencies must handle the information collected in a sympathetic fashion. Unless the exchange is in charge of a well-trained social worker it may become almost a black-list of families, an untrained worker finding a family's name there feeling that they are thereby not "worthy." Instead of securing better service for the family the exchange may thus keep an agency from attempting to cope with a difficult situation.

In discussing the value of an exchange, we should emphasize the protection to the family which it offers and the greater effectiveness of combined planning. That

it prevents duplication of relief is an argument which should be used in rare instances only.

The exchange cannot, therefore, be set up simply as a piece of machinery which agencies are invited to use. We must suggest its organization in terms of service to the agencies which use it and especially to families themselves, making it seem to grow naturally out of our needs and our interests.

I am suggesting two possible ways of inaugurating an exchange. In a community having two or more paid workers, the exchange may start very naturally as a joint index of the cases in which they are interested. For instance, Red Cross chapters which have a public-health nurse and a home-service worker conduct a joint index of families and each consults the other before entering the home of any family which the latter knows. Similarly, in many communities the charity organization secretary and the county poor relief official keep a joint index. When the existence of such an index is known, churches and other agencies without paid workers gradually learn to consult it. Out of this a formal social-service exchange may be developed.

An even better method is to let it grow out of a family case conference, since this connection will emphasize its value as a factor in joint planning. A rural county, the county seat of which had a population of 5,000, had one trained social worker. The churches used to ask her about their families, and found that often several of them were doing bits of unrelated work in the same family. She helped them work out a plan by which each church took entire charge of certain families and was therefore able to give better and more intelligent service. To a card index of her families and those being aided by the county, she added little by little the names of those in which the churches were interested. The churches, the county commissioner, and other individuals made increasing use of this index which thus became the social-service exchange.

In larger communities which have several paid workers and active volunteers, the case conference would be a formal one, meeting regularly. This committee would probably make a formal decision to start an exchange, and agree jointly on its forms and on the method of organizing one. This plan would again, however, grow out of a practical knowledge that they were all interested in certain families, that each had some knowledge of the families' circumstances not shared by the others, and that the discussion enabled all to render service more intelligently. They will not then need to be argued into the value of the exchange, since the idea will grow out of a felt need and an appreciation of the practical values, which would accrue from its use.

Organization.—How is an exchange to be organized and maintained? There are five steps. First, the exchange should, as far as possible, be organized and supported by the agencies as a group. The confidential exchange in Sharon, Pennsylvania, is run by the Social Workers' Club; in Athens, Georgia, by the Community Council which includes such agencies as the Rotary Club, Masons, Elks, American Legion, Woman's Club, Red Cross, and the various churches. Agencies which help direct the exchange are more likely to use it. If one agency such as the Charity Organization Society is running it, some of this advantage may be kept by forming a co-operative committee to assume partial control.

Second, the exchange should when possible be financed by the agencies using it. I should like to know whether the agencies in small communities have found it possible to divide the expenses among agencies in proportion to the number of inquiries they

make. Personally, I should doubt the feasibility of this, since so many agencies make only an irregular and informal use of it. Small contributions may be received from a number of agencies once the exchange has established itself, but the main expense will often have to be borne by the two or three agencies which really appreciate the need. The Community Council in Athens has a committee of six, responsible for operating the exchange, which raised recently \$700 to finance it. A secretary is paid \$50 a month by the Red Cross and \$50 by the exchange, the latter being in the Red Cross office. This secretary does stenographic work for the Red Cross, is at the exchange all day long, and as an additional service, she takes dictation on their cases for the volunteer workers of the other organizations in the exchange, the latter being encouraged to keep their records at this office. This is an interesting indication of the increasing service which may be rendered by an exchange which is jointly organized and financed.

Third, the exchange must be centrally located and yet carefully guarded from unwise publicity. For instance, it may be in the county courthouse, or the city hall, but only if there is a worker there all day who will make it useful and give it protection.

Fourth, a person is, of course, the crux of the whole matter. In small cities, which probably have only one or two trained social workers, the exchange is likely to be in the office of one of them and largely to grow out of her activities. She is usually the only person who handles the whole problem of a family; the other workers render specialized services fitting into her plan. When an agency inquires about a family, she naturally discusses a plan as well, giving information, and may then draw the agencies together for conference. In the majority of our small cities, the exchange has been developed by the Charity Organization Society or some other family welfare agency, since its secretary is usually the only person equipped to develop its constructive side and guard against the dangers suggested earlier.

Fifth, the forms used will be very simple and are comparatively unimportant. The smaller the community, the more inconspicuous a part of the operation of the exchange should the card index be, otherwise volunteer workers will be afraid to use it, especially when they may have neighborly contacts with the families concerned, and would never put their names on anything that looks like a public record. In cities having a number of paid workers, they should use slips similar to those prepared for the large exchange. In communities in which it will be chiefly used by volunteer agencies, or by poorly trained workers, the telephone inquiry is probably desirable since it gives the secretary of the exchange an opportunity to suggest how to make use of the information secured.

Since the purpose of the exchange is to increase the amount of constructive service to families, a simple exchange may profitably be established in almost any community. The requirements may be summed up as follows: a well-trained person who is interested in constructive service to families; some appreciation of the value of working together; a case committee or a community council to establish this habit; a simple office system, including a telephone and card index.

DISCUSSION

Dorcas Campbell, Social-Service Exchange, Brooklyn

Miss Byington discussed the theory of the social-service exchange and has asked me to deal with practical office details. I represent an exchange operated in the metropolitan city of Brooklyn, and including services to the county of Queens and its adjacent villages, so that the plan of work is applicable

to large as well as small cities. Miss Byington has told you why you need an exchange and how to organize it. May I add that a successful secretary may sell that intangible machinery called co-operation, but the value of the service will not be realized unless the office mechanism performs satisfactorily. Accordingly, when planting an exchange in your community, consider well your local needs and fit your theories to them; adjust forms, publicity, and extension of service to your problems. Do not adopt wholesale recommendations of exchange methods used in nearby cities. One point in Miss Byington's paper might be disagreed with, that is the need of securing co-operation by the use of the "prevention of duplication" argument. It should not be the foremost argument, but strange to say, instead of being obsolete, it is the selling point most easily understood by both trained worker and laity. If a satisfactory contact is established in this way, constant education by the exchange secretary will broaden the workers' conception of the possibility for other services.

Management of an exchange by a financial federation is to be approved, but I want to add a word of warning against the danger of permitting them to wield the "big stick." Persistent, patient effort to individuals or agencies will make them intelligent, faithful followers much sooner than by having them forced to use the exchange.

In communications and conversations make the users of the exchange feel your effort to promote co-operation. The secretary should mingle with her co-workers to understand the phraseology of the specialized groups, their technique, and their problems.

Publicity methods used in helping to stimulate or maintain interest in an exchange are monthly reports, annual reports, and circular-letter announcements regarding change of policy made by the governing board, or statement of progress made in the exchange. Such a neutral body can take the initiative in arranging case conferences in certain localities. Undoubtedly the exchange should hold an annual meeting of all exchange members; at such time they might offer suggestions for improving the service, plan new systems, develop new policies, or discuss the extension of service.

Exchange workers must develop a self-consciousness of their own, they must be well managed and well paid. They should not be considered clerical workers manipulating a card-file, but they should be recognized as assistants to the professional workers in making possible the fullest kind of service to the individual or family in a community.

JOB AND SALARY ANALYSIS IN SOCIAL WORK. CLASSIFICATION AND DESCRIPTION OF POSITIONS IN CLEVELAND'S SOCIAL AGENCIES

Raymond Clapp, Acting Director, Welfare Federation of Cleveland

This classification and description grew out of the annual budget study of the Welfare Federation of Cleveland. Each year, in July and August, the federated agencies prepare programs for the next calendar year. These programs, together with detailed estimates of income and expense, are reviewed by the Budget Committee of the federation during the last half of August and all of September.

Each agency has a conference with the Budget Committee at which its own program is presented, service statistics are reviewed, and financial estimates carefully scrutinized. As ninety agencies will present budgets this fall, it will be readily seen that no one committee could be expected to review all budgets. The Budget Committee is therefore divided into seven sub-committees, dealing with kindred groups as follows: agencies dealing with girls; neighborhood work; care of children; hospitals; health; institutions for adults (homes for the aged, rescue homes, etc.); special group which includes the Associated Charities, Young Men's Christian Association, Legal Aid Society, and others.

The salary and wage problem has always been a serious one with the committee. The total budget of Welfare Federation agencies for 1921 is, in round numbers, \$7,000,000 of which \$3,000,000 or 43 per cent is for salaries and wages alone, ranging all the way from 10 per cent to 100 per cent of the total budgets of the individual agencies. This figure does not include the Federation of Jewish Charities with a total

budget of \$500,000 and pay-rolls exceeding \$200,000, nor does it count the value of board, room, laundry, etc., furnished to employees who live at institutions. The value of that maintenance would add three-quarters of a million more to the figure. In all, there are about three thousand full-time workers in the Cleveland federated agencies and the responsibility imposed upon the budget committees of reviewing the salary and wage scales for this army of employees is no small matter, especially as decisions must be made by the committee in seven separate groups acting more or less independently of each other.

The technique of budget-making and budget-reviewing has developed from very meager beginnings in Cleveland where we have had to feel our way and be content with gradual improvement from year to year. Our budget committees have been composed of men and women who have been long identified as board members and committee people in social work in Cleveland, appointed for their knowledge and understanding of the fields of work with which their sub-committees deal. Intermingled with these experienced people, business men and others have been added each year so that fresh viewpoints may be furnished the committees and new people given the valuable education and training which service on the Budget Committee affords.

One of these business men appointed to the committee in 1919 was Mr. Richard Feiss of the Joseph and Feiss Co., well and favorably known throughout the country for their progressive attitude in dealing with their own employees. Mr. Feiss has been responsible for working out in his own business a salary and wage scale based upon an analysis and classification of positions.

Mr. Feiss felt that something could be worked out by the Welfare Federation in the way of classification of positions which would greatly assist the individual agencies in arriving at a just and reasonable basis of pay and would furnish the Budget Committee with some basis for judgment as to the fairness of the schedules presented by the different agencies.

It should be stated here with emphasis that the committee does not have in mind the establishment of an inflexible wage scale to be imposed upon all agencies alike, regardless of standards of work in individual agencies, or experience and ability of individual workers. The thought is that a study would in the first place bring to the attention of the committee and the individual agencies manifest inequalities in pay, and would make possible the establishment of reasonable minimum standards as well as the determination of proper maximums.

So far, no attempt has been made to establish ranges of pay for any positions. What we have done is to list all positions in federated agencies; group, classify, and describe them; and tabulate the number of workers in each position with the range of pay, showing general average, lowest amount paid, average starting wage, highest amount paid and average maximum for each position. The way we went about it is, briefly, as follows: The secretary gathered pay-rolls of the agencies then members of the federation. These pay-rolls listed the various positions on the staff of each agency and were on file at the federation office with other budget material. By going through these lists, notation was made of every position indicated by any agency. In this first operation, about eighty-five positions were found to occur in one or more agencies. No attention was paid at that time to the salaries or wages paid in these positions.

They seemed to fall into certain natural groups and the first grouping was as follows: executive; professional; case work (or investigational); recreational (and

educational); institutional; clerical. It has been recognized from the first that the standardization of executive positions and wages should be the last thing attempted; indeed, it is feasible at all, so such positions were separated from their natural groups and placed in an "executive service."

In this first attempt, professional positions were separated from the others because standards for these positions have been carefully worked out and, in most cases, established by law so that our task had been largely accomplished. This group was limited to professions recognized by law, such as physician, nurse, and lawyer.

Institutional and clerical services formed natural groups which have been recognized in most, if not all, of the classifications made by civil service bodies. The other positions were divided into the case-work group and the recreational group because of the difference in the kind of training required, degree of responsibility imposed, and method of procedure in the doing of the job itself.

The agencies themselves were roughly divided into the following groups: supervisory agencies or bureaus; case work; recreational; hospitals; public-health nursing; and institutions, this last including orphanages, boarding homes, rescue homes, and homes for the aged.

When this suggested classification was presented to the chairman and committee the distinction between professional, case-work, and recreational groups was questioned, the point of view of the committee being that, while the technique of these groups is different, the training dissimilar, and established standards varied considerably, on the other hand no one of these groups functions properly with persons of less intelligence and a smaller amount of training or a more meager background, than that required for satisfactory work in either of the other two groups. So the classification was revised: first, case-work and recreational groups were combined, forming the social service; and second, the professional service was added to the social service into what we now call, for lack of a better term, personal service. This makes three general divisions of our classification: personal service; clerical service; and maintenance service. For the reasons stated, positions of executive responsibility have been withdrawn from these groups and, for convenience, placed together in the executive service. The descriptions of these services are as follows:

Personal service.—"Those positions in social service the duties of which include rendering trained service direct to individuals or families in need of relief, advice, protection, or other service for which charitable and philanthropic agencies are maintained."

Clerical service.—"Those positions which involve the performance of routine specialized or supervisory work incident to organization or office management, such as handling of purchases, records, correspondence, publicity, research, and similar work."

Maintenance service.—"Those positions or employments not included in the personal or clerical services, the duties of whose incumbents include work incident to the maintenance or operation of institutions, or to the care of patients and inmates. In this service are placed miscellaneous positions such as shop employees."

Executive service.—"Those positions in social work the duties of which include the responsible charge of the operation of social-service agencies or of important districts or departments thereof."

In the limited time at my disposal it is possible to give only some of the high lights.

With the classification as it now stands, there are 101 classified positions for each of which a description has been carefully worked out; 3,275 workers in 90 different agencies have been fitted into these positions with only 16 for whom no place could be found; 420 of these workers are part time and 2,855 are full time. The salaries range from nothing to \$843 a month. The average monthly wage for all full-time workers is \$110. The number and proportion of workers in each group is as follows:

Group	No.	Per cent
Agent.....	808	or 25
Miscellaneous mechanic.....	682	or 21
Student.....	528	or 16
Mechanic or assistant chief.....	272	or 8
Clerk.....	264	or 8
Assistant-agent.....	195	or 6
Supervisor.....	159	or 4
Assistant-supervisor.....	116	or 2½
Maintenance chief or foreman.....	88	or 2½
Secretary.....	66	or 2
Director.....	53	or 2
Assistant-director.....	29	or .8
Assistant-clerk.....	15	or .4
Total.....	3,275	or 100

The group rank is as follows in order of average of salary as of February, 1921:

Director.....	\$330	Mechanic.....	\$118
Assistant-director.....	231	Assistant-agent.....	111
Supervisor.....	183	Clerk.....	110
Secretary.....	159	Miscellaneous mechanic....	89
Maintenance chief.....	155	Assistant-clerk.....	63
Assistant-supervisor.....	151	Student.....	52
Agent.....	122		

Please keep in mind that these figures represent cash salary plus value of maintenance.

Comparative figures were secured from the schools, the public library, and the Department of Public Welfare which indicate that, in the supervisor, assistant-supervisor and agent groups, the average paid in federated agencies is close to that paid in the library, but under the schools and the city, while the range of pay from minimum to maximum in social work is much wider than the range of these public agencies.

A comparison has also been made with figures secured from twenty-four business firms, with the United States Civil Service, with seven Cleveland public and semi-public agencies, and with six social agencies and federations outside of Cleveland. These figures indicate that Cleveland's federated agencies pay more than social agencies in the other cities heard from, but less than business firms, and the federal and city governments.

At the request of the American Association of Social Workers, the Cleveland committee of that organization went over this classification and selected those positions occupants of which they considered to be professional social workers. They confined their selection to positions the nature of which require attention to the social implications of the task, ruling out hospital nurses, teachers, and others primarily

DIVISION X—UNITING OF NATIVE AND FOREIGN- BORN IN AMERICA

THE PRESENT IMMIGRATION OUTLOOK

A. THE EMIGRATION POLICY OF CZECHO-SLOVAKIA

Dr. A. Sum, Social Service Attaché, Czecho-Slovak Embassy, Washington, D.C.

The problem of emigration is as serious for the government of Czecho-Slovakia as is the problem of immigration for the government and the people of the United States. Czecho-Slovakia has inherited this problem from the former Austro-Hungarian Empire. Austria left to the new republic an empty desk, as the Vienna parliament never succeeded in regulating emigration for fear it would be said that a good law would only encourage emigration. Several times (in 1904, 1908, 1913), the Austrian government tried in vain to get through various bills regulating emigration and so, according to the old Austrian constitution, the emigration remained free with the exception of some restrictions concerning persons of military age.

A short time before the war the problem of emigration became very serious in Austria, owing to a great industrial crisis which arose there as a result of the occupation of the market in the Balkan States by Germany. At that time emigration was greatly stimulated by the economic crisis, which the German Steamship Companies used for an unlawful propaganda to their advantage. From 1902 until 1911, 2,191,734 persons emigrated from Austria and Hungary, including 97,938 Czechs or Bohemians. Out of this number only 4,813 Bohemians and 68,517 Slovaks returned during the years 1908-12.

Hungary left Czecho-Slovakia two emigration laws, one of the year 1903, the other passed in 1909; but in spite of the drastic provisions of these laws, 321,584 Slovaks left their country from the year 1902 to 1911—that is, over 32,000 a year. The principal reasons for the Slovak emigration were, first, the Magyar oppression; and second, the land poverty. The best land was owned by a few members of the Hungarian aristocracy, leaving very little, and that mostly in the mountains, for the Slovak peasant. There were cases of 70,000 hectares being owned by one individual.

The war stopped emigration entirely. With the opening of the frontiers, after the war, emigration from some parts of the new Czecho-Slovak Republic, established from the ruins of the old Austro-Hungarian Empire, began afresh. There is, however, a difference between the emigration from Slovakia and Carpatho-Russia and that from Bohemia, Moravia, and Silesia. From the latter there has been practically no emigration since the war, while it was resumed in considerable proportions from Slovakia and Carpatho-Russia in the second half of the year 1920 and in the first months of the year 1921. While, in the fiscal year ending June 30, 1920, the total number of Czecho-Slovaks admitted to the United States was 5,746, there were admitted from the first of July till the thirty-first of December, 1920, 22,029, almost

interested only in the needs of the individual, but including the public-health nurse, hospital social worker and others whose job requires attention to family and community relations and conditions.

Eliminating the executive service from all the following figures, of 2,500 non-executive full-time employees of social agencies, only 270 are professional social workers. Of 573 in the agent group, averaging \$122 a month, there are 225 social workers who average \$128. Of 167 in the assistant-agent grade there are only 15 social workers whose salaries average \$104, compared with \$111 for the group as a whole. Of 65 secretaries, 30 are professional social workers with \$184, as against \$159 for the secretary group as a whole. The average professional social worker in a federation agency gets \$125 a month compared with \$110 for all employees, \$120 for the public librarian, and \$148 for the public-school teacher.

For the budget study this fall, we plan to prepare charts in duplicate, having one ready for each agency as it appears before the committee. These charts will show by means of horizontal bars, shaded or colored, for each position in the classification the lowest and highest wages paid by any agency, the average beginning salary, and average maximum, and the general average. By means of pins we expect to show the number of employees in the staff of the particular agencies under discussion, the positions they occupy, their proposed salaries, and the way in which those salaries compare with what others receive for similar work. That may lead further. At least, we hope so.

These are the natural causes of emigration, and in such cases emigration mostly contributes to the healthy balance of economic conditions between various countries. There are also, however, artificial causes of emigration which can and must be remedied by a law, in order to protect those citizens who want to emigrate, and through this protection, to prevent the wasting of national property. Unnecessary and harmful emigration, equally so for the emigrant and for the nation, is provoked by the steamship companies and their unscrupulous agents, who consider no other interests than their own. In such cases the law must interfere. The tendency of the new Emigration law, which is being prepared by the Czecho-Slovak government, is not to forbid emigration, such a measure being absolutely futile, but to limit it in all cases where it is artificially provoked, and to organize it for the benefit of the emigrant and of the nation.

The following are the principles of the new Czecho-Slovak Emigration law:

First, the law gives a clear definition of who is to be considered an emigrant, saying that an emigrant is a person who leaves the territory of the Czecho-Slovak Republic in order to seek his living in a foreign country. There is no distinction between Czecho-Slovak citizens and foreigners; the law protects everybody: the person who has a domicile in the territory of the Czecho-Slovak Republic, though a foreigner, the person passing through Czecho-Slovak territory, no matter if he is leaving forever or only for a short time or for a long time. Practically every person who is traveling as a steerage passenger, or as a passenger of a class corresponding to the steerage, is considered an emigrant provided that it is not self-evident that such a person is traveling for other purposes than to seek a living in a foreign country.

Second, the law provides for freedom of emigration, with the following exceptions: (a) persons of "military age" (from seventeen to forty), who if they want to emigrate in order to obtain foreign citizenship, must have a special permission from the Ministry of National Defense; (b) minor persons when they are not accompanied by their father. In such cases the court acting as guardian of such a person must first give consent to his leaving the country. For persons over eighteen years old, such consent is not required if they desire to emigrate to another European country. Minor women and girls and boys under sixteen years of age can emigrate without their father or mother only if accompanied by a reliable person, who will bring them to their place of destination; (c) persons who are in conflict with the criminal law; (d) persons who, by law, have to care for other persons; (e) persons who are incapable to a certain extent of earning their living; (f) persons who would be likely to arrive at their destination without means of livelihood; (g) persons who would be refused entry by the country to which they wish to emigrate.

According to the law of February 29th, 1920, No. 121, paragraph 110 of the Czecho-Slovak constitution, the freedom of emigration can be limited only by law. Emigration, however, can be restricted so as not to permit it in certain territories where the life, liberty, or the moral interests of citizens might be endangered. Emigration can be directed along certain lines, which it would be in the interest of the emigrant to use. Every emigrant who is a Czecho-Slovak citizen, must be provided with a special emigration traveling certificate as an essential document. Foreigners will not receive these certificates.

Third, the law provides that reliable information regarding the conditions in the country to which the person desires to emigrate be furnished by a disinterested private office under the control of the government.

Fourth, the law also regulates the co-operation with various voluntary organizations and institutions, to protect the emigrants on their journey, especially in the ports, assisting them in their difficulties, and if necessary granting them financial support. It also regulates the conduct of the asylums and information offices.

Fifth, the law forbids unconditionally all propaganda for colonization in overseas countries. Colonization is permitted in European countries only with the consent of the Minister of Social Welfare.

Sixth, the hiring of workingmen for transmarine countries is forbidden. For European countries the hiring of laborers from Czecho-Slovakia can be done only through the Ministry of Public Works. In order to protect the workingmen going to foreign countries, the bill prescribes that every workingman, before leaving Czecho-Slovakia must receive a copy of a written labor contract in his language and in the language of the employer. Only the public labor exchange, under the control of the Ministry of Social Welfare, are authorized to engage workingmen for foreign countries; thus protecting them against exploitation by foreign employers.

Seventh, the law pays special attention to the transportation of the emigrants; regulating not only their transportation across the sea, but also on land. Without a special license issued by the Ministry of Social Welfare, no steamship company will be authorized to transport emigrants from Czecho-Slovakia. Foreign steamship companies which receive a license for Czecho-Slovakia must be represented by a Czecho-Slovak citizen, who will have full power to act as agent for the company and must also have unlimited authority to act before the Czecho-Slovak courts. The agent must be authorized to facilitate control by the Czecho-Slovak government in the arrangements made by the companies in foreign ports, and be able to execute all duties imposed on the company by the Czecho-Slovak laws and regulations. Licenses will not be given to those who desire to obtain them for purposes of colonization in other countries, nor to those whose business it is to make propaganda for the steamship companies. Such persons will not be allowed to act as agents or representatives of the licensed transportation companies.

There is no tendency to concentrate the transportation of emigrants in the hands of one single steamship company. The government believes in healthy competition. The company need not necessarily own its own ships (these may be hired), but it is essential that the company be in a position to transport the emigrants according to the provisions of the emigration law. The license will be issued for one year and a deposit of ten thousand Czecho-Slovak crowns will be required as a guaranty.

Excepting in Prague, the establishing of Emigration offices will be allowed only with the consent of the Ministry of Social Welfare and then only in the capitals of the provinces. The director of such a branch must be approved by the Minister of Social Welfare, who may at any time ask for the dismissal of such a director or any other official of the branch office. The employees in the offices of the transportation companies must have fixed salaries and are not allowed to have any other occupations. The tourists' offices are forbidden to sell steerage tickets, or of a class corresponding to the steerage, as well as to sell any steamship tickets to emigrants. The steamship companies are prohibited by law from making any direct or indirect propaganda in order to entice people to emigrate. No information whatsoever may be given to anybody except upon request. The only information that can be given under these

circumstances is the name and address of the steamship company and of their offices, the timetable for the respective lines, the signs of the ships, and the terms of transportation. Any attempts to persuade persons to emigrate by praising the conditions in foreign countries, false letters sent by relatives in order to encourage emigration will be prosecuted by law. Representatives of the steamship companies are forbidden to buy or exchange any property belonging to the emigrants, or to give any money on credit to them, either directly or through middlemen. The law excludes certain persons from transportation—for instance, those who are forbidden to emigrate, those who do not possess the required emigration traveling certificate, those who desire to emigrate only because a free passage has been offered to them. A written transportation contract between the emigrant and the steamship company must be signed without delay after the emigrant has fully paid his transportation expenses, and must be handed to the emigrant before he leaves the territory of the Czecho-Slovak Republic.

The bill provides for cases in which the steamship company is required to refund all or part of the transportation expenses to the emigrant, and in which the company has to re-transport the emigrant to his domicile, also in cases where the departure has been delayed or canceled, or the journey cannot be continued.

The transportation tariff must be communicated to the Ministry of Social Welfare by a steamship company, at least two weeks before it becomes effective, and the ministry may, within another two weeks, order changes to be made in the tariff. It is unlawful to demand higher rates from the emigrants than those given in the tariff. If the steamship company undertakes the transportation of a person who is not allowed to enter by the immigration authorities in the foreign port, the company must transport the said person back to his or her domicile, free of charge, and if the domicile is in a foreign country, as far as the Czecho-Slovak frontier. It is unlawful to sell or use tickets of steamship companies that have no license for the Czecho-Slovak Republic. The sale of railway and other tickets to emigrants before they reach the port of their destination is unlawful, except when the emigrant has made a contract with the company to transport him from the port to his place of destination. Ships carrying emigrants must provide a physician and fulfil the necessary sanitation requirements. Before they board the ship the emigrants must undergo a medical examination. The steamship company must allow the inspectors appointed by the Czecho-Slovak government to travel free of charge second class, in accordance with the emigration laws and regulations for Czecho-Slovak emigrants, and see that these laws are respected during the journey. In order to facilitate the return of emigrants to the old country, the steamship companies will transport a certain number of Czecho-Slovak citizens indicated by the Czecho-Slovak legations or consulates for retransportation for half the transportation fees. This number will be in proportion to the total emigration.

Homes for emigrants and hotels and restaurants used by them, are also subject to the control of the law, the intention of the government being to concentrate the emigrants only in such places as are safeguarded from a sanitary and moral standpoint.

Eighth, violation of the emigration law and regulations will be prosecuted in the courts in the case of unlawful propaganda to stimulate emigration, white slave traffic, hiring of young persons for work in foreign countries, and all other violations will be

B. THE PRESENT OUTLOOK FOR IMMIGRATION FROM JUGO-SLAVIA

Branko Lazarevitch, Consul General, Chicago

Why did the Jugo-Slavs come to this country? The principal reasons are of economic and political nature. As is well known, the greatest part of the present Jugo-Slavia formerly belonged to Austria-Hungary. The present Jugo-Slav territory measures about two hundred and fifty thousand square kilometers, but only eighty thousand kilometers measured the territory upon which the only Jugo-Slav commonwealth was located before the great world-war. The rest was under the Austro-Hungarian Empire. Jugo-Slavia numbers fourteen million inhabitants, but barely five million of them were in the independent kingdoms of Serbia and Montenegro. The system of colonizing the Germans and Magyars upon the most fertile soil, entirely disregarding the interests of our farmers, as well as the system of economic and political oppression practiced by Austria-Hungary in the subject provinces, has forced many Jugo-Slavs to emigrate. They went to North and South America, Australia, Africa, etc. They went there to earn their daily bread under better economic and political conditions.

Such emigration from the Jugo-Slav territories, then under Austria-Hungary, was especially large at the end of the last century, and up to the year 1914 it became larger and larger. One million Jugo-Slavs were scattered throughout the world at the commencement of the world-war. The greatest number of them came to this free America, to find more bread and more liberty. The stronger the colonization system which, as said, was practiced by the Austro-Hungarian government against the interests of our people, the greater the number of the Jugo-Slavs in America. This is an established fact. When the historical statistics, dealing with Austria-Hungary and her emigration problem, are studied, it is noted that the numbers were growing rapidly. While the data for the year 1870 show that only 7,800 immigrants came into the United States, the figure for the period of 1871-80 climbs to about 70,000, and after that period it climbs higher and higher till it records 2,200,000 for the period of 1901-10. Included in this number are mostly the Slav peoples of Austria-Hungary: Jugo-Slavs, Czechoslovaks, Poles, and, finally, Roumanians and other dependent nationalities.

At that time, and especially after the year of 1908, when Austria-Hungary annexed the provinces of Bosnia and Herzegovina, the number of emigrants from these Jugo-Slav territories became so great that a real panic prevailed among those Jugo-Slav intellectuals and patriots who happened to be in Austria-Hungary. The hope for liberty and unity with Serbia and Montenegro was lost, and the exodus was such that it looked like a general flight. The Jugo-Slav patriots created a whole literature about this national danger, at that time. One of the greatest Jugo-Slav poets wrote a drama, entitled: "Stay Here!" His intention was to stop the emigration. The cry of the moment, due to the great colonization movement which was instigated by the Austro-Hungarian government, was: "To America!" Such was the cry of the whole nation. Great was the number of the people who at that time came to America with the intention of staying here forever. Whole villages came, and the Germans and Magyars took their places. The Slovenian poet, Ivan Cankar, expressed his pain in the following lines:

"Hundreds are going day after day.

You would think the plague is pursuing them."

The best proof that the economic reasons (in other words, the Austro-Hungarian system of sending the Germans and Magyars into Slav districts) were the principal causes of our people's emigration to the United States is the following fact: the people did not emigrate from Serbia, which was a free and independent Jugo-Slav state. There are very few immigrants who came from Serbia, a land of economic and political freedom. There were only about 1,200 of them in the United States. Serbia was free; the agrarian question was solved way back in the year 1804, during the uprising against the Turks. It was guaranteed by law that the peasant's five acres of land, two oxen, and a plough could not be sold under any circumstances. These were the reasons why the people did not go away from their homes; they had bread and liberty in their own native land.

According to the statistical data at hand, the Jugo-Slavs in this country, as I said before, number about five hundred thousand. These people are mostly common laborers. The mines and factories throughout Pennsylvania, Ohio, Michigan, Minnesota, Illinois, etc., are full of them. Only a small number of our people settled down on the farms and became American farmers. Such farmers are mostly in Minnesota, California, and Colorado. Some of them, who came from Dalmatia, are engaged in fisheries in California. But about 90 per cent of our people now in America are common laborers. All of them were very loyal Americans. Many of them became naturalized American citizens. When the United States entered into the world-war, in 1917, and called their people to defend the Stars and Stripes, about twenty thousand Jugo-Slavs responded, ready to sacrifice their lives for civilization. Their records are splendid. The second most distinguished recipient of the "Congressional Medal" was a Serbian from old Serbia, for whom the city of Chicago, when he returned from the battlefields in France, prepared a colossal demonstration. The Jugo-Slavs did not hesitate to buy American liberty bonds either. Their subscriptions total, according to one estimate, about \$30,000,000. And all Jugo-Slav newspapers in this country, and there are about thirty of them, made a splendid showing during the war. When not helping their "new country," they were always ready to help their motherland.

A great number of American Jugo-Slavs joined the colors to fight, as volunteers, for the liberation of all Jugo-Slavs, and for their unity into one dear Jugo-Slavia. They grew in numbers until, during the years 1912-18, there were about fifteen thousand of them. Their contributions to the funds of the "Serbian Red Cross" were very liberal; they contributed huge funds to the "Jugo-Slav Committee," whose propaganda during the war, helped our cause greatly in foreign countries. They contributed and are still contributing funds for the support of our war orphans, etc.

Our nation is united today. One of the principal causes of our people's emigration does not exist any more: Austria-Hungary is gone. But all the evils did not go with her. Such evils are the great landed estates which are located in certain parts of Jugo-Slavia. But our government has started an agrarian reform movement. We have a new ministry which is called the Ministry for Agrarian Reform, the duty of which is to solve this problem right and speedily.

Historically, the agrarian problem of Jugo-Slavia grew out of the policy of economic oppression and colonization which favored the Germans, Magyars, and Turks, which was followed by Austria-Hungary, as well as by the Turkish Empire. In addition to this, great landed estates were given to Austro-Hungarian or Turkish patriots, who distinguished themselves in wars, or on whom the crown itself cast a

generous eye for some reason or other. This is the origin of the present great land holdings in Jugo-Slavia.

Our new country has a new policy: "The land should belong to those who are the cultivators of the land." The principle of small farms which predominated in the Serbia of pre-war times, and which guaranteed liberty as well as the land to the peasant, is getting a foothold now throughout the whole of Jugo-Slavia. The great landed estates are either taken away from their holders or bought from them and divided, in the first place, among the poor warriors and volunteers. After they have received their shares, a general distribution of land among all of those who are in need of it will follow. Our country, which is today exclusively an agricultural country, has a government which is of the opinion that all the reasons which our people had for going to Asia Minor, South and North America, during the reign of Austria-Hungary and Turkey, will cease to exist if the above ideas are put into practice. Success has been evident from the beginning. Although the solution of the agrarian problem is just started in our country, the people have started to go back to their motherland in great numbers. From the beginning of the liberation till the present time, about seventy thousand Jugo-Slav immigrants have returned to Jugo-Slavia.

These returning immigrants, and especially those coming from the United States are a real blessing to our commonwealth. They are taking the places vacated by those heroes who sacrificed their lives in the wars, and such places are very, very numerous. They are bringing in new methods of work and new experiences. Due to the fact that these people worked in mines and factories, that they were farmers and merchants in America, they will be the pillars of our industry, especially the mining industry. Our country is full of coal, iron, copper, gold, and other metals, and with the help of these experienced workers, as well as with the help of domestic and foreign capital, our industry will progress, and we will be then, in both agriculture and industry, what we are only in agriculture at the present time. America has changed our men. They are able to do many things which they did not know how to do before. And charitable America, which was very generous to our orphans, will, in the above described manner, help to reconstruct our country, which suffered more from the ruinous war than any other country in Europe. But even the Jugo-Slav who has settled down and become an American citizen represents a gain for both countries. He will know how to make Americans interested in our industry and commerce. The third group of Jugo-Slavs, namely, those who will come to this country in the future, will be a strong bridge between the United States and Jugo-Slavia, and our men will cross that bridge to learn and to earn, and will either go back or stay here, doing just as much for the mutual understanding and friendship as the two above-mentioned groups.

The first and real pioneers of this kind will be the seventy or eighty Jugo-Slav students who are now here at the American universities. When they come back to Jugo-Slavia, the so-called "American spirit" will be represented by them. The Jugo-Slav culture and civilization has passed, during the nineteenth century, under the influence of the "German spirit," the "Italian spirit," and, during the seventies, it passed through the so-called cult of the "Russian soul," and, finally, during the last twenty years, the so-called "esprit gaulois" (the "French spirit") has been strongest; but, of course, having for its basis its own Jugo-Slav and Slav spirit. Today we are under the influence of the American spirit. The American authors are much translated in our country today; such translating includes works of economic, social, and literary

nature. Anglo-Saxonism and Americanism are much discussed and written about. Our hope is to extend and to cement the friendship which we have established with America during the war, mostly through the helping hand of the Jugo-Slav immigrants. We are not against the emigration from Jugo-Slavia which will bring such relations between the two nations. Welcome are both the spirit and experience which, during a period of 130 years, have made this country the first country in the world!

C. THE OUTLOOK WITH REFERENCE TO JEWISH IMMIGRATION

Hon. Hugo Pam, Judge of the Superior Court, Chicago

What I am about to say is based on information secured during a trip to Eastern Europe as member of a commission sent by the Hebrew Sheltering and Immigrant Aid Society to investigate and report on immigration problems among the Jewish people. I returned in May after visiting Poland, Roumania, Lithuania, Latvia, Czecho-Slovakia, Austria, and Hungary, as well as Germany and other countries of Western Europe. Although there is still great suffering in Eastern Europe, I believe that slowly and steadily a settling process is going on. My investigations led me to believe that Poland, confronted with tremendous problems, will become a strong country united by a vibrant nationalism; that Czecho-Slovakia has already made much progress toward the great future that is before it; that the smaller nations of Esthonia, Latvia, and Lithuania are striving to realize a permanent national life; and that of these, Lithuania appeared to me to be the most successful.

Everywhere in these nations one meets gratitude for American assistance, for the remarkable work of the relief agency which Mr. Hoover has established throughout Europe, of the Friends' Service Committee, of various Protestant organizations, of the American Hierarchy of the Roman Catholic church, as well as the work of the Jewish Joint Distribution Committee with which I was especially concerned. While I believe that permanent recovery is being slowly made, too much emphasis cannot be given to the suffering which is still unrelieved and to the obligation of Americans in the name of humanity and civilization to meet this need. I have been asked, however, to speak on the special problems of the Jews in this district and the consequences for their emigration.

So far as the Polish and Roumanian Jewry is concerned conditions are better in some ways than I had been led to expect. There is, to be sure, great misery and suffering among both the Jews and the non-Jews. In both countries the Jew still suffers because he is a Jew, but conditions in this respect are improving. The most pressing difficulty, so far as the Jews are concerned, and the one which makes emigration for many of them imperative, is that there are hundreds of thousands of Jews in Poland and Roumania and other countries near them who are not citizens of the country in which they find themselves. They are refugees from White Russia and the Ukraine, driven from their homes by intolerable conditions. The condition on which they were allowed to enter these countries was that their stay should be temporary. This condition was imposed because the lack of housing, the lack of food, the lack of work and all means to work made it impossible for Poland, Roumania, and Jugo-Slavia to offer them more than a temporary refuge. During our travels we found hundreds of thousands of these Jewish refugees housed in miserable hovels and temporary shelters,

enduring indescribable suffering. Absolute destitution exists among them; women, poorly clothed or practically naked, are struggling to keep alive children who have lived only under the shadow of war. When you mingle among them you find that the one burning desire that keeps life in many of them is to take advantage of the invitations of American relatives to join them here, where they are prepared to make it possible for them to establish permanent, secure homes.

New complications were created by the action of Hungary. The thousands of Jews who were driven to Budapest and other parts of Hungary by the exigencies of war have within the last year been subjected to expulsion by police regulation. Under police orders thousands have been interned while arrangements were made for their repatriation in Poland, Roumania, and a few in Czecho-Slovakia. At the time of my visit there were only a few thousand left of the many who had come during the war, but I am fearful that, with these expelled, Hungary will undertake to repatriate Jews who have lived in Hungary for ten or twenty years. Many of these Jews who are being expelled have married Hungarian women, and have children born in Hungary; others who brought with them their families will be compelled to leave homes they established with every expectation of permanency. They are being exiled to countries in which economic need and general suffering are greater than that in Hungary. These Jews who have found temporary refuge in Poland and Roumania find themselves in a trap. Their homes in the country from which they were driven have been broken up; their property has often been confiscated. Without homes, and often not citizens of the country in which they find themselves, they are told they must leave. Where are they to go?

Testimony has been given before Congressional committees and reports have been published in newspapers to the effect that 95 per cent of these people are undesirable. I yield to no one in my desire to preserve both our country and our institutions from vicious, dangerous, unhealthy, or undesirable aliens. It is because I am an American by birth and by affection that I so much desire that Americans shall know who these people are who are asking for admission, and what is involved in our refusing them. Under the rags, behind the faces which bear evidence of their struggles, they are God-fearing, hard-working people, eager to perform their part in the country which will shelter them.

Some of these unfortunate people are going to the Argentine, some to Canada, some to Mexico, some to far-away Australia and Africa, and some to Palestine. Of those who have turned toward the United States practically all have relatives here. They know through letters that here there is, for people of every creed, security of life, real liberty, and an opportunity to secure a modicum of happiness. The action of Congress in passing the so-called "Dillingham 3 per cent bill" was based upon misinformation as to the conditions and people of Eastern Europe. That law will prove impossible of fair and successful administration. The question of what shall be done will soon again be before Congress and the American people. In view of the undeserved suffering which I have described, and in view of their close relation to many of our citizens who can know no peace of mind until these conditions are changed, what are we to do?

As the industrial depression from which we are now suffering was in no sense caused by immigration, so the movement to restrict it in new ways has brought no relief. Will America at this moment of almost unprecedented obligation reverse its

policy of making the United States a refuge for honest, God-fearing, hard-working,erty-loving people, sound in body and character, and with friends and relatives able and willing to care for them?

PORT PROBLEMS IN EUROPE AND THE UNITED STATES

With Crawford, Director, Immigration Service Bureau, National Board, Young Women's Christian Association, New York City

Port problems are inherent in immigration with or without a percentage restriction, when we compare the immigration from Europe of pre-war days with that of the last twelve months.

General Characteristics of Post-War Immigration.—The number of immigrants in the last six months of 1920 passed the half-million mark. The winter and spring months of 1921 have seen a steady increase, so that the total will probably approach the figures of 1910. With the exception of Hungary, Austria, and Russia, countries from which as yet we have received few immigrants because of our having been technically still at war, the largest number of immigrants have come from countries known in social work as countries of "New Immigration." However, the sex and age distribution differs from that of the pre-war immigration from the same countries. There is a far larger proportion of helpless human beings: mothers with four or five children, rejoining the father in Wisconsin; old grandmothers with young children whom they are taking back to American parents; young girls of fifteen and sixteen orphaned by war and typhus, bound for their nearest relative, a cousin in Ohio. The immigrant man of pre-war days is conspicuous by his absence. There are a few old men and young boys; in the main, it is a movement of women folks and children.

Post-war conditions on the Continent have greatly increased the misrouting of emigrants. There are no through-trains as there were in pre-war days when the efficiently organized German Steamship Lines carried the emigrants from a central gathering-point in Russia or Poland in sanitary corridor trains direct to the dock-hotels or the waiting steamers at the port of Bremen and Hamburg. Instead, in box-cars or in old military wagons the emigrants are shunted from the boundaries of one country to the borders of the next. Often they are side-tracked for days at a time; at some borders they are ordered out of the trains for wholesale disinfecting and delousing; at others they are dumped out in the middle of the night to sleep on the station platform or to stumble in the darkness through the intricacies of customs and passport red tape.

Post-war influences have also diverted the streams of emigration to entirely new ports. As yet Bremen and Hamburg, with their wonderful equipment to care for emigrants, are practically empty. The emigrants from Poland are finding their way out through Danzig, Antwerp. From Czecho-Slovakia, Jugo-Slavia, Roumania, emigrants have been passing through Austria and Switzerland, the French ports of Le Havre and Cherbourg. Many have even been sent across the channel to sail on English lines from Liverpool. Only recently have the more direct rail routes through Germany to Antwerp and Rotterdam been open. Although the majority of Italians are still sailing from Genoa and Naples the difficulty in obtaining accommodations and the difference in exchange have resulted in many Italians sailing from French ports.

feeble-minded boy land temporarily on bond to see her husband and plan what is to be done, than it is to deport the mother and the child to a devastated village in Poland leaving the father and four children in the United States. The fault is with a system which makes it possible for people *obviously ineligible* for entry under the present United States laws, in good faith to break every tie of human relationship, to sell their property and to invest every cent in a ticket and every ounce of hope and faith in a future in America.

American Ports.—Now let us turn to the American side of the picture; first to the port or border points other than Ellis Island, through which over 25 per cent of the total immigration to the United States enters. Many people realized this latter fact for the first time this winter when steamship companies, because of the very strict quarantine measures of New York Harbor, Marconied their vessels at sea to change their destination from New York to Boston or Philadelphia. One boat even went to Portland, Maine.

Americans are prone to think in terms of Ellis Island, when we think of immigrant entry into United States. The fact that the second largest number of aliens enter the country by way of the Canadian border, from the Canadian port of St. John is illuminating. The Mexican border is also an important port of entry. There are international bridges, so-called, at Laredo and El Paso as well as at other points, where the immigration service has officials; but it may be said that the Mexican border is quite long and desolate, and that people have been known to wade across! Perhaps this fact accounts for the apparently increasing habit of aliens debarred or deported at Ellis Island, trying their luck at getting into the United States by way of Mexico—San Francisco and Seattle both have the exacting problem of the Oriental immigrant, the Japanese, the Chinese, and the Hindu coolie, in addition to an ever-increasing number of Mexicans, Russians, and Italians.

It is necessary to dismiss the port experience of the average immigrant admitted on "primary inspection," whose difficulties on the inland trip are being discussed elsewhere in the conference, and to turn to that group which for a variety of reasons is detained at the immigration stations because of failure to comply with some technicality of the United States immigration law. I wish it were possible to give some idea of the proportion of immigrants detained, in comparison with the number admitted or rejected. So far as I know such an analysis has never been made. The only figures available show the total number of immigrants excluded and deported. For the last six months of 1920 this number equaled 8,690. This number tells only half the story. A far larger number were detained and then finally admitted. It is this problem of detention which indicates a phase of work at our immigration stations which demands a change. There are two types of detention, that of temporary detention and that of special inquiry. The first are held for a period varying from a few hours to a month, because of insufficient money, for relatives to call, or because some other member of the family has been taken to a hospital. In the special inquiry group are those held because something developed in the inspection that suggests non-compliance with the requirements of law, such as illiteracy, liability to become a public charge, or some health deficiency. These cases of "S. I." are apt to drag over weeks and months. Many social workers today believe that standards of American efficiency and American consideration for helpless human beings are not being upheld in the treatment of these cases. Ellis Island being the largest immigration station presents the most serious situation.

At Ellis Island the immigrants sleep in large dormitories segregated according to sex. The bunks are double-deckers, screened in with wire, not only at the side but over the top so that the entrance is like a maze. They have no mattresses, but an adequate supply of blankets. What would happen in case of fire, one shudders to contemplate! Toilets—beautiful to observe as to tiled exterior, but cursed with antiquated and corroded plumbing, result in daily inconvenience. Enamel basins for washing are equipped with clip faucets, but lack a stopper "because the immigrant would flood the place." The result, according to one matron, is that the women rarely use this tiled washroom. They prefer the open basins in the detention room.

The Island does some laundry work for the detained immigrant, but the clothes often come back so badly torn that the women with few belongings are reluctant to give up their garments. Many immigrants have been reduced, after the repeated disinfecting and delousing processes enroute, to the clothes on their backs. Mothers with little babies cannot wait a week for clean diapers. The result is that garments are washed out in the rooms where the women sit all day and hung over the radiators or near the windows to dry. That facilities for washing have human implications in an immigration station is apparently recognized by some branches of the United States Immigration Service because the Boston station is equipped with washtubs, clothes-horse, and ironing board, and the matron arranges so that the women can wash their clothes at night, leave them hanging, and have them fresh and clean the next morning.

Immigrants are fed by the steamship companies. There is plenty of food prepared carefully with consideration for racial tastes, but scant thought seems to be given to the needs of small children. Milk is brought around to the detention rooms in large cans, and mothers get it in cups for their babies. There are no means of heating or of modifying milk. Fortunately most immigrants' babies are breast-fed.

Lastly there is no occupation. Can you picture the state of mind of hundreds of people, the majority of whom have been held for several weeks in one room? "Bench-sitters" they are called. All day long they sit on the long wooden benches or they move restlessly up and down the slippery tiled floor. When the weather is warm they are let out in the sunshine for certain hours, and it is a God-send, but during the passed winter they were penned in detention rooms with barred windows, marshalled three times a day to the dining-room and occasionally to a concert or to movies in the main inspection room. The women of course have an endless number of children. Until recently, a mother had only to choose between her arms and a hard bench for her babe to lie on all day. The younger children wander listlessly up and down or gather in groups with children whose language they can understand. The room is filled with the din of hoarse voices talking in every language, of guards calling out names which they cannot pronounce of immigrants wanted outside. There is the uncertainty of how long they will be detained, the morbid retelling of experiences, the anxiety of not hearing from a child who may be ill in the hospital, or the horror of seeing people carried out on stretchers to the hospital, or led screaming from the room, the dread decision of exclusion or deportation having been passed. Spiritually as well as physically the atmosphere of the room is depressing.

Physical conditions could be improved fairly easily if Congress would appropriate added funds. Far more serious are conditions resulting from a bureaucratic organization developed to handle numbers rapidly but apparently failing to recognize that in the case of immigrants the commodity handled is human life, not barrels of standard oil or bales of cotton.

For instance if a child is taken sick it is sent at once to the hospital. If it is certified, the mother may visit it once a week on Sunday afternoon. For this visit she must get a card from the matron. Often mothers do not understand and in their peasant stoicism they wait patiently day after day for news of their child—missing the Sunday visit because they do not know enough to ask the matron for the card. One poor Slovak woman I knew to be called by the hospital authorities to decide whether the government or she herself would bury her baby laid out quietly on the morgue table. Another Polish Maria who left Poland in November of last year was held four weeks in Warsaw, six weeks in Danzig, two months in London, and when she finally arrived at Ellis Island on March 4, she was held there until May 17 because her eight-year-old daughter was taken from the ship to the Willard Parker Hospital suffering with measles. During all the weeks at Ellis Island, the mother was taken to see her child just once! Again it has been the custom, when appeals to Washington for the staying of exclusions have been refused, to put the deportation so quickly into operation that often girls have been deported from the Island when a brother, bringing in clean and worn clothes, was struggling to get a pass to see her from the information bureau on the Island, which declared that the girl was not on the Island. In another case, two Armenian girls traveling with their brothers were detained because of trachoma. One girl was released, to join her brothers in Springfield. The other girl was sent back without having a chance to see the other members of her family, who, when visited six months later, were still ignorant of why the sister had been sent back or whether she had ever arrived.

There has been an honest and concerted attempt on the part of the fifteen private welfare organizations at present represented on Ellis Island to penetrate this situation. In past months a corridor on the third floor has been equipped as a kindergarten and the older children from the detention rooms have had a few hours each day in this bright, sunny room where their hands and minds have been kept busy. After much persuasion a small room was cleared of some bales, and room was made for the installation of three cribs and a bathing outfit for tiny babies. Two of the organizations undertook to pay the salary of a kindergarten and a practical nurse. An indication of the attitude of mind directing the policies at Ellis Island lies in the fact that when the Secretary of Labor and the new commissioner were shown officially over the Island they were not shown the day nursery, and only stumbled on the kindergarten by chance!

In view of the situation it has made many of us grateful beyond words that a social-minded official with years of immigration experience behind him has been appointed and given a free hand by President Harding himself and told to improve conditions, an opportunity which as a public official our new commissioner, Mr. Husband, can best take advantage of if he is backed by a public opinion demanding an efficient and a social, rather than a political and mass administration of our immigration service. Last week I left Ellis Island late one evening on a seven o'clock ferry. On the right hand were the immigration buildings with their barred windows and closed doors giving no hint of the presence of the one thousand detained aliens whom I had just left sitting on benches in the main inspection hall. On the left were the rambling buildings of the Public Health Service. Some of the nurses were sitting enjoying the evening sunlight over the harbor and watching a multitude of little white-capped favus, or ring-worm, cases playing happily on the lawn. Further out on the piles of the ferry slip were the older patients in their long brown hospital gowns. They were peaceful

and quiet and quite free in the evening hours. It is to be hoped that the individual thought given to aliens by one branch of the United States Government will some day be duplicated on the other side of the Island by the United States Immigration Service.

THE SCHOOLING OF THE IMMIGRANT

A. ELEMENTARY ADULT EDUCATION FOR NATIVE AND FOREIGN-BORN

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It approaches the edge of rashness to mark out the limits of adult elementary education. And yet, there are a few outstanding approaches to the task. Concerning the need of a common national language there can be no debate. That single task is no small thing for a public-school system to segregate from its numerous other obligations, and to undertake as a unit of endeavor. The United States has spent twenty years and large funds of money at the business of making the American language the common speech of the Philippines. Surely the compact foreign possessions lying within our immediate national borders deserve as much time and money and intelligent effort.

With the disappearance of the frontier the population of the nation has huddled for the most part into great cities in physical proximity far too close, yet widely separated in social relations. Violent group antagonisms result. No adequate degree of neighborly comprehension can exist between American groups and immigrants in periods of storm and stress like the present, for reasons easily apparent. Compelled by circumstances over which they have no control the newly arrived strangers tend to agglomerate into colonies. Alien groups are necessarily adjacent to American institutions but not of them.

The immigrant is an intelligent human creature caught in a net of alien experiences which he does not comprehend, about which he may not ask, and concerning which his neighbors are prevented by one great obstacle from offering any explanation. That obstacle is the one thing that must be cleared away no matter what else may or may not be contributed to the general task of democratization.

This process by which adults acquire a second language is educational. The nature of the process thus determines the social agency that must undertake the task. There is only one such agency in a democracy—the public school. If it is now inadequate to the task, then it must be rendered adequate. The most casual observer can perceive that the public school must be about that business quickly. The reduction of American-made adult illiteracy is a second piece of work easily discernible by the observant educational eye. The American government depends on the printed page as a means of dissemination of information, as a forum for public discussion. No considerable number of citizens may be safely excluded from this discussion by their own illiteracy.

Experiments in adult elementary education have contributed several important items to a new viewpoint in education. The first, perhaps, is a concept of the need of elasticity. Out of this grows the second, namely, a loss of faith in the real importance

of elaborate organization and equipment, and, on the other hand, an increased reliance on direct human contacts. The teacher who conducts a class under a tree, with her charts and blackboard suspended to the tree trunk and her students seated on soap boxes, acquires and promulgates a new set of human pedagogical values. Such teachers have worked out the third contribution in their educational laboratories, viz., the first steps in simplification of (a) purpose, (b) background, (c) process, (d) results. Upon this reduction of our present intolerable and artificial complexities to elemental simplicities depends our educational salvation. A fourth contribution is ready for criticism and revision; namely, a simple theory of the adult learning-process and a technique of teaching which shall stimulate it. And out of this a fifth is emerging—lesson leaflets and lesson series by the hundreds, individual teaching kits, charts, devices in general, along with the correlative conviction that a teacher is the one person responsible for her products.

Out of complexity and its consequent dehumanizing of both processes and persons, grew the sad social isolation of which the public school stands indicted. Schoolhouses and teaching forces are too often in a neighborhood but not of it. Splendid educational palaces tower over the simple habitations of humble folk who receive most of their education in alley, or pool-hall, or saloon, or corner grocery, or in even less innocent places.

The war hit educators and education between the eyes. It is still an open question whether the blow awakened or blinded. Society, to a greater degree than the crowd realizes, is at the present moment in the hands of fumbling, clumsy-fingered, unlettered citizens. And that is fair enough, in a democracy, for they are the direct product of our national educational procedure. If we do not like their ways we must mend ours. For the illiterate our schools are responsible directly; for the non-English-speaking citizen only indirectly. They are both the task of the public school, not as charity patients, but as a large constituent part of the huge plan by which we make over our concept of the business of education. The proof of all this lies in the great and growing volume of extra-mural educational processes.

Out of some such point of view as this grew the "cottage idea"—a bit of experimentation in economical education. The machinery of organization is reduced to the minimum required by law. The classes are small. The meeting place is a cottage, or flat, or shack, not unlike its adjoining buildings. The human element is considered first. The adult illiterate is shy—no prouder of his shortcomings than any other human creature and with no greater wish to advertise them. Foreign-born house-mothers are attracted to these modest, often dingy, little places, where they learn gradually to mingle with their neighbors. Laws may compel a formal attendance upon classes of shy illiterates and aliens, but without the leaven of teachers inherently gifted for neighborhood service the fruits will be exactly what the fruits of compulsion alone always are.

This specialization in adaptation to neighborhood needs has slowly developed a new ideal for adult classes. "Anything helpful, any time available, any place convenient." Gradually classes have been organized outside of the schoolroom, sometimes supplementing the work of other agencies. Classes for adults have been held at eleven o'clock in the morning, at two o'clock in the afternoon, and at nine o'clock at night. The instruction has been varied enough to include subjects so widely separated as the care of babies in a class of foreign mothers and lip-reading for the hard-of-hearing. Infants in a family prevent attendance of their parents; so the

nurseries, long a feature in the Los Angeles schools, help to solve the problems, when the money to support them is available.

Under this concept of their function, the classes for adult wage-earners in Los Angeles have thus far gradually divided themselves into eight clearly defined groups, namely: (a) the night school, varied, however, with respect to the number of nights a week, and to the hours of meeting, and with respect to the subject-matter of classes, as local needs demand; (b) classes for mothers, American and foreign, meeting in the schoolhouses, either in the afternoons or evenings, in which subjects of interest to house-mothers, such as food conservation, care of babies, etc., are taken up; (c) labor camp classes, for women in the afternoon or mornings, and for men in the evenings; (d) factory classes, meeting in factories, etc.; (e) cottage classes; (f) classes at unusual, educationally strategic points, such as hospitals, Red Cross salvage shops, etc.; (g) boarding house classes of large non-American groups of laborers; (h) home teacher's classes.

The first essential of successful work with adult classes is excellence of quality in the teaching done by the leaders of those classes. To further the appreciation of excellence in technique of teaching in this particular field, two-hour conferences have been held as a part of the Normal School Saturday Extension Work and University Extension Work. Special committees of teachers have been assigned to special work on various phases of Americanization and other adult instruction. Attendance at such conferences and committee work is, of course, not necessarily productive of good teaching, but is at least indicative of the interest of the teaching community at large.

Of the teachers obtained for special and separate service in adult classes in Los Angeles over two-thirds have been called to more remunerative positions outside the city. The salary schedule for 1919-20 promises better things, not so much because it increases the remuneration per hour, but because it provides teachers who wish to devote their entire time to adult classes, a possible program of four or five hours a day of combined day and evening service in this special field. Thus assured a fair income, an Americanization teacher is able to use her free time familiarizing herself with the literature of her special department, developing her materials for teaching, making her acquaintance with the other social agencies and conditions of her neighborhood, visiting the homes of her students, etc. Out of these committees and training conferences no fewer than thirty distinctly excellent sets of lessons have been evolved. Some have found semi-permanent form as printed or mimeographed loose lesson-leaflets; others—more particularly the advanced lessons in English—are ready for a well-deserved permanent preservation in pamphlet form. The number of teachers who are dependent on the printed textbook or supervisor-made lessons is consequently steadily decreasing.

Out of an already limited space in the city school library, a workroom for teachers of elementary adult classes was given over. With the meager facilities and a ridiculously small expenditure of money, the committee in charge of the workroom, together with the librarian in charge of night school material, organized, under the librarian's expert direction, an adequate and orderly housing for a well-nigh hopelessly inchoate mass of experimental teaching equipment. To their daily task of handling books—checking in and checking out, commonly conceded to be library service—these librarians have cheerfully added expert service in, first, advising teachers, especially the younger and more inexperienced, in the choice of texts and reference books; second,

recommending devices for housing materials both in the common workroom and in the workrooms of individual schools, cottages, and classrooms; third, instructing committees and conferences of teachers on expert methods of filing, indexing, and preserving all unbound teaching paraphernalia; fourth, providing for the circulation of charts and similar devices on the same basis as circulation of books and pamphlets—a most helpful contribution to teachers who are wrestling with the teaching problems peculiar to a new and uncharted field of educational endeavor; fifth, actually contributing a large amount of the picture material needed; sixth, guiding and aiding the professional reading of teachers by providing in easily available form current magazine articles and monographs and bibliographies not otherwise readily accessible; and seventh, loaning to teacher-workers, for all sorts of constructive purposes, every sort of library tool from paste-pot to filing case.

Early in 1915 the state legislature provided for a new type of teacher whose chief business is to weld together the cleavage between the foreign parents and home on the one hand, and the school and other public agencies on the other. That the home teacher is a most essential part of every teaching staff in every school, foreign or native-born, is granted, though the fact that our schools have become so highly organized and specialized as to render her services necessary is a condition deplored by many thoughtful educators.

The selection of the home teacher is a matter for serious consideration. She must be able to interpret the civic institutions of the neighborhood intelligently and accurately. She must be in spirit and in fact thoroughly part of the school. She is seldom chosen from a miscellaneous group of applicants, but she usually grows into her work in her district either as grade teacher or Americanization teacher. Unwisely chosen and injudiciously directed she may easily become a serious menace to the social group she is designed to serve.

The home teacher is not a variety of glorified errand-boy whose duties include all the odds and ends of tasks not included in some other teacher's assignments. She is, however, the "emergency trouble man" for the school and the community. She is not an attendance officer in the nationally accepted sense of that term. It is frequently true that some question concerning habitual absence or tardiness of children formulates her initial errand to the home, but she has small vision of the legal and social purpose of her professional existence if her succeeding visits find no other justification. She is, as an institution, no more particularly adapted to a school-community largely foreign than she is to any other kind of a district. A so-called American industrial district, or any district of working parents where children run wild on the streets, or apartment house district, or congested neighborhood of too-cheap, rented shack, stands in much greater need of neighborhood mothering than an upstanding, thrifty group of independent home-owners who happen to have been born in another land. It is not so much the integrity of the home-life of the foreigner that is threatened by "the present-day social cataclysm," as the American home of the third and fourth generation. She is not a separate, single, social entity or agency. She is a part of the school system. She is, furthermore, as definitely a part of the individual school corps, and as definitely responsible to her principal, as any schoolroom teacher. It is a sorry case, to be sure, when she chances to be placed with a principal myopic in social vision, but the difficulties must be worked out with that principal and not without the principal and the school.

Not only has the home teacher with her peripatetic possibilities for establishing close contacts been developed according to this new social philosophy, but along with her has grown up a string of small cottages, each located in the heart of more or less non-social foreign groups and each similar to the surrounding homes. The comparatively elegant and large school buildings have proved overwhelmingly alien to the great majority of foreign neighborhoods. The house-mothers, especially, must be drawn to them gradually. So they have been attracted first to the modest, often dingy little rooms or houses, where they slowly learn to come out from their shell of fear and distrust and heavy hatred of all the untoward circumstances in which many have found themselves.

School authorities have not found a method of recording these slow awakenings to a comprehension of the real neighborly intent (despite all the evidence to the contrary) of the great bulk of our native American groups toward their foreign neighbors. Neither do school registers show any tabulations of names of isolated persons who have learned to laugh and to play with their neighbors in these small, intimate, unforbidding gatherings. There are no columns provided for reporting the number of musical instruments with pronounceable and unpronounceable names that are hesitatingly drawn from their hiding places, of songs and music shyly offered as contributions to the general joy of the day, of costumes dragged from the seclusion of foreign-looking trunks and boxes to adorn graceful unfamiliar dances trodden by sadly unaccustomed feet, of exquisite pieces of hand-work timidly shown by their makers and joyously exhibited by the teacher, of cases of unemployment relieved so that care and anxiety may be driven away at least for the minute, of the increasing number of wandering families attracted to the notion of a permanent abiding place, of lively small community centers thriving and functioning, joyously, entirely unaware of the vast amount of pamphleteering about them and their kind, of civic instruction by practical use of civic institutions instead of lectures or lessons—of all these and the many others of the sort no official record is possible. Yet these are the commonplaces of the day's work for the Americanization teacher despite the fact that her days are dogged and her nights haunted by the necessity of producing in a given group at some moment a minimum of fifteen of these shy alien friends. Laws may compel a formal attendance in classes of certain alien groups for certain parts of the year, but without the leaven of teachers inherently gifted in this sort of service the fruits will be exactly what the fruits of compulsion alone always are.

In the development of industrial classes it has not been easy to hold to the gospel of simplicity, and it has been difficult to remember insistently that any adult educational process is one of habit substitution instead of habit formation as with children. There has been a temptation to mistake the mere accumulation of numbers of persons for the tedious process by which an adult with tired body and untrained mind adds a second language to his mother-tongue. The shortsighted demand upon us for a showing of numbers in our registers places the emphasis of a teacher's interest on the wrong phase of her work. We have been well-nigh compelled to resort to aggregation as a substitute for education.

Furthermore, the matter of the industrial complexes involved is not so simple in Los Angeles as it seems to be in many cities. Our peculiar rotations of seasonal employment and unemployment; the transient and semi-transient character of both our laboring and our leisure population; the widely varying practices of "hiring and firing"; the comparative absence of immense industrial centers; the lack of "slum"

districts in the sense used to describe that congested, poverty-driven condition of older cities; the comparative mildness of our semi-tropic climate and its relation to living and laboring conditions; the presence, not to say omnipresence, of the two large foreign groups peculiarly and locally our own, with the ticklish national and local questions involved in their vicinage; and the wholesale transfer of whole groups of workmen from one trade to another; all these, and more, have precluded most of the prescribed methods of procedure. This turnover, not only of labor but of whole bodies of population, is a thing too vast and is due to causes too remote and deepseated to be touched by the inauguration of a few classes in vocational training or English-to-foreigners.

In the main it has seemed best to attack first and frankly the twofold racial situation, because the Mexican and Japanese outnumber and outweigh in economic significance the other laboring groups; and to advance upon them first where they work and second where they live. So the approach proceeded, as follows:

1. To laboring camps, temporary and permanent; transportation companies; fruit-picking, drying, and canning; and nut-picking and drying.
2. To factories where policies of the employer and organizations of labor tend to stabilize the roll of employees.
3. To large boarding-houses of homeless laboring men.
4. To laundries—an industrial service always large and steady, and hence nearly permanent in a tourist and transient population.
5. To groups of market gardeners and flower growers.

A study of pay-rolls of several of the large plants shows in the war period an astounding turnover of foreign-speaking labor that explains to the initiated not only some of the mysteries of high cost of production, but also the folly of investing either an employer's time and money or a school department's time and money in factory classes in English-to-foreigners, or any other subjects for adult study. The relatively large decrease in the number of homes purchased by persons with foreign names is another interesting bit of data useful in the establishment of adult industrial classes. A study of the name-lists of communicants in various religious organizations reveals an almost incredible shift recently in population groups. So it has seemed and still seems important to discover the most stable and the most needy groups—or at least the most stable location of a group—and to establish there centers of radiation which shall vary easily as conditions change. If that center is in a large laundry, reaching out after the men and young people at noon-hour, it is obviously a "factory class"; if it is in a tiny room or building somewhere near their home where it reaches the house-mother of these same workers, it classifies itself officially (for persons who demand card-indexes and figures and classifications) as a "camp class" or a "cottage class"; if it is an evening center in a schoolhouse, it becomes a "night school." As a matter of fact it is all part of one tremendous task—the training of all the adult members of a community, American and foreign-born, into the habit of continuing their education in whatever lines and for whatever period of time shall suit best their immediate needs.

In the pioneer work of elementary adult education there are several fundamental needs: a national educational leadership; a national program of procedure; a technique of teaching English-to-foreigners; and thorough training courses for teachers. In the social conditions of today exist almost insuperable handicaps to the work of elementary adult education; a reluctance to divert the available money from tradi-

tional pre-war lines of expenditure to new post-war needs; an astounding dearth of teachers; a weakening professional morale; the bewildering pressure of industrial and economic changes upon the entire population; a general apathy on most phases of political, social and educational activity that reaches beyond the simple problems of living; the provincial and local quality of each bit of experimentation in this new field, due to lack of any means of national co-ordination; the loss of faith in rank and file of teachers in their leadership.

B. THE HOME TEACHER EXPERIMENT IN SPRINGFIELD, ILLINOIS

Geneva M. Bane

A school survey in the fall of 1918 in the city of Springfield showed that every district had some children of foreign parentage and in one district two-thirds of the children had foreign-born parents.

During the winter of 1918-19, the Lincoln Library conducted a "Gifts of the Nations" class. The class met every two weeks. At each meeting, the people of some one nationality told of their country, its customs, habits, dress, language, etc. Sometimes they showed laces, embroideries, and other needlework from their homeland. When the Lithuanians gave their program, the priest talked; his choir leader, who had been in Grand Opera and is now singing in Grand Opera and making records for the Victrola, sang two solos; and a large group of school children sang national songs. The people from other lands who took part in these programs, or whose friends took part in them, were interested in the new spirit of co-operation between the native and foreign-born of Springfield.

The Woman's Committee of the Council of National Defense became interested in the foreign-born in our midst. This committee, with Miss Ida F. Wright of the city library, planned a two days' school of instruction for local people who wanted to learn how to reach non-English-speaking people. They were fortunate in securing for this work Miss Frances K. Wetmore of Chicago who has supervision of all the day-school and factory classes for foreign-speaking men and women in her own city. She gave instruction in the method of approach, getting acquainted, organizing, and teaching classes of foreign-born people. At the last session of the institute she gave a demonstration of teaching a beginning lesson to a group of foreign men. The men enjoyed it so much that they were sorry when the lesson was ended. Some of the men had never tried to write before and complained that their "hands were heavy."

Following the institute an enthusiastic Americanization mass meeting was held at the high school auditorium. Announcement of the night schools for people who wanted to study English was put into the pay envelope of every foreign-born employee of the mines in and around Springfield. Night schools, meeting twice a week, were opened in four schools in the city and continued for ten weeks.

Many women who were anxious to learn English in the schools could not leave their homes and small children at night, especially if their husbands were also in the school. Sometimes the husband and wife took turns and went on alternate nights. This opened the way for the home teacher. Women whose children attended school and whose husbands worked in the mines were glad of an opportunity to go to school

in the morning or early afternoon. To meet these women, it was necessary to have someone who could speak their language tell them of the plan to have neighborhood classes in their homes. Some of the people who had helped in the Gifts of the Nations class offered to act as interpreters. One young Lithuanian woman was a particularly good interpreter and an earnest advocate of Americanization work. She helped organize the first class for women. As we went from house to house and I heard her speak as fluently to her own countrymen as she spoke English to me, I said, "I would give anything to be able to speak another language as you do." She replied: "Do you know, a few years ago I wouldn't speak my own language? I was ashamed to have people know I was Lituish. Americans don't like us you know, they call us names." I had no reply for I knew that what she said was all too true.

It happened that we did most of our calling on a day when the mines were not working and the men were at home. Some men thought the home class was a fine idea; others did not favor it. One man said: "What is all this, anyway? Night school and classes for women? We never had it before. There's something back of it. They are trying to put something over on us." The women were timid and insisted upon the interpreter's attending the class too. She became ill and was unable to attend two or three meetings. When she returned, she found that she was not needed. The women had overcome their timidity and were less embarrassed alone with the teacher than with a third person of their own nationality who spoke English fluently and recognized their mistakes.

The Associated Charities visiting housekeeper told some families about the new classes for women. When I called to see one of these women, she asked if she could learn to read. I said she could. Striking her head with her hand, she said: "I'd bust my head to read magazines." Teachers and nurses reported families where the mothers couldn't speak English. I found that a school girl or boy was a very satisfactory interpreter. Husbands and children usually encouraged the mothers to enter the classes, but in a few cases they laughed at the idea and said that mother had no time or would not be interested in such work. I found the best pupils were mothers from twenty to forty years of age, whose children were attending the public schools.

Various interesting reasons for studying English are given. Some women want to learn to write their names. A few of these drop out of the class when they reach that goal. Many women want to learn to talk English, because their husbands and children speak English and the mothers do not always understand the conversation. In some families the children refuse to speak the language of their parents. The children speak to their parents in English and the parents reply in their native tongue. Each understands the other, but cannot express himself in the language of the other. Some women want to read American papers and magazines. An Austrian woman who has completed her second year in the home class discontinued her Austrian paper last March and subscribed for a Springfield daily. Some women want to read the newspaper advertisements, others wish to be able to order from catalogues, while some desire to write letters to a son or daughter who is away from home, and the letters must be in English. One woman joined the class to learn to write English after her husband was sent to the penitentiary, because all letters to him had to be in English. Several women wanted to learn to read the screen at the movies.

When the class was organized, it met at the home of one of the members one week and at the home of another the following week. The women were in their places on

time and ready for work. They were serious, earnest workers who wanted to make every minute of the class-hour count. The class usually met in the kitchen where they sat around the table, using it as a desk. The women furnished their pencils and tablets, but I supplied the lessons. I carried a roll blackboard to class. This blackboard hung upon the wall where all could see it and gave to the kitchen the air of a schoolroom. Every day for the first few meetings we stood and sang America at the opening of the class, and gradually other American songs were added.

The direct method of teaching English was used. The subject matter for the lessons varied with the needs of the class. In classes where there were young mothers or mothers of young children "The Well Baby Primer," written by Dr. Caroline Hedger of Chicago, was very popular. The primer contains 128 English words and is profusely illustrated. While the women were learning the English they were also acquiring valuable information about the proper feeding and care of their babies. Lesson sheets prepared by Miss Wetmore of Chicago were used in other classes. The alphabet, written and printed, a picture of the subject being studied, and a complete lesson are included on each sheet. By giving the lessons one at a time, the teacher is sure that the class has mastered the lesson assigned before passing on to another. Supplementary work was carried on by the more apt pupils. Hence the class was kept together and yet the interest did not lag. As the pupils progressed from the simpler to the more difficult work, they were given lessons without pictures. At that point in the study they were given the lessons prepared by the Massachusetts Department of University Extension called "English for American Citizenship." These lessons tell of home life, school activities, city interests, national holidays, and the privileges and responsibilities of citizenship.

Springfield was very fortunate in having a Red Cross nurse who gave twelve demonstrations of "Home Care of the Sick" in the foreign women's home classes last year. On days when the demonstrations were given the women studied the same subjects in their English class. Thus the two kinds of work were correlated. Some demonstrations of American cookery were given. The women were especially interested in invalid cookery where trays were prepared showing liquid, semi-solid and convalescent diet. One woman said that one of the hardest things about being sick in the hospital was that she had to eat American food and she did not like it. Some women asked for demonstrations in using patterns, cutting out garments, and making children's garments from adults' partly worn clothing. The printed lesson accompanied these demonstrations so the women could refer to them if they forgot some point in the process.

In each lesson the women were required to spell five words. At first they only copied the printed lesson. When they had learned to copy accurately and had secured a reasonable vocabulary, they began to make oral sentences in class, using the spelling words. Later they wrote their original sentences before coming to class. At first that seemed like an impossible task and the women hesitated about attempting it. I helped them understand what I meant and got them started at their task by dictating for their writing sentences in which their spelling words were used. Sometimes they simply numbered the sentences and wrote from dictation. Then I had them write the sentences in the form of a letter, using the proper heading and ending for a real letter. This pleased them and showed them how far from the copying stage they had advanced.

A very gratifying thing about the work is the sincere appreciation shown by all the women. They always thank me for their lessons. Sometimes they become discouraged because they have so many, many distractions, but usually they are happy and hopeful.

The work is under the direction of the local Board of Education and the Board for Vocational Education, the technical organization being that of the so-called part-time class, as English is taught as well as Home Economics subjects.

Getting the foreign-born and native Americans together in a social way is a difficult problem. At the close of the night schools, all of the women's classes were invited to join in the evening program. A few of them furnished numbers by giving some of their native dances and games. Some of the men who were in the citizenship class answered questions on American history and government. Governor Lowden visited all of the schools on the closing night and gave a short address at each school. He was well pleased with the work done and the splendid spirit of the people. In February, 1920, the Springfield Art Association had an exhibit of all kinds of industrial work as done by the women of the city of Springfield. The foreign women furnished a large part of this exhibit. They had paintings, laces, embroideries, and materials that they had woven in the old country. Because they had contributed so largely to the success of the exhibit, they were asked to give a program just before the exhibit was removed from the galleries. The Lithuanian classes sang a group of songs in their own tongue and a group of American songs. One Hungarian woman demonstrated the making of "strudle" and another demonstrated the making of "churga funk." Both of these are delicious Hungarian pastries. The Italian women, who could not be with us on account of illness, had made enough "nocci oterati" to serve the whole company. The serving was done by war brides, women from other lands, and by young women of the city who had seen overseas service during the world-war. This meeting was valuable because it showed American women that their foreign-born sisters had talents and abilities as great as their own. It brought the women together in a friendly manner to study one another's work. Last year, the closing program of the home-study classes was given by the children of the women in the home classes.

From the beginning, the Springfield work has had the excellent co-operation of the local women's organizations. The first year several members of the Association of Collegiate Alumnae did volunteer teaching. Two of the high school English teachers taught Lithuanian maids at the St. Nicholas Hotel. The teachers planned and prepared their own lessons. The teacher who had the beginners taught them sentences and English expressions about their daily work. A Lithuanian maid kept going to the housekeeper and saying: "Please give me some towels." She would take a few towels and then return with the same request. Finally, the housekeeper understood that the girl took only a few towels so she could return often and speak her new English sentence. The advanced class had a lively discussion of movie stars at one meeting. The teacher found that all of the girls had their favorites among the screen actors and actresses and were glad to talk about them. The girls of the high school made scrap-books with brightly colored pictures that were used for the children in the mothers' classes. The Women's Club and the Daughters of the American Revolution have given the work their loyal support.

C. THE PLACE OF THE FOREIGN LANGUAGE PRESS IN AN EDUCATIONAL PROGRAM

Josephine Roche, Director, Foreign Language Information Service, New York

Education, as a factor in uniting native and foreign-born, must do at least two fundamental things: first, it must build a mutual understanding of each other's backgrounds, history, country ideals, ways of thinking and doing things; second, it must open the way for active participation in a common purpose and life by the native-born and foreign-born together. In such a program of education the foreign language press has not only a very important, but a unique part. It not only meets these two essential requirements but it functions in a way and to an extent which places it apart from other educational elements, even while it shares their fundamental purpose. It has a field distinctly and peculiarly its own.

The total foreign-born population in the United States is between twelve and fourteen millions. Three millions of these people, it is estimated, cannot speak English, and another three millions cannot read it. Four millions are reached far more effectively in their own tongue than in English. These millions, and that new immigration which will be coming each year, cannot wait until they know English to gain a fundamental knowledge and understanding of America. They must have in their native language information about the country, its laws, opportunities, their own obligations, and their rights. Reaching them with information of this sort is the first step in a process of education, and in it there is no one element of importance equal to the foreign language press. There are 1,285 foreign language publications and they have a circulation of over ten millions among the foreign-born.

How important an educational work the foreign language press is doing through its news columns is shown by the following facts and analysis of material printed the last three years by the papers of eighteen language groups. These papers total 796 out of the entire 1,285 foreign language publications. Before, however, presenting these facts in detail a brief review of the war, pre-war, and post-war situation of the foreign language press is necessary.

Prior to the war we paid little, if any, attention to the foreign language press. It was given no encouragement or assistance in telling its readers about America. When war came, there was a sudden and immediate need to reach the millions who knew no English, with the government's war message and needs. Early in 1918, therefore, there was started as part of the United States Committee on Public Information, a division charged with getting this government information to the foreign language press. Men and women of foreign birth, thoroughly experienced in press work, and having the complete confidence of the various factions of their foreign-born groups, were brought together for this task. How constantly and generously the foreign language press gave its columns over to this war information has been repeatedly testified to by numerous government officials. The bulk of the material sent the foreign language press during the first part of the war period was naturally purely war material, such as draft regulations, Liberty Loan, Red Cross appeals, regulations of the Food and Fuel Administration and the War Labor Board.

Then came the armistice and the liquidation of government war bodies. It was supposed that the foreign language press service would stop. But both from govern-

who favor restricted immigration and those who want free immigration. And so on, for every issue, there are the pros and cons in every language; and it seems to us that the foreigners divide their opinions along the same lines and in much the same way as the Americans themselves on all questions.

"But in all this journalistic Babel of the foreign language papers, the keynote of them all is essentially an instigation or a plea for Americanization. Everyone of these newspapers, each in their own language, insists that the foreigners learn English, and that they frequent the schools and become citizens, and many urge the foreigners to leave the cities and go to live in the country." (*Il Giornale*, New York.)

Efforts on the part of the foreign-born to learn, to study, are given editorial encouragement. A Russian paper in New York and a Polish paper in Cleveland give strikingly similar comment on classes formed by Poles in Cleveland and Russians in Detroit:

"RUSSIANS STUDY AMERICAN AGRICULTURAL METHODS

"A number of Russians in Detroit, Michigan, have found a good way to make use of the period of unemployment in American industries. While others just 'eat up' their savings, these Russians take short college courses in agriculture. Thirty Russians in Detroit joined the four weeks' Tractor courses at the Michigan State Agricultural College." (*Amerikanskia Izvestia*, New York.)

"PEOPLE'S UNIVERSITIES

"Now is the best time to establish or revive people's universities in Polish communities. The existing unemployment gives workmen a great deal of time in which to meditate upon life and the things that surround them. It gives time for study. Why not take advantage of the opportunity, then, when it presents itself? For when industries begin again to operate at full speed, there will be much less time for these things.

"People's universities when intelligently conducted are splendid citizenship schools for the Polish workman. He learns, through their medium to think, to reason, and to be tolerant. He also learns parliamentary rules. In one word, he learns to be an invaluable asset to the community." (*Wiadomosci Codzienne*, Cleveland, Ohio.)

Still another type of editorial of distinct educational value is that which discusses with great keenness and intelligence American interests, problems, laws, and events. I cannot take time to read any of these but I have a most intelligent one on farm loans, the conditions under which farmers are struggling, agricultural needs and business conditions, from a Conservative Republican paper. Its title is "Abnormalcy." Another regarding the "Emergency Tariff" gives a more enlightening analysis of this complex problem than any editorial I have yet seen in the American press.

The foreign language press constitutes a most important source through which the native-born may learn of the foreign-born; it promotes not only understanding among the foreign-born but interprets them to the native-born. It is our real "Original Source." From its news and editorial columns we can learn the matters of most intimate concern and interest to the foreign-born, their problems and needs. Of course a very simple and at first glance, practical, objection may be raised against our availing ourselves of educational material the foreign language press offers—the fact that few, if any of us can read anything but English. This, of course, is distinctly our misfortune, but it is not difficult to find a friend more fortunately

endowed with linguistic accomplishments—a foreign-born friend inevitably—who will gladly read to us his papers, or tell us of their contents. Certainly definite attempts should be made to study this invaluable source at hand. Until we ourselves are educated there can be no uniting of native and foreign-born. Our lack of understanding is keenly felt by our foreign language neighbors, even while they make every allowance for us. As an Italian paper comments:

“A CURIOUS PREJUDICE AGAINST THE FOREIGN LANGUAGE PRESS

“We have never felt any resentment against those prominent people, who for some time past, have been preaching and writing against the harm done by the foreign language press in America, because we know that these were erroneous impressions which could be easily explained and justified.

“We wish to say that probably these enemies of the foreign language press mean no harm, but simply because they do not understand any other language but English, and for this reason they cannot know what is written in foreign newspapers, they believe that the contents of these papers must be evil. It is that they do not understand.” (*Il Giornale Italiano*, New York.)

The foreign-born are certainly doing their part—we too should try to understand.

CULTURAL ASPECTS OF IMMIGRATION

A. THE CULTURAL CONTRIBUTIONS OF THE IMMIGRANT AND A POLICY OF INCORPORATION

Julius Drachsler, Assistant Professor of Economics and Sociology, Smith College, Northampton, Mass.

“How do you like America?” I asked a recently landed immigrant after he had observed something of our town and city life.

“I don’t know what to say,” he replied. “I don’t know what to think of it. I am dazzled. I am bewildered. The people are all so—so busy! And all the time I am wondering what it is they are so busy about. Do you know?”

I was somewhat taken aback by the answer and the question. I had expected, as all of us no doubt would have expected, something more flattering.

“They are busy building a new world, a new civilization,” I said.

“Well,” said my friend quizzically, “civilization-building in America seems to be a large-scale industry, with all the short-cuts and ingenious tricks of standardization.”

That certainly was anything but flattering. My first thought was that perhaps these were the impressions of a hyper-cultured European, accustomed to the hectic variety of continental life. But then I remembered the words of an American about America, when in a fit of pessimism he wrote, in “Main Street”: “Nine-tenths of the American towns are so alike that it is the completest boredom to wander from one to the other.” In another place, speaking for his chief character, the rebellious woman in “Main Street,” he exclaims: “And along with foreigners she felt herself being ironed into glossy mediocrity, and she rebelled in fear.”

To such a standardizing and standardized civilization comes the immigrant, uncouth, outlandish, quaint in manner and in thought, curiously irritating to the

native, easily misread, to seek *his* ideal of America. He naturally craves to be understood. He dreads being misunderstood. And yet how many of us truly understand him? To appreciate what it means to be a stranger, it seems that one must himself have been a stranger in a strange land, or, lacking this, one must possess a power of sympathetic insight that warms its way to the heart of the other; or, lacking even this, one must at least know, with the cold grip of the intellect, who the stranger is, whence he comes, and what is his tradition.

In the endless discussions of the assimilation problem, few of the debaters are armed either with personal experience, or sympathy, or knowledge, and fewer still with all three. And yet nothing is so obvious as the need for first ridding ourselves of certain misconceptions about the immigrant and his problems before we can see him as he is and incorporate him and his group in our civilization.

These misconceptions, I sometimes think, center about three ideas: first, the background of the immigrant and his relation to his group; second, the nature of the immigration problem as such; and third, the concepts of culture, of cultural acclimatization, and the capacity of the immigrant for cultural contribution.

First, what, often, is our notion of the cultural background of the alien and his community? Instead of conceiving the immigrant as he really is, an individual with innumerable ties binding him to a social group and a traditional background, we think of him as a detached, atomized labor unit, as a pair of hands, as a bunch of muscles. But not only is he conceived as arriving from a sort of cultural vacuum across the seas; when he settles here he is still thought of as a solitary individualist. The impressive fact of the gradual growth and organization, during the last forty years, of immigrant community life, not merely immigrant colony life, is consistently ignored, or its existence not even suspected. The growing power of his immediate community upon him is discounted, and its possibilities for the process of incorporation are not utilized. The immigrant and his immediate descendants, then, are members of a community, even though it be a more or less rapidly disintegrating community.

Now take the second misconception, or rather set of misconceptions, which we often entertain—those with reference to the problem of immigration itself. To begin with, nothing is so easy as to imagine that the immigration question is something separate, something apart from all other social problems confronting the American people, and not a problem interwoven with and part and parcel of its whole unitary problem of nation-building and nation-conserving. And yet we dare not think of the problem otherwise than in these larger terms. In spite of everything it bursts through the narrow confines of our self-centered reasonings, out upon the arena of world affairs. Just as it is easy and natural to think of the immigrant problem as detached and self-contained, so it is plausible to abstract one phase of it and identify the whole with the part. There are two such views sufficiently current and sufficiently distinct from each other to lend themselves to analysis. The first is the position of the economist who maintains that immigration is primarily and essentially an economic problem. The second is the view of the sociologist, namely, that it is above all a racial and cultural question.

To the unbiased mind both the economic and the racial-cultural view of immigration doubtless contain many elements of truth. Nevertheless, grave objections can and must be raised against them. In the first place, both views are one-sided, each

emphasizing one phase of the problem to the exclusion of all others. Both views, furthermore, may be described as static. With the idea of the fixity of the American standard of living and of the racial and cultural type generally goes the notion of superiority of these earlier American social values.

But it is clear that neither the economic nor the racial-cultural version of the immigration problem can be the sole and secure basis of a comprehensive plan for consciousness-building in the new America. They must be united in a synthetic view that will at once be broad and sane. It attempts to see the economic and cultural phases in relation to each other, and treat them (as indeed they are) as parts of a single problem. The synthetic view implies, further, the concept of an evolving, rather than of a static American standard of living and culture. In this evolution the newcomers are playing their part and contributing their share.

In a comprehensive immigration law, framed with the synthetic view of the problem in mind, all three parts of a well-rounded immigration policy, selection, distribution, and incorporation, would find a legitimate and logical place. Moreover, selection and distribution would be conceived simply as prerequisites to genuine incorporation. Certainly the present emergency legislation does not attempt to meet these questions satisfactorily. There is not a word or a phrase in the present restriction act that even hints at a more comprehensive and far-reaching treatment of the immigration question. It would have been far better to have absolute restriction for a year or two or three, and in the meantime resolutely to set to work to frame a comprehensive policy rather than to continue our unintelligent tinkering with a most vital social problem.

But all these misconceptions only point to a more deep-seated limitation in our thinking about the immigrant problem. Instead of thinking of it in the largest terms, we tend to think of it in the littlest terms. Instead of planning for civilization-building, we spend our energies perfecting the mechanics of the literacy test. Instead of seeing in the problem of assimilation, as it confronts America, a unique opportunity for social experimentation, surcharged with meaning for ethnic relations the world over, we see in it only the possibility of building another mile of railroad, the exploitation of another mine, the opening of another factory, the digging of another subway—all very important indeed, but only as a means to the end—the end of building a new and more genuine democracy. If we do plan for the creation of a new culture in a new world, we must clear away misconceptions which here, too, beset our path. The first is the supposed incapacity of the recent immigrants for cultural contribution and the danger for the older stocks of biologic fusion with the newcomers.

Amalgamation of the European peoples in the United States, as I have shown in recent statistical study, is going on and gathering momentum on the way. Remembering that for centuries there has gone on in Europe a process of racial amalgamation similar to that now going on in the United States, without signs of racial deterioration, alarmist prophecies of a "mongrel race" as the outcome of the American process are seen in their proper perspective. Both groups of critics, economists, and biologists, but especially the latter, agree that if the newcomers could make distinct additions to the culture of America, it would be so much the better for both. But yet the immigrants have not done so. It is here that the synthetic view relation between the two phases of the problem. Where there is little culture there is little or no higher culture. In other words, it is not necessarily

inherent incapacity of the immigrants for culture-building that explains the paucity of their achievements in the new land. It may well be that the forces of the new environment are even more potent in preventing the foreign-born from spontaneous creation of culture-values.

Much of the confusion in this place of the discussion could be avoided if the meaning of such rather vague terms as "culture" and "civilization" were more clearly defined. We can think of the "civilization" of a group in the widest sense, as the totality of its group-tradition, group-thought, and group-activity, and within this complex we can distinguish its "culture" in the narrower sense—the mental and the spiritual aspects of its thought and activity. The idea of "civilization" then includes both the material and the non-material aspects of group-life. Not only the artistic, literary, scientific, religious, educational, political culture would then be embraced, but also the economic culture. Following this wider definition, it is hard to deny that the recent immigrants have already contributed a goodly share to the civilization of America. The clearest case is that of contributions in the economic field.

But while few would deny the overwhelming participation of the recent immigrant masses in the economic upbuilding of the country, it would be much easier to doubt their having made any contributions to the non-material culture of America. Anyone disposed to play the rôle of apologist for the newcomers might, of course, easily point out that thirty-five or forty years is a very short span of time indeed during which to make striking additions to a strange civilization; and further, that the economic and cultural aspects of group-life are intimately connected. But these, after all, the skeptic might argue, are nothing but *a priori* arguments. They are not based on direct, verifiable evidence. The truth of the matter is, that owing to the unexplored condition of the field, little if any data are to be found that throw light upon this question. One source of information, though of course very limited in its scope, would be such biographical dictionaries as "Who's Who." A casual leafing through this volume would convince anyone that the foreign-born have contributed to the various fields.

It is easy to see, however, that figures such as might be derived from a statistical study of "Who's Who" or other sources, do not at all present adequately the actual cultural contributions of the recent immigrant groups. There are surely many talented individuals doing distinguished work in their vocations whose names have not found their way into such treasuries of human achievement as "Who's Who." And what about the lesser lights, who are not yet deemed worthy of inclusion by the exquisitely discriminating editors, and who yet are doing very substantial work indeed, and adding substantial values to American life? And further, the immediate descendants of these immigrants ought, no doubt, to be counted in, but information on this point is not to be secured as yet. This whole uncharted land is crying for an adventurous explorer. Now, limited as are the data with regard to the proportion of gifted persons of recent immigrant stock in the American population, and with regard to the specific contributions of each, still scantier is our knowledge of the so-called "immigrant heritages" which Professor Park and Professor Miller in their "Old World Traits Transplanted" have aptly defined as "the fund of attitudes and values which an immigrant group brings to America—the totality of its sentiments and practices." Just what are these "heritages" and how may they be incorporated, if they are found worthy of incorporation? And what shall be considered worthy and what unworthy? Another uncharted land crying for a still more adventurous explorer! In the meantime we have been going on recklessly, with-

out real knowledge, confusing the problems of the Americanization of the foreign-born, of his immediate descendants and of the American himself, each of which, while part of one problem of unification, yet has its special aspects.

In the case of the adult immigrant, we have tried to force the process of assimilation. This sentiment for enforced nationalization was echoed and re-echoed with varying degrees of emphasis throughout the period of our war with Germany. The conviction that compulsory Americanization is not only futile, but also dangerous, leads a very large group of students and practical workers with immigrants to abandon this extreme position. But neither can they accept the let-alone policy. And yet, they point out, all their efforts at inducing the foreigners in a friendly way to prepare themselves for citizenship are of small avail. But the causes of this deplorable situation are not far to seek. One of the most fundamental obstacles in the way of Americanization is the industrial conditions under which the masses of the immigrants are constrained to live. It is doubtful if a very large proportion of those who would be freed by an increase in their leisure time for instruction would be held in the classroom until a satisfactory knowledge was acquired by them. Neither the content nor the methods of instruction have as yet developed far enough to make genuinely effective and skilful teaching possible. The content of the instruction must be definitely and systematically correlated with his two primary interests—his vocation and his past cultural life. To present this modified and expanded curriculum requires far greater preparation and skill on the part of the teachers of immigrants than American school systems are able to command at present. Nothing is so vital in the immediate problem of Americanization as the selection and training of an adequately equipped teaching staff.

But it is quite conceivable that, even with such improvements in content and in methods as are here suggested, large numbers of immigrants would not come to the school centers where the instruction is offered. Until sufficient buildings of modern type are provided some other means must be found of reaching the masses of foreign-born. It is here that the immigrant community can with great advantage co-operate with the educational authorities.

Stated very broadly, this must be the central aim of a far-sighted national policy with regard to the incorporation or assimilation of immigrants: so to control the underlying social forces that the newcomers will, on the one hand, be able to share fully the opportunities of the new life, and on the other hand, be in a position to contribute their best to the unfolding civilization of America. These underlying forces have a twofold character: biologic and social-psychic. That it would be almost impossible at the present stage of eugenic thinking to control, through the action of the state or through other authoritative means, the biologic or racial factor, is patent. But even if both social control and biologic knowledge had already reached the advanced position implied here, the crucial point of the situation would hardly have been touched. The "danger," if any exists, is not that too much or too little amalgamation is taking place between the immigrant peoples or that it is the least advantageous biologic combinations that are occurring. The "danger" lurks in the fact that there is an unusual acceleration of the process of fusion within the span of one generation; that group ties are suddenly broken, and thus the conditions created for personal and group demoralization; that the mixing proceeds in the mediocre culture levels with little or no promise of conserving for American life culture-values of different though in some respects equally high or possibly higher civilizations. The only feasible policy then that

remains is to safeguard and improve the social environment under which fusion is taking place, to develop a growingly appreciative attitude toward the immigrant as a potential contributor to the cultural life of America and to leave the ultimate chance of actual biologic fusion or non-fusion with the individual or with the groups as such.

Equally as unsatisfactory as our treatment of the adult immigrant problem has been our handling of the incorporation of the immediate descendants of the newcomers. The delicate task is to re-establish or to reinforce a sympathy that is constantly on the wane, a process which if not counteracted in time is prone to result in a permanent and often a tragic estrangement. For most American educators this aspect of the problem of the children of the immigrant is practically non-existent. Public education, therefore, shows little trace of any influence in the direction of incorporating cultural heritages other than those of the predominant civilization. The cultural problem then, as conceived here in its entirety, has not yet become sharply outlined in the national consciousness. Much less has it been brought under deliberate social control.

And yet, more and more is the imagination of students of American life coming to busy itself with the idea of conscious creation of a new and rich civilization that shall combine within itself the culture-values of the various ethnic stocks represented in the American people. The most obvious way that suggests itself is to "select" or "extract" or "distil" the valuable elements from each cultural heritage and combine them into the new "American product." But what would on first consideration commend this method, namely, its simplicity and directness, is the very thing which, upon careful thought, suggests serious doubt as to its efficacy. To suppose, for example, that a new American music can be created by selecting the characteristic qualities of Italian, German, Hungarian, and Russian music and mechanically combining them; or to imagine that a new American art, or literature, or religion, or polity, can be consciously fabricated by extracting the so-called valuable elements from the corresponding cultural products of the immigrant peoples, and then deftly fitting them together to make an original "American" mosaic, is not much different from the attempt of the chemist in his laboratory to produce living tissue through clever manipulation of the known chemical constituents of protoplasm. He may succeed in uniting the elements into a synthetic compound, but he cannot infuse it with that spark of life which is the essence of a truly organic unit. And so with a culture. To proceed on the basis of a mechanical view of its growth is to ignore its most characteristic feature. For, on the personal side, the creation of a culture-value, as a lyric or a drama, a painting or a piece of sculpture, a symphony or a profound religious idea, involves the original apperception on the part of the genius or of the talented individual of certain relevant traditional culture-materials that he finds imbedded in the social heredity of his group. Spontaneity and uniqueness of reaction are thus among the most striking earmarks of the creative mind.

If then the experiment is to be ventured of consciously creating a composite culture in America, it can be approached only indirectly. By deliberately furthering an interest in the cultural achievements of the immigrant groups and by systematically bringing before the minds of their descendants these variegated culture-materials, a rich cultural environment or atmosphere might be created in which they would constantly move and find their spiritual expression. Among them would naturally be included the latent geniuses and talented persons who presumably would react in their unique and spontaneous fashion to this varied cultural panorama. Only as a result of

These original apperceptions can a truly characteristic and organic composite culture be achieved. Exactly what form it will ultimately assume no one can foretell. Its very essence is spontaneity. All that can be done is to create the conditions under which the gifted individual will give free and unhampered expression to his native talent.

But how is this necessary cultural *milieu* to be constructed? And who is to foster the interest in its sustained growth? To call upon the immigrant groups alone, to do this through the medium of their cultural community organizations is to court certain failure. Still less desirable is it to let the state alone, through the agency of government, assume this responsibility. To assure any measure of success the various immigrant groups and the state must supplement each other's functions. These functions in turn must be clearly delimited. Broadly stated, the function of the cultural groups would be to foster, through voluntary cultural community organization, their cultural uniqueness, while the function of the state would embrace the harmonization of these cultural differences, the unification of distinctive contributions into a rich and variegated whole.

There is no fitter medium through which this delicate yet supremely important task of harmonization could be accomplished than the public educational system. To be sure, this involves a far-reaching change in the conception of some of the functions of American public education, particularly of some of the functions of the public school. The traditional method of the public school has been the leveling of all cultural differences among its pupils and the sending forth of a uniform product with the unmistakable stamp of the dominant civilization upon them. This is to be replaced by the conscious effort to marshal all the cultural contributions of the races and nations represented in the student-body, to bring these before the growing minds in a form easily grasped (the medium of instruction being, of course, the English language), and thus to build up in them the attitude of intelligent and sympathetic insight into the life of diverse peoples. The obstacles to effective presentation would decrease rather than increase with the rise in school grade, and with the introduction of these studies into the cultural curriculum of the higher schools. Comparative history and politics, comparative art, comparative music, comparative literature, comparative religion, offer undreamed of possibilities for the instruction of youth. Lack of suitable texts, difficulties of technique of teaching, dearth of properly equipped instructors, would be obstacles that would speedily vanish before an aroused will of educators to conjure up, so to speak, before the imagination of the growing generations, the cultural treasures of the human race and to surround them with a rich, stimulating cultural environment. Under such educational conditions it is more than likely that latent genius and talent will more readily seek and find expression, evolving of their own accord unique culture-values of universal and lasting worth.

But there are still more deeply rooted misconceptions that prompt the fear of heterogeneity and the desire, therefore, to efface as thoroughly and as quickly as possible the variegated cultural backgrounds of the immigrant peoples. The first of these misconceptions centers around the nature and place of individuality in social life; the other deals with the process of assimilation itself. For America to trample out ruthlessly significant and valuable differences, merely because they are differences, would mean that it failed not only to utilize the great stimulus the immigrant cultural heritages offer it, to develop a broad spirit of tolerance, but to accustom the minds of the

growing generations to the newer concept of social harmony rather than feeding their imaginations exclusively on the beauties and the profits of social uniformity. Still less impatient would the native-born American of the old white stock be with the cultural heritage of the immigrant if he knew more clearly what happens in the mind of the new settler in the process of assimilation. After having unconsciously slipped into the new habit life he often begins to justify his acceptance of it. He begins to rationalize it. It is here that the danger in the process of assimilation lurks. With the shedding of superficial traits has gone imperceptibly a change in some deeper habits of thought and of action. The danger is not so much that he finds himself in a new frame of mind as that he tends to justify it at all costs.

That there is much in American life which, after having been imitated by the eager immigrant, is hardly justifiable or "rationalizable," cannot be denied. There is only one way to prevent him from rationalizing habits and values not worth while. It is so to reconstruct the life of the community into which the immigrant comes as a stranger that he will acquire only such habits as are worthy of rationalization. But this requires in most instances a radical remaking of the structure of community life. The immigrant in this sense becomes a perennial challenge to the ethically minded native, compelling him to ask himself soul-searching questions about the inner and the outer life of America.

What, then, must be the guiding thought in the quest for a newer ideal of Americanization? It must be the thought of a democracy broad enough to embrace full political equality, human enough to make room for industrial self-realization, dwelling in the midst of America to join, as perpetually creative forces, in the building of a synthetic civilization that shall bear the lasting imprints of the genius of many peoples.

B. IMMIGRANT HERITAGES

Professor Robert E. Park, University of Chicago

Some years ago an enterprising Chicago newspaper man wrote a series of articles describing the different foreign language communities in Chicago under the title of "Round the World in Forty Blocks." One of the strange, interesting, and significant features of American life is its foreign language communities. During a peaceful invasion covering a period of a hundred years, nearly every language group in the civilized world has established colonies in this country, little cultural centers which are trying to maintain in the midst of us traditions and a language of their own. When there are in an American city as many Jews as there are Danes in Denmark, and in the same city more Italians than there are Italians in Rome, we have indeed "something new in history."

It happens that for the past two or three years I have been "seeing" this America. I have been seeing it mainly through the contents of the foreign language press. The distribution of this press is significant, since it locates with considerable accuracy their principal settlements in the United States, and makes it possible to outline "cultural areas" in which the influences of certain immigrant groups have been more pronounced than elsewhere. Every foreign language group tends to make some one city its cultural capital, as New York is the Jewish, and Chicago the Polish capital, respectively. Here

are their largest populations and their most important cultural institutions. The character and contents of the papers published in these areas are an index likewise to the characteristic interests, ambitions, and social attitudes of the people who read them. In this way it is possible, not merely to define different immigrant areas, but to sketch, in a rough way, their moral, psychological, and political complexions. Outside New York and Chicago, where most of the larger immigrant colonies are located, the immigrant population, as marked by the location of their journals, falls into three or four large groups.

The Middle West group, represented by the Germans and Scandinavians, stretches a German arm down into the Southwest as far as central Texas, and a Scandinavian arm up into Minnesota and the Northwest. This group includes also the Bohemian farmers of Wisconsin and Iowa, and small groups of Hollanders, and such minor population groups as the Belgian-Flemish and the Welch. If it were possible to characterize this Middle Western group with a word, one might designate them, with reference to their attitude as immigrants, as *settlers*.

A second group might include the Spanish, who have crossed the border from Mexico in the south, and the French, who have come down from the Province of Quebec on the north. These peoples, with reference to their attitude toward American life, might be designated as *colonists*.

A third division of immigrant peoples that can be locally defined, is that represented mainly by the Italian and Slavic populations. These people have left their own country, but they have not quite settled in this. We may characterize them as the migrant, as distinguished from the immigrant peoples. They are the *migrant industrials*.

Finally, there are the minor nationalities, who live for the most part in the larger cities, and engage either in trade or in the lighter secondary industries. All these we may classify as *exotics*, because for various reasons they are, or seem to be, more completely isolated and removed from contact and participation in American life than any other immigrant peoples.

Some groups do not belong completely to any one of these classifications. The sea-roving Portuguese from the Cape Verde Islands have established small colonies and newspapers on both the eastern and the western coasts. The fact that they cling to the coast shows how tentative their occupation is, and from the point of view of participation in American life, they should be classed with the exotics. Yet, industrially, they belong with the migrant industrials. The Jewish immigrants, who might be classed with any one of the different categories, can actually be classed with none. The Jew, to be sure, has a predilection for trade and is by tradition a city-dweller. But the Jew, just because he has no native country, in the sense that the Norwegian is native to Norway, when he changes his nationality does so whole-heartedly. He brings his family and all his household and tribal gods with him.

These outlines of the characteristic types of settlement of immigrants in the United States offer a first rough sketch of America as it would look if we were able to see it from the point of view of the immigrants themselves. If we look a little closer at the inner life of any one of these foreign language settlements the picture becomes still more interesting and informing. In order to understand the intimate life of one of these little foreign communities we must know just how these settlements came into existence and the motives that sustained them after they were established.

The fever of immigration, as has long been recognized, is highly contagious. When it strikes a peasant village, it infects the whole community and continues to rage until all who can have emigrated. In this country a new community is thus established which is virtually a colony of the village, and eventually of the province, in the old country from which the immigrants originally came. The United States is checkered with little settlements, each composed almost entirely of people from a single village or province abroad.

The difference in the situation of the immigrant people who settled mostly in the cities and those who settled in rural communities is that the colonies of the former have been literally crushed together in congested areas; while the latter have been dispersed and isolated in small agricultural communities scattered over two-thirds of the United States. This accounts for a great many of the differences which students have noted between the earlier and later generations of immigrants. The earlier immigrants were what we have called settlers. They came to stay and for the most part they settled on the land. This was not true of the Irish. They settled in the cities. The later immigrants have followed the example of the Irish. Now the first effect of city life is to destroy the provincialism of the immigrant, and to intensify his sense of racial and national solidarity. This explains why the Jewish people, although they use three distinct foreign languages, German, Yiddish, and Ladino, have attained in the United States a degree of solidarity and community organization more efficient than they have attained anywhere else since the Dispersion. What is true of the Jews is likewise true, though in a less degree, of the other urban peoples. This effect of city life is visible in the urban press, where both news columns and editorials create and maintain an active interest in the politics, national and international, of the home country. The larger metropolitan papers, with their wide circulation, are bound to address themselves neither to Bavarians, nor to Westphalians, nor to Saxons, but to Germans; not to Genoese, Neapolitans, Abuzzesi, or Girgentesi, but simply to Italians. In this way, residence in our cities has broken down the local and provincial loyalties, with which the immigrants arrived, and substituted a less intense but more national loyalty in its place.

The tendency of rural life is naturally in the opposite direction. It emphasizes local differences, preserves the memories of the immigrants, and fosters a sentimental interest in the local home community. This is illustrated by the German provincial press, which is printed in a dialect no longer recognized by the European press, and which idealized German provincial life as it existed fifty years ago and still lives in the memories of the editors and readers of these papers.

It is an interesting fact that as first step in Americanization the immigrant ceases to be a provincial and becomes a nationalist. The Wurtembergers and the Westphalians become Germans; the Sicilians and Neapolitans become Italians, and the Jews become Zionists. The ambition of the immigrant to gain recognition in the American community, "to represent" the national name "well in America," as Agaton Giller says, is one of the first characteristic manifestations of national consciousness and it is because he has been unable to get that recognition as an individual that he seeks it as a member of a nationality. One reason immigrants live in a colony is that they cannot get out, and one reason they establish nationalist societies which seek among other things to represent the old country well in this, is that in this way they can

participate in American life. If the immigrant chooses to remain a hyphenated American it is frequently because, only through an organization of his own language group, can he get status and recognition in the larger American world outside. As a leader in an immigrant community he and the community are enabled to participate in American life in ways which they could not as individuals, unacquainted with the language and with the customs of the country as they are. Sometimes the motive of the nationalist leader is less patriotic, nationalistically, than commercial. A Report of the United States Immigration Commission on immigrant banks refers to the frequent profit-making coalition between immigrant bankers and immigrant newspapers.

There is no question that not only the nationalist societies, which avowedly aim to "preserve" the immigrant for the mother country, but all other immigrant institutions do intentionally or unintentionally seek to retard the assimilation of the immigrant. But it is doubtful whether the nationalist societies which are organized for the purpose of maintaining a patriotic interest in the language and in the home country do not on the whole promote Americanization rather than retard it. The nationalist newspaper does not want its readers to become Americans, but by encouraging them to read it does make them more intelligent, and by printing news of what is going on in America, which it must do in order to circulate at all, it necessarily prepares its readers to be American citizens.

No racial group has made a more desperate fight to maintain the interest of its immigrants in the home country than the Poles. It is the observation of a very keen student, Florian Znaniecki, that Polish-American circles are wholly absorbed in Polish politics. So absorbed is the Polish community in itself and in Poland that they refer to the Polish-American community as *Polonia America* and regard it as "the fourth division of Poland." In spite of the interest of the Polish intelligentsia in Polish politics its efforts to impart its enthusiasms to the masses are not always successful. We have only to read the accounts which the leaders give in their own press of the difficulties they are having to maintain in this country the language and traditions of the homeland, to realize how glacial and, in the long run, wholly irresistible, under conditions of American life, is the trend toward a common language, a common life, and a common tradition of all the peoples in this country. Many immigrants do not learn until they return to their native country how completely assimilated they have become.

If it is true that the immigrant, who arrives here a provincial, takes his first step in Americanization when he becomes concerned about the reputation of his home country in America, it is equally true that the immigrant who remains a provincial remains at the same time farthest removed from American life. The Italians apply the term *caffone*, simpleton, to a class of immigrants who refuses to burn with patriotic sentiment for his own nationality—perhaps does not know what nationality is—and is equally unconcerned in regard to the opinions of Americans in regard to himself or his fellow-countrymen.

It is not among the socialists, the anarchists, and the radicals, however loud their denunciations of American capitalism, that one finds the least understanding and the most blind hatred of America. It is rather in these little isolated colonies of provincials, who have not become settlers, like the German religious sects, but who, like the Italians, are maintaining a provincial life in the midst of our cities. These little communities, composed almost entirely of people of the same village, live entirely upon the

memories, the news, and the gossip of the home community. Every letter to any member of the community is news for the whole community. Nothing goes on in the home village that is not known soon or later in the American colony of that village. Everyone reckons upon eventually returning home, if for nothing more than a visit. If any member of the colony in America marries outside the community or announces finally that he does not intend to return he is regarded as lost. It is natural under the circumstances that, even in the heart of the largest city in America, immigrants living thus should gain a very inadequate and a very unfavorable opinion of America. This is true of the Italians, perhaps, because most of what they learn of this country outside of the gossip of the colony comes to them through the Italian newspapers. These newspapers are bound to print what their public can and will read. They do print, at any rate, the sort of news ignorant peasants, already prejudiced against this country, are likely to read most easily. There is a good deal of crime committed by Italians against Italians. This is naturally all attributed to the inefficiency of the American police and the corruption of American politics.

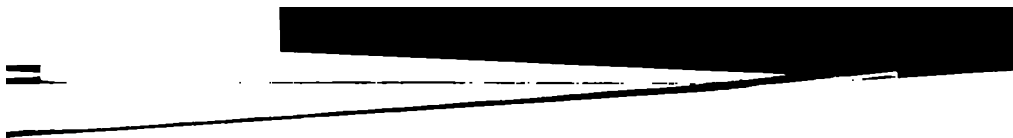
We do not realize that the Americanization of the immigrant begins long before he reaches America. Every peasant village in Europe has some returned immigrants. The letters from America are filled with stories of strange adventures of relatives and neighbors. Every peasant village has its own tradition about America, but it is not the America we know; it is immigrant America. A striking feature of the market places in Catania, Sicily, where on a market day the peasants from all the surrounding country gather to trade and chaffer, exchanging their little stocks of produce for the townsman's wares, are the professional story-tellers, each surrounded by a group of enthralled peasants. The favorite stories are of America, America and the "Black Hand." We think of the Black Hand as an importation from Sicily. The Sicilian, however, does not regard the fabulous stories about America as comparable with anything in his experience. The only America of which the Sicilian peasant has any knowledge is just that America which is even more strange and foreign to us than it is to him, namely, the Little Italies of our great cities.

It is reasonably clear, then, that the immigrant lives in America where he can, and there learns of America. He lives in a colony of his own people because, under ordinary circumstances, that is the only place he can live at all. He learns about America what the experience of those who preceded him have taught them. He makes the accommodations that others have made. For a long time the immigrant community is almost the only source of information about American life that is accessible to the newly arrived immigrant. *For a long time, as far as he is concerned, the immigrant community is America.* If this community is well organized, if it is directed by leaders of intelligence and understanding, if the average of intelligence and culture in the community is high, as is the case with the Jews and the Japanese, then the difficult, painful, and often heart-breaking process of accommodation to American life will proceed, relatively speaking, rapidly and easily. If the situation is, as frequently happens, just the opposite, then Americanization will lag, and the natural animosities or indifference to American institutions and life will obstruct where it does not altogether inhibit the process of assimilation. The fact is, however, that the immigrant community, which is itself an accommodation to American life, is almost the only institution outside of the public school that has actually helped the immigrant to find his place and make his way in America.

Looked at disinterestedly it is, consciously and unconsciously, an institution for Americanization. It is at any rate so necessary and inevitable a part of the life of the immigrant in this country that, rather than destroy it, as has been so frequently proposed, we should seek to co-operate with and use it.

Whatever we would like to do with the immigrant, there is after all only one thing that we can do if we want him to be an efficient, contributing, and loyal member of the community and that is help him, as my friend William Leiserson has said, "to get on in the country." If he gets on, if he is able to realize here in America some of the fundamental wishes that were denied him in his mother country, he will eventually become an American, in every sense that we desire to give to that title.

C. BUSINESS TRANSACTIONS



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Secretary, Louis N. Robinson, Philadelphia.

Cyrus B. Adams (1922).....	St. Charles, Ill.	O. F. Lewis (1923).....	New York
Edith N. Burleigh (1921).....	Boston	Emory F. Lyon (1921).....	Chicago
Joseph P. Byers (1921).....	Philadelphia	Maude E. Miner (1923).....	New York
Frank L. Christian (1923).....	New York	Joseph P. Murphy (1923).....	Buffalo
Charles L. Chute (1921).....	Albany	Samuel D. Murphy (1922).....	Birmingham
Mrs. Martha P. Falconer (1923).....	New York	Herbert C. Parsons (1923).....	Chestnut Hill, Mass.
Bernard Glueck (1921).....	New York	Mrs. Jane Deeter Rippin (1921).....	New York
Annie Hinrichsen (1923).....	Springfield, Ill.	Henry K. W. Scott (1922).....	St. Cloud, Minn.
Mrs. Jessie D. Hodder (1922).....	Sherborn, Mass.	Carrie Weaver Smith (1922).....	Gainesville, Tex.
Emil W. Leipsiger (1922).....	New Orleans	John J. Sonstebj (1922).....	Chicago
Burdette G. Lewis (1922).....	Trenton	Arthur J. Todd (1921).....	Chicago

DIVISION III—HEALTH

Chairman, Dr. Richard A. Bolt, American Child Hygiene Association, Baltimore.
Secretary, Janet Oeister, New York City.

Dr. Richard A. Bolt (1923).....	Baltimore	Mary E. Lent (1921).....	Washington
Mrs. Thomas Crowder (1921).....	Chicago	George J. Nelbach (1921).....	New York
S. J. Crumbine, M.D. (1922).....	Topeka	Katharin Ostrander (1921).....	Lansing, Mich.
David Edsall, M.D. (1922).....	Boston	C. C. Pierce, M.D. (1922).....	Washington
Livingston Farrand, M.D. (1922).....	Washington	James B. Rawlings (1922).....	Fort Worth
Edna G. Foley (1921).....	Chicago	Mrs. J. M. Taylor (1921).....	Boise
Allen Freeman, M.D. (1923).....	Columbus	John Tombs (1923).....	Albuquerque
Charles J. Hastings, M.D. (1921).....	Toronto	C. E. A. Winslow, M.D. (1922).....	New Haven
Edna G. Henry (1921).....	Indianapolis	Rachelle Yarros, M.D. (1923).....	Chicago
H. W. Hill, M.D. (1922).....	St. Paul		

DIVISION IV—PUBLIC AGENCIES AND INSTITUTIONS

Chairman, R. F. Beasley, Commissioner of Public Welfare, Raleigh.
Vice-Chairman, Annie Hinrichsen, Department of Public Welfare, Springfield, Ill.

Alicia Brown (1923).....	Dallas	Robert W. Kelso (1921).....	Boston
Amos W. Butler (1921).....	Indianapolis	W. L. Kuser (1921).....	Eldora, Ia.
D. Frank Garland (1922).....	Dayton	Burdette G. Lewis (1922).....	Trenton
J. E. Hagerty (1923).....	Columbus	A. Percy Paget (1922).....	Winnipeg
Richard C. Hutchings (1921).....	Washington	J. L. Wagner (1921).....	Jefferson City
Florence Hutsinpillar (1922).....	Denver	Mabel Weed (1921).....	Berkeley
Charles P. Kellogg (1923).....	Hartford	Henry C. Wright (1922).....	New York

DIVISION V—THE FAMILY

Chairman, Frances Taussig, Executive Director, United Hebrew Charities, New York.
Secretary, Francis H. McLean, Field Director of the American Association for Organizing Family Social Work.

Mary F. Bogue (1921).....	Harrisburg	C. M. Hubbard (1923).....	St. Louis
Henry H. Bonnell (1922).....	Philadelphia	Cheney C. Jones (1921).....	Boston
F. J. Bruno (1923).....	Minneapolis	Kate McMahon (1922).....	Boston
Joanna C. Colcord (1923).....	New York	Benjamin F. Merrick (1921).....	Grand Rapids
Julia B. Felsenthal (1922).....	Minneapolis	Amelia Sears (1922).....	Chicago
Eugene C. Foster (1921).....	Indianapolis	Frances Taussig (1923).....	New York
Anna B. Fox (1923).....	Buffalo	Arthur J. Todd (1921).....	Chicago
Patrick J. Hayes (1922).....	New York	G. P. Wyckoff (1922).....	Philadelphia
Elizabeth L. Holbrook (1923).....	Boston		

DIVISION VI—INDUSTRIAL AND ECONOMIC PROBLEMS

Chairman, Sophonisba P. Breckinridge, School of Civics and Philanthropy, Chicago.
Secretary, Edith Abbott, Chicago.

Edith Abbott (1921).....	Chicago	Paul U. Kellogg (1922).....	New York
Jane Addams (1921).....	Chicago	Owen R. Lovejoy (1923).....	New York
Frederic Almy (1923).....	Buffalo	Mrs. W. L. Murdock (1923).....	Birmingham
Sophonisba P. Breckinridge (1922).....	Chicago	John A. Ryan (1923).....	Washington
Ernestine Friedman (1921).....	New York	Charles A. Sumner (1921).....	Kansas City
Mrs. R. F. Halleck (1923).....	Louisville	Solomon Wolf (1923).....	New Orleans
Mrs. Florence Kelley (1921).....	New York		

DIVISION VII—THE LOCAL COMMUNITY

Chairman, Howard S. Braucher, Secretary, War Camp Community Service, New York.
Secretary, John Ihlder, Philadelphia Housing Commission, Philadelphia.

Dora Berres (1923).....	Los Angeles	H. H. Jacobs (1923).....	Milwaukee
Howard S. Braucher (1922).....	New York	Bessie A. McClenahan (1921).....	St. Louis
Henry F. Burt (1923).....	Minneapolis	Mary E. McDowell (1923).....	Chicago
Mrs. W. S. Caldwell (1921).....	Omaha	Eleanor McMain (1921).....	New Orleans
John Collier (1922).....	New York	Fred C. Middleton (1921).....	Winnipeg
Manuel C. Elmer (1921).....	Minneapolis	J. B. Nash (1923).....	Oakland
Mrs. J. S. Fassett (1922).....	Elmira, N.Y.	Wilbur C. Phillips (1923).....	Cincinnati
Corinne Fonde (1921).....	Houston	Frederic Siedenburg (1923).....	Chicago
George E. Haynes (1923).....	Nashville	Graham Taylor (1922).....	Chicago
John Ihlder (1923).....	Philadelphia	W. D. Weatherford (1922).....	Nashville
Frances Ingram (1922).....	Louisville	Mrs. Robert A. Woods (1921).....	Boston

DIVISION VIII—MENTAL HYGIENE

Chairman, Thomas W. Salmon, M.D., Medical Director, National Committee for Mental Hygiene, New York.

Vice-Chairman, William A. White, M.D., Washington, D.C.

Secretary, Edith M. Furbush, National Committee for Mental Hygiene, New York.

Herman M. Adler, M.D. (1921).....	Chicago	C. C. Menzler (1922).....	Memphis
Anne T. Bingham, M.D. (1922).....	New York	Mrs. William S. Monroe (1921).....	Chicago
Edith N. Burleigh (1921).....	Boston	Mrs. Carleton H. Parker (1923).....	New York
C. Macfie Campbell, M.D. (1921).....	Baltimore	Robert L. Richards, M.D. (1923).....	Talmadge, Cal.
Mary V. Clark (1923).....	New York	Thomas W. Salmon, M.D. (1921).....	New York
Walter E. Fernald, M.D. (1923).....	Waverley, Mass.	H. Douglas Singer, M.D. (1922).....	Chicago
Bernard Glueck, M.D. (1922).....	New York	Jessie Taft (1922).....	Philadelphia
Thomas H. Haines, M.D. (1922).....	Jackson, Miss.	William A. White, M.D. (1923).....	Washington
C. M. Hincks, M.D. (1922).....	Toronto	Frankwood E. Williams, M.D. (1923).....	New York
Mary C. Jarrett (1921).....	Boston	Robert M. Yerkes (1921).....	Washington
Suzie L. Lyons (1923).....	Baltimore		

DIVISION IX—ORGANIZATION OF SOCIAL FORCES

Chairman, Otto W. Davis, Secretary, Minneapolis Council of Social Agencies, Minneapolis.

Vice-Chairman, Fred C. Croxton, Ohio Institute for Public Efficiency, Columbus.

Secretary, Raymond Clapp, Welfare Federation of Cleveland, Cleveland.

C. M. Bookman.....	Cincinnati	William J. Norton.....	Detroit
W. A. Crossland.....	Erie	Rev. John J. O'Grady.....	Washington
Robert L. Frost.....	Milwaukee	Karl de Schweinitz.....	Philadelphia
W. C. Howell.....	Dallas	Elizabeth Webster.....	Chicago
Guy T. Justis.....	Denver	Amy Woods.....	Boston
Sherman C. Kingsley.....	Cleveland	William B. Wright.....	Baltimore
Benjamin P. Merrick.....	Grand Rapids		

DIVISION X—THE UNITING OF NATIVE AND FOREIGN BORN IN AMERICA

Chairman, Grace Abbott, The Immigrants' Commission, Chicago.

Secretary, Elsa Alsberg, New York City.

Jane Addams.....	Chicago	Sara King.....	San Antonio
Ernestine Alvarado.....	New York	Julia C. Lathrop.....	Washington
Ruby Baughman.....	Los Angeles	T. Aaron Levy.....	Syracuse
Edith Terry Bremer.....	New York	Mrs. Margaret Long.....	Washington
John Foster Carr.....	New York	Herbert A. Miller.....	Oberlin
Hugh Dobson.....	Regina	Andres Patri.....	New York
Michael J. Downey.....	Boston	Vincent Pisek.....	New York
Sara Ellis.....	San Francisco	Graham Taylor.....	Chicago
Mrs. Laura Hood.....	Chicago	Sidney A. Teller.....	Pittsburgh
Albert Jenks.....	Minneapolis		

PART 2

BUSINESS ORGANIZATION OF THE CONFERENCE FOR 1922

OFFICERS

President—Robert W. Kelso, 46 Cornhill, Boston.
First Vice-President—Sherman C. Kingsley, Philadelphia. Second Vice-President—Mrs. Martha P. Falconer, New York. Third Vice-President—Gertrude Vaile, Denver.
General Secretary—William Hammond Parker, 25 East Ninth Street, Cincinnati.
Treasurer—Charles W. Folds, 208 South LaSalle Street, Chicago.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

Ex-officio—Robert W. Kelso, Boston; Sherman C. Kingsley, Philadelphia; Charles W. Folds, Chicago. Term expiring 1922—C. M. Bookman, Cincinnati; John Ihlder, Washington; R. R. Moton, Tuskegee; James Hoge Ricks, Richmond; Amelia Sears, Chicago. Term expiring 1923—William T. Cross, Chicago; Owen R. Lovejoy, New York; William J. Norton, Detroit; Frederic Siedenburg, Chicago; Gertrude Vaile, Denver. Term expiring 1924—Grace Abbott, Washington, D.C.; Allen T. Burns, New York; C. C. Carstens, New York; Karl de Schweinitz, Philadelphia; Robert A. Woods, Boston. Chairmen of Divisions, ex-officio—Donald B. Armstrong, New York; George A. Bellamy, Cleveland; C. M. Bookman, Cincinnati; Frank J. Bruno, Minneapolis; Ruth Crawford, New York; George A. Hastings, New York; J. Prentice Murphy, Philadelphia; Louis Robinson, Swarthmore; John Shillady, New York; George S. Wilson, Washington.

COMMITTEE ON PROGRAM

Robert W. Kelso, Boston, Chairman; William H. Parker, Cincinnati; Allen T. Burns, New York; C. C. Carstens, New York; Amelia Sears, Chicago.

COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS

Jeffrey R. Brackett, Boston, Chairman; Francis H. Gavis, Indianapolis; Lucius A. Whipple, Providence.

COMMITTEE ON NOMINATIONS

Herbert C. Parsons, Boston, Chairman; Edith Abbott, Chicago; Richard A. Bolt, Baltimore; Mary V. Clark, New York; J. E. Hagerty, Columbus, Ohio; Florence Hutsinpillar, Denver; Frances Ingram, Louisville; Thomas A. Mason, Bridgeport, Conn.; Graham Romayne Taylor, New York.

COMMITTEE ON TIME AND PLACE

Amos W. Butler, Indianapolis, Chairman; Frank J. Bruno, Minneapolis; Mrs. Carrie P. Bryant, Los Angeles; S. J. Crumbine, Topeka; Mrs. Martha P. Falconer, New York; Parker B. Field, Boston; Mrs. John M. Glenn, New York; Hastings H. Hart, New York; Orlando F. Lewis, New York; Owen R. Lovejoy, New York; Emma O. Lundberg, Washington; Francis H. McLean, New York; James A. Quinn, Jefferson City; James H. Ricks, Richmond; Mrs. R. A. Rogers, Winnipeg; Rev. John A. Ryan, Washington; Elwood Street, St. Louis; Jessie Taft, Philadelphia; Graham Taylor, Chicago; Sidney Teller, Pittsburgh; George S. Wilson, Washington; Robert A. Woods, Boston.

SPECIAL COMMITTEE ON THE JUBILEE CONFERENCE

All of the living ex-presidents of the Conference and the following: Allen T. Burns, New York, Chairman; C. M. Bookman, Cincinnati; Alexander Fleisher, New York; R. B. Fosdick, New York; Sherman C. Kingsley, Philadelphia; Mary E. Richmond, New York; James H. Ricks, Richmond; Carl de Schweinitz, Philadelphia; Amelia Sears, Chicago; Rev. Frederic Siedenburg, Chicago; John R. Shillady, New York; Barry C. Smith, New York; Gertrude Vaile, Denver.

STATE CORRESPONDING SECRETARIES

Alabama, Ralph S. Barrow, Birmingham; Arizona, Christianna G. Gilchrist, Phoenix; Arkansas, Helen Riddick, Little Rock; California, Dora Berres, Los Angeles; Connecticut, Malcolm S. Nichols, Hartford; Delaware, Sybil M. Gordon, Wilmington; District of Columbia, Mrs. Walter S. Ufford, Washington; Florida, Marcus C. Fagg, Jacksonville; Georgia, Boyce M. Edens, Atlanta; Idaho, Dr. John W. Flesher, Boise; Illinois, W. S. Reynolds, Chicago; Indiana, A. J. Strawson, Indianapolis; Iowa, Ralph J. Reed, Des Moines; Kansas, J. R. Wilkie, Emporia; Kentucky, R. A. Hoyer, Louisville; Louisiana, Harry L. Hopkins, Atlanta, Ga.; Maine, Percy R. Horton, Portland; Maryland, William Burnet Wright, Baltimore; Massachusetts, Richard K. Conant, Boston; Michigan, Harry L. Lurie, Detroit; Minnesota, Frank J. Bruno, Minneapolis; Mississippi, Hannah S. Eaton, Taylorsville, Missouri; Mrs. E. T. Brigham, Kansas City; Montana, Mrs. Edwin S. Thomas, Helena; Nebraska, Mrs. Ralph S. Doud, Omaha.

Nevada, Mrs. Frank Humphrey, Reno; New Hampshire, Mrs. James Remick, Concord; New Mexico, John Tombs, Albuquerque; New York, John Shillady, New York; North Dakota, Mrs. Agnes M. Rex, Grand Forks; Ohio, R. E. Miles, Columbus; Oklahoma, Rose M. Ohaus, Lawton; Oregon, Mrs. Aristene Felts, Portland; Pennsylvania, Mrs. Sherman Conrad, Pittsburgh; Rhode Island, Donald North, Howard; Tennessee, Mary Russell, Memphis; Texas, Elmer Scott, Dallas; Utah, Arthur L. Beeley, Salt Lake City; Vermont, Mrs. E. A. Linderholm, Burlington; Virginia, J. F. Mastin, Richmond; Washington, Mrs. Jay W. Fancy, Spokane; West Virginia, L. H. Putnam, Charleston; Wisconsin, Ella D. Lemmerhirt, Beloit; Wyoming, Allie Jewell, Cheyenne.

DIVISIONAL ORGANIZATION

DIVISION I—CHILDREN

Chairman, J. Prentice Murphy, Seybert Institute, Philadelphia.

Grace Abbott (1922).....	Washington, D.C.	C. C. Menzler (1924).....	Nashville
Ludwig Bernstein (1922).....	New York	Lilburn Merrill (1923).....	Seattle
Lee Bidgood (1923).....	University, Ala.	J. Prentice Murphy (1922).....	Philadelphia
Ellsworth Faris (1922).....	Chicago	J. Hoge Ricks (1924).....	Richmond
Lucia B. Johnson (1924).....	Columbus	Amy D. Steinhart (1924).....	Sacramento
William Hodson (1923).....	St. Paul	Henry W. Thurston (1924).....	New York
Robert F. Keegan (1923).....	New York	Charles Virden (1923).....	Springfield, Ill.
Theodore A. Lothrop (1924).....	Boston	Mrs. Frank D. Watson (1922).....	Haverford, Pa.
Emma O. Lundberg (1923).....	Washington	Lucius A. Whipple (1924).....	Providence
George B. Mangold (1922).....	St. Louis	Mrs. Ira Couch Wood (1922).....	Chicago

DIVISION II—DELINQUENTS AND CORRECTION

Chairman, Louis Robinson, Swarthmore.

Secretary, Jessie F. Binford, Chicago.

Col. Cyrus B. Adams (1922).....	St. Charles, Ill.	Blanche Martin (1924).....	Little Rock
H. H. Antels (1924).....	Lincoln, Neb.	Maude E. Miner (1923).....	New York
Jessie F. Binford (1924).....	Chicago	Joseph P. Murphy (1923).....	Buffalo
Edith N. Burleigh (1924).....	Boston	Samuel D. Murphy (1922).....	Birmingham
Frank L. Christian (1923).....	Elmira, N.Y.	Mrs. Virginia Murray (1924).....	Detroit
Martha P. Falconer (1923).....	New York	Dr. Valeria H. Parker (1924).....	New York
Allie Hinrichsen (1923).....	Springfield, Ill.	Herbert C. Parsons (1923).....	Chestnut Hill, Mass.
Jessie D. Hodder (1922).....	Sherborn, Mass.	Henry K. W. Scott (1922).....	St. Cloud, Minn.
George N. Kirchwey (1924).....	New York	Dr. Carrie Weaver Smith (1922).....	Gainesville
Rabbi Emil W. Leipsiger (1922).....	New Orleans	John J. Sonstebly (1922).....	Chicago
Burdette G. Lewis (1922).....	Trenton	Dr. Miriam Van Waters (1924).....	Los Angeles
O. F. Lewis (1923).....	New York		

DIVISION III—HEALTH

Chairman, Dr. Donald B. Armstrong, New York.

Vice-Chairman, Dr. Caroline Hedger, Chicago.

Secretary, Agnes Martin, Milwaukee.

Minnie H. Ahrens (1924).....	Chicago	Harriet L. Leete (1924).....	Baltimore
Richard A. Bolt, M.D. (1923).....	Baltimore	George J. Nelbach (1924).....	New York
S. J. Crumblin, M.D. (1922).....	Topeka	Florence Patterson (1924).....	New York
David Edsall, M.D. (1922).....	Cambridge	C. C. Pierce, M.D. (1922).....	Washington
Livingston Farrand, M.D. (1922).....	Washington	Philip S. Platt (1924).....	New Haven
Enid Forsythe (1924).....	Toronto	James B. Rawlings (1922).....	Fort Worth
Elizabeth Fox (1924).....	Washington	Dr. Anna Rude (1924).....	Washington
Allen Freeman, M.D. (1923).....	Columbus	John Tombs (1923).....	La Vina, Cal.
Edna G. Henry (1924).....	Indianapolis	C. E. A. Winslow, M.D. (1922).....	New Haven
H. W. Hill, M.D. (1922).....	St. Paul	Rachelle Yarros, M.D. (1923).....	Chicago

DIVISION IV—THE FAMILY

Chairman, Frank J. Bruno, Minneapolis.

Secretary, Francis H. McLean, New York.

Mary F. Bogue (1924).....	Harrisburg	C. M. Hubbard (1923).....	St. Louis
Henry H. Bonnell (1922).....	Philadelphia	Joel B. Hunter (1924).....	Chicago
Sara A. Brown (1924).....	Lansing	Kate McMahon (1922).....	Boston
Frank J. Bruno (1923).....	Minneapolis	Benjamin P. Merrick (1924).....	Grand Rapids
Joanna C. Colcord (1923).....	New York	Amelia Sears (1922).....	Chicago
Julia B. Felsenthal (1922).....	Minneapolis	Mrs. F. H. Stoltze (1924).....	Minneapolis
Mrs. Anna B. Fox (1923).....	Buffalo	Frances Taussig (1923).....	New York
Rev. Patrick J. Hayes (1922).....	New York	Gertrude Vaile (1924).....	Denver
Elizabeth L. Holbrook (1923).....	Boston	G. P. Wyckoff (1922).....	Grinnell, Iowa

DIVISION V—INDUSTRIAL AND ECONOMIC PROBLEMS

Chairman, John R. Shillady, New York.
Secretary, Alexander Fleisher, New York.

Edith Abbott (1924).....Chicago
 Frederic Almy (1923).....Buffalo
 Roger N. Baldwin (1924).....New York
 Sophonisba P. Breckinridge (1922).....Chicago
 Mrs. R. F. Halleck (1923).....Louisville
 Mrs. Florence Kelley (1924).....New York
 Paul U. Kellogg (1922).....New York

Owen R. Lovejoy (1923).....New York
 Mrs. W. L. Murdoch (1923).....Birmingham
 Rev. John A. Ryan (1923).....Washington
 John R. Shillady (1924).....New York
 Mary Van Kleeck (1924).....New York
 Solomon Wolf (1923).....New Orleans

DIVISION VI—NEIGHBORHOOD AND COMMUNITY LIFE

Chairman, George A. Bellamy, Cleveland.

George A. Bellamy (1924).....Cleveland
 Dora Berres (1923).....Los Angeles
 H. S. Braucher (1922).....New York
 Henry F. Burt (1923).....Minneapolis
 John Collier (1922).....New York
 Mrs. Ralph S. Doud (1924).....Omaha
 Dorothy Enderis (1924).....Milwaukee
 Mrs. J. S. Fassett (1922).....Elmira, N.Y.
 Corinne Fonde (1924).....Houston
 George E. Haynes (1923).....Nashville
 John Ihlder (1923).....Washington

Frances Ingram (1922).....Louisville
 H. H. Jacobs (1923).....Milwaukee
 Mary E. McDowell (1923).....Chicago
 Eleanor McMain (1924).....New Orleans
 J. B. Nash (1923).....Oakland
 Wilbur C. Phillips (1923).....New York
 Rev. Frederic Siedenburg (1923).....Chicago
 Graham Taylor (1922).....Chicago
 W. D. Weatherford (1922).....Nashville
 Robert A. Woods (1924).....Boston

DIVISION VII—MENTAL HYGIENE

Chairman, George A. Hastings, New York.
Vice-Chairman, Dr. Smiley Blanton, Madison.
Secretary, Edith M. Furbush, New York.

Anne T. Bingham, M.D. (1922).....New York
 Smiley Blanton, M.D. (1924).....Madison
 Mary V. Clark (1923).....New York
 Walter E. Fernald, M.D. (1923).....Waverley, Mass.
 Bernard Glueck, M.D. (1922).....New York
 Thomas H. Haines (1922).....Jackson, Miss.
 George A. Hastings (1924).....New York
 Clark E. Higbee (1924).....Grand Rapids
 C. M. Hincks, M.D. (1922).....Toronto
 Mary C. Jarrett (1924).....Boston
 Suzie L. Lyons (1923).....Baltimore

C. C. Menzler (1922).....Memphis
 Mrs. Carleton Parker (1923).....New York
 Robert L. Richards, M.D. (1923).....Talmage, Cal.
 Thomas W. Salmon (1924).....New York
 Edith Schweitzer, M.D. (1924).....Indianapolis
 H. Douglas Singer, M.D. (1922).....Kankakee, Ill.
 Martha B. Strong (1924).....New York
 Jessie Taft (1922).....Philadelphia
 William A. White (1923).....Washington
 Frankwood E. Williams, M.D. (1923).....New York

DIVISION VIII—ORGANIZATION OF SOCIAL FORCES

Chairman, C. M. Bookman, Cincinnati.
Vice-Chairman, Ralph J. Reed, Des Moines.
Secretary, C. C. Stillman, Grand Rapids.

Scott de Kins (1924).....St. Louis
 Guy T. Justis (1924).....Denver
 Sherman C. Kingsley (1924).....Philadelphia
 M. C. MacLean (1924).....Toronto
 T. A. Mason (1924).....Bridgeport
 W. F. Maxwell (1924).....Harrisburg, Pa.

W. J. Norton (1924).....Detroit
 J. P. Sanderson (1924).....New Bedford
 Oscar Schoenherr (1924).....East Orange
 H. D. Wareheim (1924).....Rochester
 Elizabeth H. Webster (1924).....Chicago

DIVISION IX—PUBLIC OFFICIALS AND ADMINISTRATION

Chairman, George S. Wilson, Washington.
Vice-Chairman, Prof. J. E. Hagerty, Columbus.
Secretary, John A. Brown, Indianapolis.

Alicia Brown (1923).....Dallas
 Herbert Brown (1923).....East View, N.Y.
 Mrs. Carrie P. Bryant (1924).....Los Angeles
 Amos W. Butler (1924).....Indianapolis
 D. Frank Garland (1922).....Dayton
 J. E. Hagerty (1923).....Columbus
 Florence Hutsinpillar (1922).....Denver
 Rhoda Kaufman (1922).....Atlanta
 Charles P. Kellogg (1923).....Hartford
 Robert W. Kelso (1924).....Boston
 Rev. William J. Kerby (1924).....Washington

W. L. Kuser (1924).....Eldora, Iowa
 Burdette G. Lewis (1922).....Trenton
 A. Percy Paget (1922).....Winnipeg
 L. H. Putnam (1922).....Charleston
 Dr. Kenosha Sessions (1923).....Indianapolis
 Mrs. Ada S. Sheffield (1924).....Boston
 H. H. Shirer (1923).....Columbus
 Lucy Sims (1923).....Paris, Ky.
 M. J. Tappins (1923).....Madison
 G. Croft Williams (1924).....Columbia, S.C.
 Henry C. Wright (1922).....New York

BUSINESS TRANSACTIONS

DIVISION X—THE IMMIGRANT

Chairman, Ruth Crawford, New York.

Grace Abbott	Chicago	Julia C. Lathrop	Washington
Jane Addams	Chicago	Mrs. F. E. Ledbetter	Cleveland
Ruby Baughman	Los Angeles	Mary E. McDowell	Chicago
Rev. Charles T. Bridgeman	New York	Rose McHugh	Washington, D.C.
Ruth Crawford	New York	H. A. Miller	Oberlin
Rev. Hugh Dobson	Saskatchewan	Andrea Patri	New York
Julius Draschler	New York	Mrs. Cecelia Rosowski	New York
George Eisler	Buffalo	Dr. A. Sum	Washington
Albert Jenks	Minneapolis	Graham Taylor	Chicago
Sara King	San Antonio		

PART 3

BUSINESS SESSIONS OF THE CONFERENCE: MINUTES

June 25, 1921

ting called to order by President Burns. Attendance, 250.

President called for the reading of the report of the Committee on Expression of Standards. The report was read by the Secretary and ordered printed for consideration at the business session of the Conference, Tuesday morning.

The following report of the Committee on the Correlation of National Social Agencies was presented by William J. Norton, Chairman of the Committee. Motion was made that the report be received and the committee discharged.

The Committee on the Correlation of National Social Agencies was continued from last year much to the wish of its Chairman and the members of the committee, and was instructed to hold a Conference of National Social Agencies. It held that Conference in Washington. Mr. Baker and Dr. Vincent attended the Conference. The Conference adopted a resolution instructing the National Information Bureau to act as its agent in calling together another conference of national agencies, hoping that they might get together on some sort of a program of correlation. As the undertaker usually says at a funeral, "good time was had by all." Your Committee regards its work as done and asks that it be discharged.

Harry L. Hopkins, Chairman of the Committee on Time and Place, presented the following report of his committee:

Your Committee on Time and Place recommends that the 1922 meeting of the National Conference on Social Work be held in Providence, Rhode Island, the week beginning Wednesday, June 14, or at such time previous to this as the Executive Committee may decide.

Motion carried that the report of the committee be adopted as presented.

The Executive Committee presented the following suggested amendment to Article 4, Section "C," of the Constitution and By-Laws:

A permanent Program Committee consisting of five members shall be appointed by the incoming President of the Conference; this committee to consist of the retiring President; the newly-elected President; the General Secretary; one member of the Executive Committee who is not Chairman of a Division, to be appointed for two years; one member of the Executive Committee who is not a Chairman of a Division, to be appointed for one year. After the first year of this committee's existence, each incoming President shall appoint one new member to serve for a period of two years on this committee.

Motion carried that this proposed amendment be adopted.

Amendment offered that the proposed amendment specifically provide that the incoming President be Chairman of the Program Committee.

Motion as amended carried.

Motion carried to adopt the following amendment to Article 4, Section "C," of the Constitution and By-Laws, presented by the Executive Committee:

The programs of the Conference shall be grouped under Divisions, of which there shall be ten, continuous: (I) Children; (II) Delinquents and Correction; (III) Health; (IV) The Aspects of Economic Conditions; (V) Neighborhood and Community Life; (VI) The (VII) Organization of Social Forces; (IX) Public Officials and Administration.

Amendment offered that the suggested change in the title of the Division on Industrial and Economic Problems—be referred to the Executive Committee for further consideration and recommendation.

Motion as amended carried.

The Executive Committee presented the following suggested amendment to Article 6 of the Constitution and By-Laws:

Independent associations may arrange with the Executive Committee of the National Conference for the holding of meetings immediately prior to or during the annual meeting of the National Conference, such meetings to be announced in the official program of the National Conference by the Executive Committee. A kindred group shall be defined as any group, association, organization, or conference of more than local scope and membership having purposes not incompatible with those of the National Conference and formally accepted by the Program Committee of the National Conference as a kindred group. The Executive Committee shall make such rules and regulations as it from time to time may deem necessary to provide for such meetings.

Motion carried that action on this proposed amendment to be deferred until after the report of the Committee on Expression concerning Standards shall have been received by the Conference.

The following amendment was presented by the Executive Committee:

Membership.—Any individual or organization interested in the purposes and work of the National Conference may, upon payment of the prescribed membership fee for their membership classification, become a member of the Conference. Membership in the Conference shall be of the following classes: (1) honorary members—to be selected and elected by the Executive Committee; (2) regular members; (3) sustaining members; (4) institutional members; (5) contributing members. State boards and commissions supporting the Conference through subscription to the *Proceedings*, the enlistment of memberships, or otherwise financially, shall be designated "state members." State, district, and local conferences may become affiliated with the National Conference under such rules as may be established from time to time by the Executive Committee.

Motion carried that this amendment be adopted.

Motion carried that the General Secretary be instructed to send hearty greetings from the Conference to Timothy Nicholson, the oldest living ex-President of the Conference, and to Alexander Johnson, a former President of the Conference and for many years the General Secretary.

Resolutions were presented by the following persons and were referred to the Committee on Resolutions: Mrs. Ben Cooper, President of the Wisconsin League of Women Voters; Mr. Ball, of Pittsburgh; Dr. Valeria H. Parker, of Hartford, Conn.

Motion carried to adjourn.

Tuesday, June 28, 1921

President Allen T. Burns, presiding. Attendance 500.

The President called the meeting to order.

The minutes of the previous meeting were read and approved.

The President reported on behalf of the Executive Committee that they recommended that there be no change in the name of Division VI—Industrial and Economic Problems.

Motion carried that this recommendation be adopted.

The General Secretary read the following nominations for officers of the various Divisions for the ensuing year:

I. Children.—Chairman, J. Prentice Murphy, Philadelphia; Members: Lucia B. Johnson, Columbus, Ohio; Theodore A. Lothrop, Boston; C. C. Menzler, Nashville; Judge J. Hoge Ricks, Richmond; Amy D. Steinhart, Sacramento; Henry W. Thurston, New York.

II. Delinquents and Correction.—Chairman, Dr. Louis N. Robinson, Swarthmore, Pa.; Members: H. H. Antles, Lincoln; Jessie F. Binford, Chicago; Edith Burleigh, Boston; George W. Kirchwey, New York; Blanche Martin, Little Rock; Virginia Murray, Detroit; Dr. Valeria Parker, Washington; Mrs. Miriam Van Waters, Los Angeles.

III. Health.—Chairman, Dr. Donald B. Armstrong, New York; Members: Minnie H. Ahrens, Chicago; Enid Forsythe, Toronto; Elizabeth Fox, Washington; Edna G. Henry Indianapolis; Harriet L. Leete, Baltimore; George J. Nelbach, New York; Florence Patterson, New York; Philip Platt, New Haven; Dr. Anna Rude, Washington.

IV. *Public Agencies and Institutions*.—Chairman, George S. Wilson, Washington; Vice-Chairman, Prof. J. E. Hagerty, Columbus, Ohio; Secretary, John A. Brown, Indianapolis; Members: 1922—Rhoda Kaufman, Atlanta; L. H. Putnam, Charleston; 1923—Herbert Brown, East View, N.Y.; Dr. Kenosha Sessions, Clermont, Ind.; H. H. Shirer, Columbus, Ohio; Lucy Sims, Paris, Ky.; M. J. Tappins, Madison; 1924—Mrs. Carrie P. Bryant, Los Angeles; Amos W. Butler, Indianapolis; Robert W. Kelso, Boston; Rev. William J. Kerby, Washington; W. L. Kuser, Eldora, Iowa; Mrs. Ada E. Sheffield, Boston; J. Croft Williams, Columbus, Ohio.

V. *The Family*.—Chairman, Frank J. Bruno, Minneapolis; Members: Mary Bogue, Harrisburg; Sara A. Brown, Lansing; Joel B. Hunter, Chicago; Benjamin P. Merrick, Grand Rapids; Mrs. F. H. Stoltze, Minneapolis; Gertrude Vaile, Denver.

VI. *Industrial and Economic Problems*.—Chairman, John R. Shillady, New York; Secretary, Alexander Fleisher, Philadelphia; Members: Edith Abbott, Chicago; Roger N. Baldwin; Mrs. Florence Kelley, New York; Mary Van Kleeck, Washington; John R. Shillady, New York.

VII. *The Local Community*.—Chairman, George A. Bellamy, Cleveland; Secretary, Dorothy Enderis, Milwaukee; Members: George A. Bellamy, Cleveland; Mrs. Ralph S. Doud, Omaha; Dorothy Enderis, Milwaukee; Corinne Fonde, Houston; Eleanor McMain, New Orleans; Robert A. Woods, Boston.

VIII. *Mental Hygiene*.—Chairman, George A. Hastings, New York; Vice-Chairman, Dr. Smiley Blanton, Madison; Members: Dr. Smiley Blanton, Madison; George A. Hastings, New York; Clark E. Higbee, Grand Rapids; Mary C. Jarrett, Boston; Dr. Thomas W. Salmon, New York; Dr. Edith Schwietzer, Indianapolis; Martha Strong, Boston.

IX. *Organization of Social Forces*.—Chairman, C. M. Bookman, Cincinnati; Vice-Chairman, Ralph J. Reed, Des Moines; Secretary, C. C. Stillman, Grand Rapids; Members: Guy T. Justis, Denver; Sherman C. Kingsley, Philadelphia; Scott De Kins, St. Louis; M. C. MacLean, Toronto; T. A. Mason, Bridgeport; W. F. Maxwell, Harrisburg; William J. Norton, Detroit; J. D. Sanderson, New Bedford; Oscar Schoenherr, Orange, N.J.; H. P. Wareheim, Rochester; Elizabeth Webster, Chicago.

X. *Uniting of Native- and Foreign-Born in America*.—Chairman, Allen T. Burns, New York; Members: Grace Abbott, Chicago; Jane Addams, Chicago; Ruby Baughman, Los Angeles; Charles T. Bridgeman, New York; Ruth Crawford, New York; Hugh Dobson, Regina, Canada; Julius Drachler, North Hampton, Mass.; George Eisler, Buffalo; Albert Jenks, Minneapolis; Sara King, San Antonio; Julia C. Lathrop, Washington; Mrs. E. E. Ledbetter, Cleveland; Mary E. McDowell, Chicago; Rose McHugh, Chicago; H. A. Miller, Oberlin; Andrea Patri, New York; Cecelia Rozowski, New York; A. Sum, Washington; Graham Taylor, Chicago.

Motion carried that all nominees should be elected.

Official ballots for the election of officers and members of the Executive Committee of the Conference were distributed and collected.

The President announced that the results of the election would be reported at a later session of the Conference.

The General Secretary presented the financial statement showing that there would be a prospective deficit on December 31, 1921.

The following recommendation was offered by the Executive Committee:

That the first paragraph of Article I of the By-Laws be changed to read as follows:

Membership fees for the following classifications shall be: for regular members with the *Proceedings*, \$5; without the *Proceedings*, \$3; for sustaining members, \$10; for institutional members \$25 [no individual shall be entitled to hold institutional membership; this membership being reserved solely for agencies, organizations, and institutions]; contributing members \$25 or over. [Contributing memberships shall be limited to individuals contributing \$25 or over and to such organizations as may contribute any sum in excess of the membership fee for an institutional membership and which shall elect to be classed as contributing rather than institutional members.] Sustaining members, institutional members, and contributing members shall be entitled to receive both the *Bulletin* and the annual volume of *Proceedings*.

Motion carried that this recommendation be adopted.

The President presented charts showing the number of institutional memberships in cities of 25,000 or over throughout the country and asked for pledges from the members present guaranteeing to secure additional institutional memberships. In response to the President's request, the members present pledged themselves to secure 348 additional institutional memberships.

The President stated that approximately \$1,400 in contributions had been secured by an appeal sent out prior to the annual meeting; also, that members of the Execu-

tive Committee had pledged themselves to secure contributions prior to December 31, 1921, aggregating approximately \$5,000.

It was moved and seconded that the report of the Committee on the Expression of Standards be adopted.¹

Amendment offered that the first recommendation made by the Committee, that is, that of non-action, be adopted. Amendment carried.

Motion carried that the second recommendation of the report, viz., that of the appointment by the Executive Committee of a special committee to consider the relations of kindred groups to the Conference, be adopted.

Motion made that the report be placed on the table. Motion lost.

Motion carried that the report be adopted and that the second recommendation be referred to the Executive Committee for further consideration.

Motion carried to adjourn.

Wednesday, June 29, 1921

Report of the Committee on Resolutions:

The Committee on Resolutions has had submitted to it for consideration a resolution urging that the President of the United States take the initiative in calling a conference to advise ways and means to reduce the armaments of the world powers.

We have had submitted also a resolution urging "the strict and impartial administration of federal and state laws providing for the prohibition of the manufacture and sale of alcoholic liquors."

The Committee on Resolutions is in sympathy with both of these propositions; but in view of the action of the Conference confirming the practice of refraining from passing resolutions on questions of public policy, the Committee feels constrained to recommend that these two resolutions lie on the table.

The Committee has considered a resolution introduced June 28, calling attention to the wide prevalence of unemployment in the United States, and proposing "that the National Conference of Social Work take steps to promote a special national conference on unemployment relief as soon as possible, to which shall be invited the representatives of industrial capital, the government, labor, and governmental and voluntary agencies of relief as well as other social agencies."

Your Committee is convinced of the need of prompt and efficient action to meet the unemployment situation. We do not feel competent, however, to judge as to the practicability of the proposed plan. We therefore recommend that this resolution be referred to the Executive Committee with the hope on the part of the Conference that it may be possible to secure such concerted action on the part of the various national agencies.

RESOLUTION OF THANKS

Thanks are extended to the city government of Milwaukee for the use of the splendid auditorium with its complete facilities furnished to the Conference at the expense of the city.

The thanks of the Conference are due and are hereby extended to the local Executive Committee for their complete and most efficient organization of local facilities. Nothing has been left undone which could contribute to the convenience, comfort, and pleasure of the members of the Conference.

Thanks are due to the Association of Commerce who gave the services of a secretary who gave his entire time for several weeks to the housing of the delegates.

Thanks are extended to the women of Milwaukee and the social organizations for numerous receptions, dinners, luncheons, teas, and automobile drives.

We are indebted to the public press for the wide publicity given to the work of the Conference and the sympathetic spirit displayed by the public journals of the city.

We congratulate the city of Milwaukee upon its co-operative efforts to meet the housing problem. We congratulate the state of Wisconsin upon its statesmanlike endeavors to distribute immigrants upon the farming lands of the state.

We recognize the splendid work done by the officers of the Conference but we refrain from extending to them further thanks because they have done that for which they are elected.

Minutes approved,

ALLEN T. BURNS,

President

WILLIAM HAMMOND PARKER,

General Secretary

¹The report of the Committee on Expression Concerning Standards or Ideals was published and distributed at the annual meeting in Milwaukee. Additional copies may be secured by writing to the Headquarters of the National Conference, 25 East Ninth St., Cincinnati.

PART 4

CONSTITUTION AND BY-LAWS OF THE NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF SOCIAL WORK

CONSTITUTION

Preamble

The National Conference of Social Work exists to facilitate discussion of the problems and methods of practical human improvement, to increase the efficiency of agencies and institutions devoted to this cause and to disseminate information. It does not formulate platforms.

Membership

Any individual or organization interested in the purposes and work of the National Conference may, upon payment of the prescribed membership fee for their membership classification, become a member of the Conference. Membership in the Conference shall be of the following classes: (1) honorary members—to be selected and elected by the Executive Committee, (2) regular members, (3) sustaining members, (4) institutional members, (5) contributing members. State boards and commissions supporting the Conference through subscription to the *Proceedings*, the enlistment of memberships or otherwise financially, shall be designated "state members." State, district, and local conferences may become affiliated with the National Conference under such rules as may be established from time to time by the Executive Committee.

Officers

The officers of the Conference shall be a President, First, Second, and Third Vice-Presidents, a General Secretary, six or more Assistant Secretaries, a Treasurer; also a Corresponding Secretary from each State, Territory, and Province of the United States and Canada.

The President and Vice-Presidents shall be elected annually by the Conference; the Corresponding Secretaries shall be appointed by the General Secretary, and the remaining officers shall be appointed by the Executive Committee.

Committees

The Executive Committee shall consist of the President, the First Vice-President and the Treasurer, ex-officio the chairmen of all of the Division Committees, ex-officio and fifteen other members who shall be elected by the Conference, five each year for a term of three years; vacancies shall be filled in like manner. The Executive Committee shall hold all of the powers of the Conference between meetings, not otherwise reserved or delegated. It may enact rules supplementing the By-Laws and not in conflict with them. The President shall be ex-officio chairman; five members shall constitute a quorum at sessions held during annual meetings and three members at other sessions.

The President shall appoint the committees named in the By-Laws and such other committees as may be ordered by the Conference or the Executive Committee from time to time.

Annual Meetings

The Conference shall meet annually at such time and place as may be determined by the preceding Conference, as provided in the By-Laws. The Executive Committee shall have authority to change the time or place of the annual meeting in case satisfactory local arrangements cannot be made or for other urgent reasons.

General Secretary

The General Secretary shall be the executive officer of the Conference and shall perform his duties under such rules as may be prescribed by the By-Laws or by the Executive Committee.

Amendments

This Constitution and the By-Laws under it may be amended at any business meeting of the Conference, provided that such amendment shall have first been presented to and considered by the Executive Committee.

BY-LAWS

1. Membership Fees. Affiliated Conferences

Membership fees for the following classifications shall be: for regular members with the *Proceedings*, \$5, without the *Proceedings*, \$3; for sustaining members, \$10; for institutional members, \$25. [No individual shall be entitled to hold institutional membership, this membership being reserved solely for agencies, organizations, and institutions.]; for contributing members, \$25 or over. [Contributing memberships shall be limited to individuals contributing \$25 or over and to such organizations as may contribute any sum in excess of the membership fee for an institutional membership and which shall elect to be classed as contributing rather than as institutional members.] Sustaining members, institutional members, and contributing members shall be entitled to receive both the *Bulletin* and the annual volume of *Proceedings*.

State conferences similar in nature to the National Conference of Social Work may affiliate with the National Conference through payment of an annual fee of twenty-five dollars and through approval of the application for affiliation by the Executive Committee. The Executive Committee may modify the amount of the fee in case of any conference which may be unable to pay the stipulated fee. State conferences shall be invited to pay more than the fee indicated in order to build up the service of the National Conference on behalf of the state organizations. A separate accounting shall be made of the receipts into and expenditures from this state conference fund.

2. Duties of Officers

The President shall be chairman ex-officio of the Executive Committee and of the Program Committee. He shall appoint all committees except the Executive Committee unless otherwise ordered by the Conference or the Executive Committee.

The Treasurer shall keep the funds of the Conference in such bank as may be designated by the Executive Committee. He shall keep his accounts in such form as may be prescribed by the Executive Committee and pay out funds on voucher checks in form to be prescribed by the Executive Committee, and his accounts shall be audited quarterly by a firm of certified accountants appointed annually by the Executive Committee. He shall give bond in an amount approximating the largest amount of Conference funds held at his disposal at any one time, the expense of the bond to be paid by the Conference.

The General Secretary shall have charge of the office and records of the Conference, and shall conduct its business and correspondence under direction of the Executive Committee. He shall make arrangements for the annual meeting. He shall direct the activities of the Assistant Secretaries, Corresponding Secretaries, and other aids; he shall be the official editor of the volume of proceedings, the periodical Bulletin and other publications of the Conference and shall have charge of the distribution of the Conference Literature. He shall develop the membership of the Conference; he shall co-operate with state conferences of charities and other local organizations. He shall conduct an information bureau pertaining to the service of the Conference and shall perform such other duties as may be prescribed by the Executive Committee. He shall receive such compensation as shall be fixed by the Executive Committee. The Executive Committee shall have authority to appoint such other employees as they may deem necessary and to fix their compensation.

3. Finance

The financial management of the Conference shall be vested in the Executive Committee. No final action involving finances shall be taken by the Conference unless the question shall have been referred to the Executive Committee.

The Operating Fund shall consist of receipts from memberships and from the local organization entertaining the Conference. The Publication and Educational Service Fund shall consist of receipts from sales of publications and other funds which may be set apart for this purpose. The Executive Committee may accept donations for the creation of funds for other purposes germane to the work of the Conference, provided that no endowment funds shall be accepted in perpetuity; but all such funds must be subject to change of objects or to immediate expenditure; but such change or expenditure must be authorized by a three-fourths vote of the members of the Conference present at a regular meeting and such proposition must first have been submitted to and acted upon by the Executive Committee.

4. Appointment of Committees

Within three months after the adjournment of the meeting the President shall appoint the following named committees:

a) A Committee of three on Resolutions, to which all resolutions shall be referred without debate. No final action shall be taken on any resolution involving a matter of policy at the same session at which it is reported by the Committee on Resolutions.

b) A Committee of twenty or more on Time and Place of the next meeting. This committee shall meet on the afternoon or evening of the first day after the opening session of the Conference for the purpose of receiving invitations from cities, and shall give a reasonable time for the presentation of such invitations. In the proceedings of the committee only the votes of members present shall be counted. The committee shall report to the Conference not later than the fourth day of the meeting. Action on the report of the committee shall be by a rising vote. The city receiving the highest vote shall be selected.

c) A permanent Program Committee consisting of five members shall be appointed by the incoming President of the Conference, this committee to consist of the retiring President, the newly-elected President, who shall act as chairman, the General Secretary, one member of the Executive Committee who is not a Chairman of a Division to be appointed for two years, one member of the Executive Committee who is not a Chairman of a Division to be appointed for one year. After the first year of this committee's existence each incoming President shall appoint one new member to serve for a period of two years on this committee.

5. Divisions

a) The programs of the Conference shall be grouped under Divisions, of which the following shall be continuous: (1) Children; (2) Delinquents and Correction; (3) Health; (4) The Family; (5) Industrial and Economic Problems; (6) Neighborhood and Community Life; (7) Mental Hygiene; (8) Organization of Social Forces; (9) Public Officials and Administration.

b) Other Divisions may be created for a period of one or more years by the Executive Committee or by the membership at the annual meeting, provided the proposal therefor is first submitted to the Executive Committee for recommendation.

c) Each continuous Division shall be in charge of a committee of not less than nine persons, nominated by the Conference members registered in the Division and elected at the annual meeting of Conference members. One-third of the members of the Division Committee shall be elected each year to serve terms of three years each.

d) Each other Division not continuous shall be in charge of a committee appointed by the Executive Committee, or if created by the membership, in such manner as the membership shall determine at the annual meeting.

e) Each Division Committee shall have power:

- (1) To arrange the annual Conference programs coming within its field, subject to the approval of the Executive Committee.
- (2) To arrange meetings both of general and of special interest within its field, the special meetings being arranged directly by the committee or by groups selected by them.
- (3) To arrange upon the request of the Executive Committee one or more general Conference sessions.
- (4) To arrange the annual business meeting of the Division and to provide for the nominations for the succeeding year.

f) Each Division shall annually nominate a chairman to be elected at the annual business meeting of the Conference. The Division Committee shall each year after the annual election elect a Division Secretary, subject to the approval of the Conference Executive Committee.

g) The nomination of chairman and members of the Division Committees shall be made at the annual business meeting of each Division, to be held within the first three days of the annual Conference.

h) Vacancies in the Division Committees shall be filled at the annual meeting in the same manner as the election of new members. Vacancies in the office of chairman or secretary between meetings shall be filled by the Division Committee, subject to the approval of the Conference Executive Committee.

i) The Conference Executive Committee shall have general supervision over the work of all Division Committees with the power to pass on all programs, in order to insure the harmonious conduct of all parts of the work.

j) Any member of the National Conference may register in any or all divisions.

k) On petition to a Division Committee signed by any twenty-five members of the Conference, requesting the inclusion of programs on a special topic within its field, the Division Committee may organize such programs, either directly or in co-operation with a committee appointed by it. In case of declination or failure of the Division Committee to act, the petition shall be referred to the Executive Committee for final action.

l) The public evening meetings of the National Conference shall be arranged by the Conference Executive Committee, either directly or through the Division Committees.

m) The Chairmen of the Divisions of the Conference shall be ex-officio members of the Executive Committee of the National Conference.

6. Kindred Groups

Independent associations may arrange with the National Conference Executive Committee meetings to be held immediately before or during the National Conference and announced in the official program. The Executive Committee shall make such rules and regulations as are necessary from time to time to provide for such meetings.

7. Submission of Questions

Any Division or group desiring to submit any question to the Conference shall present it to the Executive Committee for preliminary consideration, at least twenty-four hours before the final adjournment of the Conference, and the Executive Committee shall report out such question before the final adjournment.

8. Business Sessions

At the annual meeting at least one session shall be held at which only matters of business shall be considered. The time of this session shall be announced in the last issue of the Bulletin preceding the meeting. The officers of the Conference shall endeavor to concentrate on this occasion as much as possible of the business of the Conference.

The right to vote shall be restricted to qualified* members of the Conference; and on request of twenty-five members, at any business session the President shall require persons who are not voters to retire before a final vote is taken.

9. Discussions and Debates. Division Meetings

[All meetings of the Conference except general sessions shall be arranged so as to facilitate informal discussion. The reading of papers shall be avoided as much as possible, except in case of the presentation of intricate analyses or of extensive data considered essential by the Division Chairman.]

[In the (informal) discussions of the Conference speakers shall be limited to five minutes each, except by unanimous consent and shall not be allowed to speak twice on any subject until all others have had an opportunity to be heard.]

The chairmen of divisions shall preside at section meetings of their divisions or shall appoint presiding officers in their stead.

Speakers shall address the chair and be recognized before proceeding. They shall not be allowed to proceed until their names, their home cities, and their official positions have been announced. Speakers on informal discussion shall be limited to five minutes each, except by majority approval of those present, and shall not be permitted to speak more than once until all others have had an opportunity to be heard.

Section meetings are designed chiefly for informal discussions. Speakers will be encouraged to address their audiences directly, avoiding as much as possible the continuous reading of papers. No address at a section meeting shall continue for more than thirty minutes, except by consent of those present with a majority vote. No paper shall be presented in the absence of its author, except by a majority vote of those present. Chairmen shall provide for the limitation of total time consumed by prearranged addresses at any section meeting to one hour. Limitation to a shorter period is suggested as being usually preferable.

*See Section 14.

Chairmen shall announce at the outset of all meetings or at any more appropriate time that all speakers should hand papers, speaking notes, or other data that may be helpful in the preparation of the volume of *Proceedings* to the official reporter present at the meeting announcing the name of the reporter and arranging for him to be seated nearby. Amplification in the *Proceedings* of matter summarized in addresses shall be permitted upon specific request of division chairmen and approval by the editor of the *Proceedings*.

10. Minutes

A certified copy of the minutes of the business transactions of the annual meeting, excepting official documents, shall be posted by the General Secretary on the official bulletin board at least three hours before the final meeting, in order that the said minutes may be corrected by the Conference, if any question of accuracy be raised before adjournment. The minutes of any business session held after such posting shall be approved at the close of that session.

11. Library

A library for current reference and for historical purposes shall be maintained by the Conference.

12. Local Arrangements

The local arrangements for the annual meeting shall be subject to the approval of the Executive Committee of the Conference.

13. Nomination and Election of Officers

1. The President shall appoint within ninety days following the adjournment of the annual meeting of the Conference, a Nominating Committee of nine members, none of whom shall be an officer or a member of the Executive Committee of the Conference.

2. This committee shall have the function of nominating two or more persons for each of the offices of President, First Vice-President, Second Vice-President, and Third Vice-President, and at least as many persons for members of the Executive Committee as there are vacancies occurring in that body.

3. The appointment and personnel of the Nominating Committee shall be published in the Bulletin next following.

4. Suggestions of names of persons for any of these positions may be submitted to the Nominating Committee by any qualified member of the Conference at any time following the committee's appointment up to the time of the committee's announcement of the list of nominations.

5. On petition of not less than twenty-five qualified members of the Conference, addressed to the Nominating Committee, nominations may be made, to be placed on the official ballot.

6. Within ninety days of its appointment, the Nominating Committee shall, through the Bulletin, solicit suggestions of names of persons for the offices to be filled, and shall renew such solicitation in each succeeding Bulletin up to the time of announcing the list of nominations.

7. After taking into consideration the names suggested by the Conference, but not necessarily confining consideration to these names, the Nominating Committee shall draw up a list of nominations as previously specified, and shall publish this list not less than fifteen days in advance of the next annual meeting of the Conference. If the committee's nominations on its own responsibility do not include nominations made by petition, such nominations by petition shall be published at the same time as petition nominations.

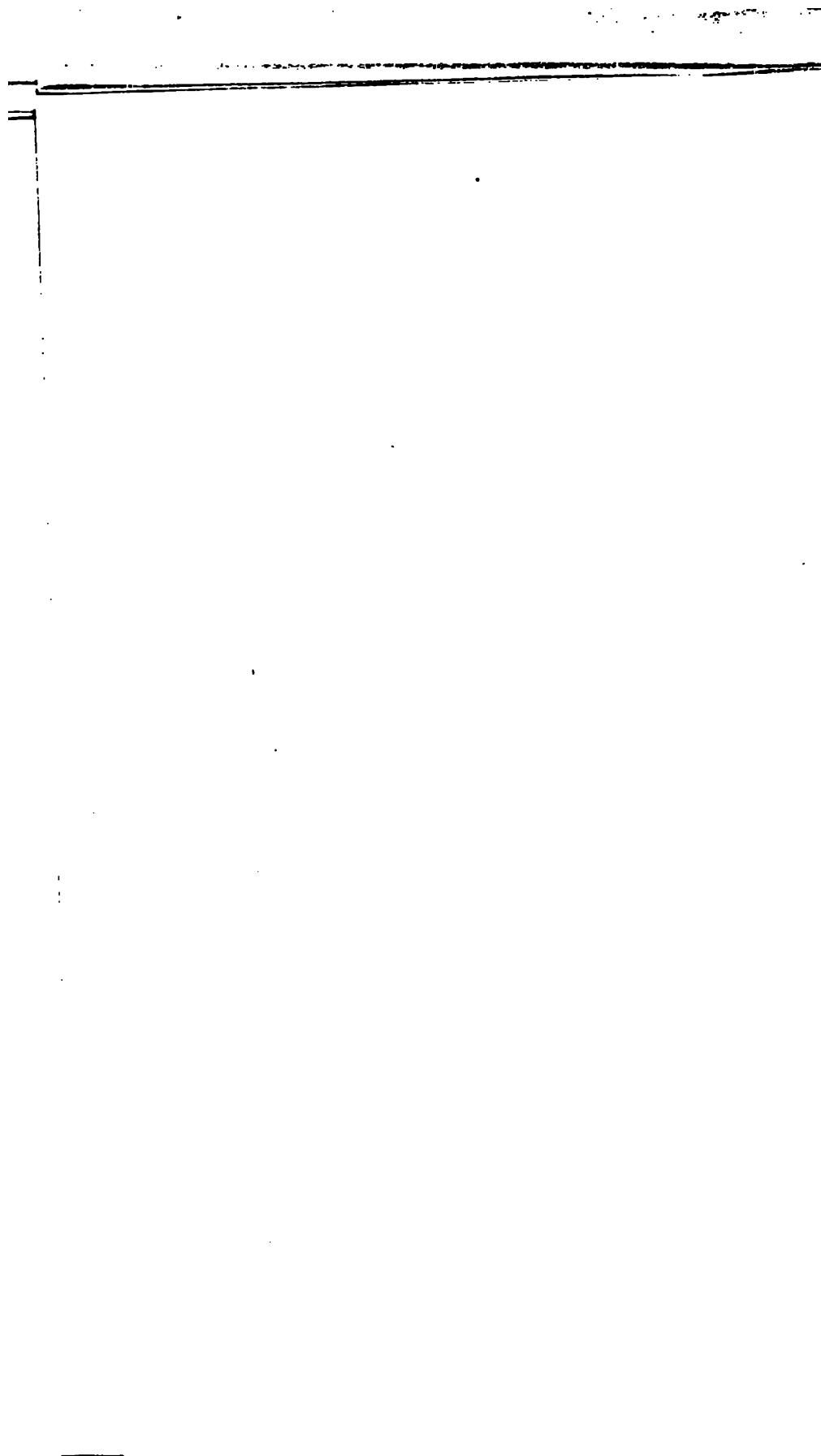
8. Following the publication of these nominations, additional nominations may be made by petition of not less than twenty-five members, addressed to the chairmen of the Nominating Committee at headquarters. Such additional nominations shall be received up to 1 o'clock P.M. on the third full day of the annual meeting.

9. A final list of all nominations shall be printed and published on the morning of the fourth full day of the annual meeting. At a business session of the Conference to be held on that day these ballots shall be supplied to all qualified members present. Each ballot shall be marked by the voter to indicate his choice for the positions to be filled. The ballots shall then be collected and counted by three tellers appointed by the President and the result announced at the next general session of the Conference. Election shall be decided by a plurality of the votes cast.

14. Voting Quorum

All members who have paid dues for the preceding year shall be qualified to vote. At any business session fifty such qualified members shall constitute a quorum.

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